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Committee on Un-American Activities  
House  
90th Congress

3035

1. Subversive Involvement in Disruption  
of 1968 Democratic Party  
National Convention, Part  
1.
2. Subversive Involvement in Disruption  
of 1968 Democratic Party  
National Convention, Part  
2.
3. Subversive Involvement in Disruption  
of 1968 Democratic Party  
National Convention, Part  
3.



**SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF 1968  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION  
PART 1**

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**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**  
**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
NINETIETH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

OCTOBER 1, 3, AND 4, 1968  
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Committee on Internal Security



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
(90th Congress, 2d Session)

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FRANCIS J. MCNAMARA, *Director*

CHESTER D. SMITH, *General Counsel*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

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COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

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(91st Congress, 1st Session)

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GLENN DAVIS, *Editorial Director*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

# CONTENTS

---

October 1, 1968: Testimony of—	Page
James Gallagher.....	2244
Joseph J. Healy and Joseph Grubisic.....	2273
Afternoon session:	
Joseph J. Healy and Joseph Grubisic (resumed).....	2282
October 3, 1968: Testimony of—	
Robert L. Pierson.....	2390
Afternoon session:	
Robert L. Pierson (resumed).....	2404
Robert Greenblatt.....	2412
Quentin D. Young.....	2422
October 4, 1968: Testimony of—	
Quentin D. Young (resumed).....	2438
Afternoon session:	
Quentin D. Young (resumed).....	2465
Robert Greenblatt (resumed).....	2475
Index .....	i

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 90TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 10, 1967, as amended April 3, 1968, by House Resolution 1099

### RESOLUTION

*Resolved*, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby, adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(s) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

19. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

28. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee: and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

\* \* \* \* \*



# SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION

## Part 1

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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1968

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Ichord, of Missouri, chairman; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman of the full committee; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Willis, Tuck, Ashbrook, and Watson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and Herbert Romerstein, investigator.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order, a quorum being present.

Under the Rules of the House of Representatives, since this is an investigative hearing the Chair is required to make an opening statement. I think before I make this opening statement it would be desirable for the Chair to identify the attorneys who are present in the room representing clients who are scheduled to appear before the committee.

I see you standing, sir. Will you please come forward? Do we have other attorneys in the room representing clients who are witnesses appearing before the committee?

Officers, will you announce before we begin the hearing—will you announce outside if there are any attorneys representing clients who are witnesses to appear before the committee to make certain that they are now identified so that they can be present in the hearing room if they desire.

Officers, before I begin the opening statement, did you ascertain whether any attorney representing clients who are to appear later before the committee is present?

OFFICER. Sir, there are some downstairs; the chief is going to get them now.

Mr. ICHORD. Very good. I will delay the opening statement until they have an opportunity to be present.

In order for the officers to ascertain whether there are any witnesses who have not gained entrance as yet, or their attorneys, the Chair will declare a recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

The photographers will please retire. Gentlemen, may I have your cooperation: will you please retire.

The Chair had previously asked for attorneys representing clients to come forward so that the Chair might identify you.

Are there any additional attorneys in the room representing clients who are witnesses to appear before the committee? I have Mr. di Suvero, Michael Kennedy, Mr. Melvin Wulf. Do we have another attorney? Will you please come forward, sir?

The committee will come to order.

Under Rule XI, 26(i) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, since this is an investigative hearing the Chair is required to make an opening statement.

This subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is convened to conduct hearings upon the subjects of inquiry and for the legislative purposes set forth in a committee resolution adopted on September 12, 1968. The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, the Committee on Un-American Activities has received evidence over a period of months that Communist, pro-Communist, and other cooperating subversive elements within the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, Youth International Party, and various other organizations were planning disruptive acts and violence in the City of Chicago, Illinois, during the week of August 25, 1968; and

WHEREAS, evidence in the possession of the Committee on Un-American Activities reveals that a number of the Communist, pro-Communist, and other subversive organizations and individuals named in the Committee's report of April 1967, entitled, "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week," as having planned and organized that subversive activity, also were leading planners and organizers of the aforementioned disruption and acts of violence in Chicago, Illinois, during the week of August 25, 1968; and

WHEREAS, the Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities on two occasions, May 13 and June 26, 1968, informed Members of Congress of the above-mentioned subversive elements' plans and organization for such disruptive acts in Chicago, Illinois, during the week of August 25, 1968 (Congressional Record, May 13, 1968, page H3698, and June 26, 1968, page H5698, respectively); and

WHEREAS, the Subcommittee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, subsequent to the Chairman's initial remarks on the subject, released executive testimony of J. Edgar Hoover confirming what the Chairman had stated;

NOW, THEREFORE, for the purposes, and pursuant to the authority, contained in Rule XI, paragraph 18, of the House of Representatives Resolution 7, 90th Congress:

BE IT RESOLVED, that investigation be made, and hearings be held by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof appointed by the Chairman for that purpose, in Washington, D.C., or at such place or places, and on such date or dates, as the Chairman may designate, relating to the extent, character, and objectives of Communist propaganda, foreign or domestic, and Communist activities within the United States to advance the objectives and purposes of the world Communist movement and in aid of foreign Communist governments and organizations, with particular reference to determining the extent to which, and the manner in which, the incidents and acts of force and violence which occurred in the City of Chicago, Illinois, during the week of August 25, 1968, were planned, instigated, incited, or supported by Communist and other subversive organizations and individuals, and all other questions in

relation to the above, which will provide factual information to aid the Congress in the proposal, consideration of, or the enactment of any necessary remedial legislation, in fulfillment of the authority and directives contained in Rule XI, paragraph 18, of the House of Representatives Resolution 7, 90th Congress.

The free functioning and security of our democratic institutions are threatened by the activities of subversive organizations and individuals. With adherents within the United States numbering in the thousands, such organizations seek to effect changes in our constitutional system of government by violence and illegal means. Although our system of government provides adequate opportunity for lawful and peaceful change, they have rejected the democratic process and seek to achieve their objectives by means totally inconsistent with our libertarian institutions.

The objectives, control, methods of organization, recruitment, indoctrination, and operation of subversive organizations are frequently concealed, and there does not appear to be any disposition upon the part of such organizations to make such information readily or publicly available.

A number of these organizations have international ties. Some are actually controlled by foreign Communist powers which have, by word and deed, expressed unremitting hostility to our society.

The ideology of Marx and Lenin, to which several of them appear to adhere, teaches that there is to be no compromise with existing non-Communist governments, except only those "practical compromises" (to borrow the language of Lenin) which are necessary to accelerate the quarrels and conflicts which lead to the complete disintegration of society and the ultimate seizure of power by socialist revolutionaries.

That these organizations, and persons affiliated with them, are determined to effect a general breakdown in law and order, preparatory to their long-range objective of seizing the powers of government, is becoming increasingly apparent. In the Congress we are faced with insistent and growing demands, not only with respect to the examination and appraisal of the administration and enforcement of existing law, but also for additional legislation, including demands for constitutional amendment if necessary, to cope with the activities of those organizations and individuals who are disrupting the orderly processes of government and unlawfully disturbing the tranquility of the Nation.

We are thus faced with serious and complex problems requiring the attention of the legislative branch of the Government. In this Congress a number of bills have been introduced which are intended to cope with various aspects of the dangers posed by these revolutionary elements. A major bill, H.R. 12601, introduced by the chairman of this committee, my distinguished colleague Edwin Willis, was enacted into law in this Congress. I refer to P.L. 90-237 approved by the President on January 2, 1968, amending the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

Other bills before this House, reported by this committee, include H.R. 8 to prevent the obstruction of our Armed Forces, H.R. 735 to establish a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, H.R. 7025 to cope with organizational conspiracies, and H.R. 15626 for the protection of defense facilities. H.R. 5942, regulating the travel of subversives, and a number of related bills are pending before this committee and the Congress.

Among the questions to which we seek an answer are: Is existing legislation adequate? Is it duly administered and enforced? Is additional legislation necessary? What form should such legislation take? The answers to these important questions require the most painstaking and comprehensive investigation into all aspects and activities of such organizations and individuals.

In an effort to resolve such problems, this committee for some time has been inquiring into and conducting hearings on the varied activities of such organizations and individuals. In making inquiry today into the circumstances of the violence perpetrated in the city of Chicago during the week of August 25, 1968, on the occasion of the Democratic National Convention, we seek particularly to determine the extent to which, and the means by which, these incidents were planned, instigated, incited, and supported by Communist and other subversive organizations.

We are not interested in whether or not the news media distorted what actually happened in Chicago. We are not interested in whether the police underreacted or overreacted.

We are interested in what happened and how it happened in the city of Chicago at the Democratic National Convention.

In order to determine what legislation may be necessary and most effective in dealing with such activities, the Congress must know what organizations and individuals are involved, the objectives and purposes of such organizations and groups organized to support and assist them. The Congress must know how such organizations are created and controlled, who their key officers are, what may be their international ties, how they are financed—and that is very important. It is very difficult to find how many of these organizations are financed—how their operations at Chicago were directed and carried out, the extent to which their purposes and activities are concealed. It must also know something of the strength and scope of such organizations. In short, the Congress must know as much about them and their activities as it possibly can.

I now offer for inclusion in the record, the order of appointment of the subcommittee to conduct these hearings:

SEPTEMBER 12, 1968.

TO: MR. FRANCIS J. McNAMARA,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Richard Ichord, as Chairman, and myself, Honorable William M. Tuck, Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable Albert W. Watson, as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., commencing on or about Tuesday, October 1, 1968, and/or at such other times thereafter and places as said subcommittee shall determine, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 12th day of September, 1968 authorizing hearings concerning Communist activities within the United States, with particular reference to the extent to which, and the manner in which the incidents and acts of force and violence which occurred in the City of Chicago, Illinois, during the week of August 25, 1968, were planned, instigated, incited, or supported by Communist and other subversive organizations and individuals, and other matters under investigation by the Committee.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 12th day of September, 1968.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

With that out of the way, the Chair has been advised that it has been announced by certain individuals that there would be an attempt to disrupt these hearings.

I think I should admonish everyone in this room—and bear in mind that I am only addressing my remarks to those who would seek to disrupt these hearings—I think I should read a recent statute which has been passed by the Congress of the United States, entitled Public Law 90-108, signed into law October 20, 1967, of fairly recent origin. Subsection (b) [of section 6] of 90-108 reads as follows:

It shall be unlawful for any person or group of persons willfully and knowingly—

Subsection 4 of subsection (b) :

To utter loud, threatening or abusive language, or to engage in any disorderly or disruptive conduct, at any place upon the United States Capitol Grounds or within any of the Capitol Buildings with intent to impede, disrupt, or disturb the orderly conduct of any session of the Congress or either House thereof, or the orderly conduct within any such building of any hearing before—

And this applies to these hearings. [Continues reading:]

—any hearing before, or any deliberations of, any committee or subcommittee of the Congress or either House thereof;

Subsection (b) of section 8 reads as follows:

Any violation of section 2, 3, 4, 5, 6(b), or 7 of this Act, and any attempt to commit any such violation, shall be a misdemeanor punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both.

This statute applies to these hearings. The police have been instructed to strictly enforce Public Law 90-108. We must have order in these hearings. The business of the Congress is the people's business. The public is welcome, but there must be order maintained in these hearings. And I intend to use not only Public Law 90-108, but also all of the powers and authority vested in me as chairman of this subcommittee to see that order is maintained.

Now the Chair has identified several of the lawyers. We had a delay of several minutes in order that some of the lawyers might arrive at the hearing because I did want to give them an opportunity to hear the opening statement.

I would like at this time to address myself to the attorneys representing clients because some of you may not have had the opportunity to represent a client before a parliamentary body previously. I know that some of you have, but I want to read the Rules of the House of Representatives in regard to the functioning of counsel in the event that some of you are not acquainted with the Rules of Procedure before this committee.

Rule XI, 26(k) reads as follows:

Witnesses at investigative hearings may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.

Rule VII and Rule VIII of the rules of this committee read as follows. I now proceed to read Rule VII entitled "Advice of Counsel":

A—At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B—The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights.

He will be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights.  
[Continues reading:]

Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the Committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

Rule VIII—Conduct of Counsel :

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the Committee or Subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removal of counsel from the hearing room, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

In accordance with those Rules on October 18, 1966, the chief officer of the House of Representatives, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, made a ruling on the floor of the House of Representatives. I read from his ruling :

The Chair will also point out, parenthetically, that subsection (k) of rule XI, provides that :

that was Rule XI, 26(k)—

“Witnesses at investigative hearings may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.”

These are the words of the Speaker :

This privilege, unlike advocacy in a court, does not as a matter of right entitle the attorney to present argument, make motions, or make demands on the committee.

I would say to the counsel representing clients before this committee that the Chair is also an attorney as well as a Member of Congress, sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. And I intend to protect the constitutional rights of all witnesses appearing before this committee and give you the opportunity as counsel to represent your clients within the rules of the committee. But I think it is obvious why the rules are different from a court proceeding. This is not a court proceeding. This is a parliamentary inquiry. This I think at times has been perhaps distorted by failures of certain elements of the press to make that distinction.

No one is on trial before this body. No one is about to be punished before this body. Trials and punishment are for the courts. We are interested only in gathering facts to serve as a legislative basis. The Chair is going to enforce these rules.

Now some of the attorneys have mentioned to me that they have points of order, legal objections to present to the committee.

I would ask that the attorneys representing clients present those objections to me in writing in the form of a brief, in the form of a petition, however you wish, before 8 o'clock Thursday morning, and the Chair will have a meeting of the committee between 8 and 10 o'clock Thursday morning in order to rule on the points of order and the legal objections that you make.

I think that will be the best way to protect your interest in order for you to save your points, in order for you to save any points that you may have in litigation that might develop in the courts. But I will not hear argument from the counsel during these proceedings.

I might further for the benefit of counsel advise counsel that Rule XI, 26(m), which is always a matter of controversy between the committee and counsel representing the witness, has been considered in

the light of these hearings. Determinations have been made under rule 26(m). Rule 26(m) reads as follows:

If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—

- (1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;
- (2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and
- (3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpoena additional witnesses.

A number of the witnesses have received the rule 26(m) letter. I regret that the time element was very short but the committee is under the pressure of time. When were those rule 26(m) letters sent out, Mr. Director?

Mr. McNAMARA. On varying dates, September 23, 25, in that area.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you get those and supply them for the record? You notified them that they had until 10 o'clock Saturday night to notify the director of the committee to take advantage of the executive session hearings which were to be held yesterday, on Monday. No one appeared at those hearings.

Gentlemen, for what purpose do you rise?

Mr. KENNEDY. Point of order, if I may. I am Michael Kennedy, representing Rennie Davis and Bob Greenblatt. If the record stands with reference to rule 26(m) as stated by the chairman, then it would indicate that clients in fact received those letters.

I represent to the chairman and to the committee that insofar as my clients are concerned they did not receive those letters.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me advise the gentleman that, as I stated before, your witness will not be called any earlier than Thursday morning. Therefore, you have the opportunity to submit those points in writing to me. The committee will meet at 8 o'clock and rule on the points that you offer.

Let us proceed.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. I believe the gentleman can talk to me later. I will ask that the gentleman retire. You will be given a chance to hear those points. We are not hearing your witness. The Chair will not entertain a point of order at this time. You will be given an opportunity.

Mr. KENNEDY. A point of parliamentary procedure. I presume we are proceeding under parliamentary rules?

Mr. ICHORD. That is true.

Mr. KENNEDY. I will make a personal request for personal convenience, based on two things. No. 1, there are larger hearing rooms available to which this committee can adjourn. I am sure the chairman wants these hearings to be as public as we do. There are a great number of people outside who would like to come in. I make that request as a matter of parliamentary procedure.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule that this is the regular committee hearing room of the committee. I regret that there are more people outside than the committee room will hold. But we have had difficulty maintaining order in the past at some of these hearings.

Arrangements have been made for security so as to have order in this hearing room. The Chair will have to deny your request.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, I wish the record to reflect that there are seats available in the hearing room now that could be filled by

members of the public, relatives and friends certainly of the witnesses.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair is able to see that the room is filled. The Chair observes that there are many people standing at the present time. I will leave that up to the officers keeping the security. Will the gentleman please be seated. The gentleman is not recognized any further at this time. You will have an opportunity to make your points. Will you please be seated, sir, so that the hearings can proceed?

Mr. Counsel, call your first witness.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the first witness this morning will be Mr. Jim Gallagher, a research consultant on the committee staff who will present to the committee in summary form some of the basic facts developed in the course of his research and investigation into the factors involved in the disruption of the Democratic Party Convention held in Chicago, the week of August 25, 1968.

Will you swear the witness?

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Mr. Counsel. Will the photographers please retire. Under the Rules of the House of Representatives the photographers are permitted to take pictures before the witness is sworn. That is the ruling of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. I will have to enforce that ruling and I ask the cooperation of the members of the press.

Do you solemnly swear that this testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I do.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES L. GALLAGHER

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, will you state your full name for the record and your employment with the committee.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Yes. My name is James L. Gallagher. I have been employed approximately 5 years with this committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, what did staff research indicate was the basic purpose of the disruption in Chicago?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Staff research indicated that the basic purpose of the Chicago demonstration can perhaps best be summed up in one word, "Vietnam." Many placards, projects, and pieces of propaganda indicated that the proposals advocated by the demonstrators were clearly compatible with the policies of Hanoi, Havana, Peking, and Moscow.

The Chicago convention was used as an instrument to further this anti-Vietnam war theme.

The secondary purpose, in addition to that, was to create a breakdown of our two-party system and to bring about the creation of a third party, an independent movement to the left.

Another factor was the radicalization of America, particularly its youth, to disaffect them from their heritage and culture, to turn them against all established authority, both in the public sector and the private, whether city administration or college administration. And lastly, in general, to disrupt America's total political process, be it campaigns, conventions, elections, or the Congress itself; disruption directed at the national, State, and local levels of Government.



Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, how many groups were involved or, in other words, how big was this operation?

Mr. GALLAGHER. News accounts have put the number of groups between 100 to 300. We have here a list of 82 groups that had made plans to attend or were at Chicago. Many of these organizations were of a permanent nature, some temporary, ad hoc types, some large, some small. Some of the groups, in nature, were hippie groups, Communist Party groups, Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyite groups, Progressive Labor Party, pacifists. In short, a complete spectrum of the New Left and Old Left.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a list of such organizations assembled?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Yes, I do, Mr. Counsel.

As I said, it is a veritable litany of old and new left groups.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, may we accept this list in the record of evidence?

Mr. ICHORD. Bring it forward, Mr. Counsel.

This is a master list of organizations and publications who did what, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. Who participated in the disruptions in Chicago, in the planning and organizing.

Mr. ICHORD. The list will be accepted for the record for what it means, if there is no objection.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

#### COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1

#### LIST OF 82 ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

(\* designates groups which publicized in advance the intentions of representatives or members to participate in demonstrations during Democratic National Convention and, in some cases, to encourage others to do the same.)

- \*Ad Hoc Committee for Peace' Sake.
- American Friends Service Committee.
- Black Caucus Chicago Convention.
- Black Panthers.
- Blackstone Rangers.
- CAPAC (Cleveland Area Peace Action Council).
- Catholic Peace Fellowship.
- Center for Radical Research.
- Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE).
- Chicago Peace Council.
- \*Cincinnati Action for Peace.
- \*Cleveland Draft Resistance Union.
- \*Clergy & Laymen Concerned (also referred to as Concerned Clergy and Laymen).
- \*Coalition for an Anti-Imperialistic Movement (CO-AIM).
- Coalition for an Open Convention.
- Committee for Non Violent Action, New England.
- \*Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV).
- Communist Party, U.S.A.
- \*Concerned Citizens.
- Connecticut Peace Coalition.
- Crusade for Justice.
- \*Detroit People Against Racism.
- \*Dow Action Committee.
- Episcopal Peace Fellowship.
- Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- \*Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.
- Fifth Estate, The* (Detroit, Michigan).
- Free City Survival Committee.
- Guardian*.

High School Union.

IWMRDC.

International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver.

\*Latin American Defense Organization (LADO).

*Liberation.*

Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling, of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

\*Movement for a Democratic Society.

National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU).

National Conference for New Politics.

\*National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

National Unity for Peace.

National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

\*New University Conference.

North Shore Women for Peace.

Ohio Peace Action.

\*Parent School.

\*Peace Area Action Council (Cleveland).

\*Peace and Freedom Party.

People Against Racism.

Philadelphia Mobilization.

Progressive Labor Party.

\*Radical Organizing Committee (ROC).

Radical Women.

*Ramparts.*

RAT

RESIST.

\*Resistance.

Socialist Workers Party.

Solidarity Bookshop (Chicago).

Southern Conference Educational Fund.

\*Student Health Organization.

Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

\*Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

\*Summer of Support (SOS).

Teachers for Peace in Viet Nam.

United Black Front (UBF).

\*Veterans for Peace.

Vietnam Veterans Advisory Committee.

WRDA.

W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Washington Mobilization for Peace.

West Side Organization (WSO).

Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union.

Women for Peace.

\*Women Mobilized for Change.

Women Strike for Peace.

Women's Coalition.

Womens Co-ordinating Committee.

Workers World Party.

Young Socialist Alliance.

Youth for New America.

\*Youth International Party (YIP).

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, will there be copies for counsel?

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have extra copies of that?

Mr. SMITH. Do you have extra copies?

Mr. GALLAGHER. That is the witness' copy. That is the only one I have.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that Mr. Kunstler, representing Mr. Rubin, asked the question. Mr. Director, please reproduce this and provide a copy to Mr. Kunstler.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, in a geographical sense, how widespread was this operation?

Mr. GALLAGHER. The groups that converged on Chicago came from the East Coast, the West Coast, the South, and Midwest, from cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles. I have here a few squibs on some of the local groups. If I may, I would like to read one or two as examples of what was going on prior to Chicago, in preparation for Chicago.

#### DOW ACTION COMMITTEE

In California, for example, the Dow Action Committee, located in the city of Los Angeles, stated in a preconvention circular that in addition to supporting the general line of the program of the National Mobilization Committee—the parent sponsoring, umbrella-type group which in effect ran the show in Chicago—it would also be responsible among other specific projects to coordinate a movement-wide demonstration against Dow Chemical Company's large, Chicago-based facility.

The Dow Action Committee assured its followers in California that this operation would be one of the largest support-type operations conducted, in addition to the regular demonstrations, during convention week and that it was a great opportunity to have it offered to them.

#### CLEVELAND AREA PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

Over in the Midwest, in Cleveland, Ohio, the National Mobilization Committee [To End the War in Vietnam] worked through the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council. In fact, they worked so close that the council's letter of instruction, that is the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council's letter of instruction of August 20, on the Chicago convention, carried, in addition to the signature of its actual chairman, also another cosigner—the name of the vice chairman of the National Mobilization Committee, Dr. Sidney Peck. Mr. Peck had been the vice chairman of National Mobilization's antecedent body, the Spring Mobilization Committee, which we will go into later.

In addition to the usual instructions from this group regarding housing, food, and communications while in Chicago, the Peace Action Council indicated it would be available in Chicago to handle anticipated arrests and bail money.

It was also advised that persons trained in first aid would accompany all the major demonstrations in Chicago. Both the legal and medical aid squibs in the council's sheet of instruction for Clevelanders going to Chicago clearly indicated beyond doubt that the prospective demonstrators were expecting to confront the lawful authorities in Chicago in such a way as would require the services outlined, on behalf of their members, in this circular.

#### STUDENT HEALTH ORGANIZATION—CLEVELAND

Another group in Cleveland—note how the specialization of some of the local groups fits in—the Student Health Organization (SHO) of Cleveland was in fact the type of group which would actually administer such medical aid in Chicago.

In a memo to its Cleveland members calling for participation in demonstrations in Chicago, SHO's responsibility would be to set up first-aid stations and give medical attention to injured persons in jail.

Medical supplies would be collected in Cleveland in the preconvention period.

This, I think, is also noteworthy because it implies an intention of creating a confrontation. Its members were informed—that is, the Student Health Organization members in Cleveland—that a camera crew would be set up to take pictures of alleged police brutality and arrests in Chicago.

#### MOVEMENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A third Cleveland group that is of particular significance in showing disposition and intent prior to Chicago for a confrontation is the Movement for a Democratic Society. On August 5 the Movement for a Democratic Society met in East Cleveland to develop plans for the Chicago demonstration. This call was announced in a circular distributed by the Movement for a Democratic Society in conjunction with the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union.

The call also contained a statement that :

We are going to Chicago to stop the Democratic Party's Convention, to not allow it to take place. We want the delegates and candidates to be forced out of that Convention Hall \* \* \*.

The group was told by one of its leaders how to get the police involved and that the correct time to get these police involved would be when it is to the disadvantage of the police and to put the police in a very embarrassing situation, but at the same time make the demonstrators "look like angels to the general public."

The main idea was to put the Democratic Party in view—that is, in view of the mass media—of the entire Nation as a "very untrue form of government." Bring the troops home from Vietnam would be the demonstrators' main proposal at Chicago, this group was told.

I have other little squibs from local groups during this preconvention time. I am not going to go into all of them. There is one here from Philadelphia, which I think again is significant.

#### RADICAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE—PHILADELPHIA

In a memo sent out by the Radical Organizing Committee local in Philadelphia, it points out in addition to the housekeeping chores in Chicago, of housing, shelter, and so forth, it gives suggestions to its membership and tells them to wear sneakers, tennis shoes, for speed and boots for protection. It discusses the pros and cons of helmets to be worn in Chicago, both of the metal and plastic variety. Tips were provided on how best to protect oneself against tear gas and Mace by covering one's mouth and nose and moving upwind so that the gas will blow away from you.

It appears to be a fair assumption that this group was showing through its circulars that they were fully prepared to take extreme action at this convention calculated to bring about proportionate counteractions on the part of the police.

Mr. SMITH. Can you tell the committee which were the principal organizations involved in planning and organizing the Chicago disruption and would you give the committee a brief rundown on these organizations?

## NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

**Mr. GALLAGHER.** There were perhaps about 10 major organizations, the key organization being the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. The National Mobilization Committee is the successor organization to the Spring Mobilization Committee [To End the War in Vietnam], which was cited by this committee as a Communist-dominated organization.

The predecessor of Spring Mobilization Committee was known as the November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in Vietnam.

The November 8 Mobilization was formed at a Cleveland conference in September 1966 to "make sure that the issues of peace in Vietnam \* \* \* are forcefully injected as the primary issues of this electoral period."

On November 26, 1966, the November 8 Mobilization met again in Cleveland, Ohio, and formed the Spring Mobilization. It was and is a coalition of the Communist Party (CPUSA) and Trotskyite Communist and radical pacifist organizations. It was one of the prime organizations involved in the demonstrations held during Vietnam Week, April 8-15, 1967, and the "Days of Confrontation" of October 20-22, 1967, at which time they attempted to close down the Pentagon.

That demonstration, according to its chairman, Dave Dellinger, "marked the birth of a 'new movement' which will be more militant, more persistent, and more insistent."

**Mr. KUNSTLER.** Mr. Chairman—

**Mr. ICHORD.** Just a minute. What point do you have?

**Mr. KUNSTLER.** Making the point that if any witness friendly to this committee mentions the name of a client of mine, and Dave Dellinger is one, I want to move for the right to cross-examine this man in open session.

**Mr. ICHORD.** I have read to you, Mr. Counselor, and I shall read to you again—this is the second time you have interrupted the witness. I want to be completely fair to you, sir, but I want you to understand the rules of parliamentary procedure.

Now this witness is testifying, and I stated before this is not a court proceeding. This is not an adversary proceeding. This is the second time you have interrupted the witness with a point of order.

I read again to you Rule VII, "Advice of Counsel."

A—At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B—The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the Committee but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

"Counsel for a witness"—Rule VIII—

shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the Committee or Subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removal of counsel from the hearing room, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

Now, Mr. Counselor, this is a parliamentary proceeding. It is not a court of law. No one is on trial here. The Chair must proceed with these hearings in an orderly manner.

Under those rules and also under the Rules of the House of Representatives and the rulings of the Speaker, I will respectfully request, sir, that you save your points of order, make them in writing to me.

I do not have, under the rules of parliamentary procedure, to give the counsel that right. But you will be permitted to make them in writing, to save your points of order, your legal objections, so that if you want to proceed in court later on, in any court hearing in connection with these legislative hearings, you may do so.

But I would appeal to the gentleman at this time not to interrupt the witness or the other witnesses that may appear before this committee.

Mr. KUNSTLER. May I just say that *People versus Kinoy*, cited by the court of appeals, had indicated that counsel did have the right to participate more than the rules indicate.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me say I do not intend to argue with counsel at this point. I think the counsel well knows that Mr. Kinoy's conviction was overruled in the court of appeals strictly on a technicality. There was another statute involved which has no application at all to this hearing.

I think the gentleman well knows that, but the chairman will not argue with the counsel further. I will appeal to his standing as a member of the bar of New York, a member of the District bar, to please be seated so that the hearings can go on.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I will submit my objections in writing.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, may I rise on a point of privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has stated his ruling. I ask the gentleman to be seated. You can raise those at another time.

Mr. DAVIS. May I rise to a point of personal privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. Are you an attorney?

Mr. DAVIS. No. My name is Rennie Davis. I have been ordered to appear here.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Davis, you will be brought before the committee at the proper time. Now, gentlemen, will you please be seated.

Mr. DAVIS. My personal counsel is upstairs. If it is a parliamentary procedure as you claim, may I make a point of personal privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is not recognized at this time. You have been given a chance to testify before the committee. I read the statute, the rules, Public Law 90-108. I read the statute 90-108. I cannot permit these hearings to be disrupted further.

Will the gentleman please be seated. I appeal to your sense of decorum and propriety to please be seated at this time. You will be recognized later on.

Mr. DAVIS. Can I be recognized on a point of personal privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. You cannot be recognized at this time. You have been given an opportunity to appear before the committee. Will the gentleman please be seated.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Will he have an opportunity to comply?

Mr. ICHORD. You will be given an opportunity to comply.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I have in writing a certain procedure request that I would like to file with the Chair, if I may, in compliance with the Chair's ruling. May I be allowed to do that, sir?

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have that in writing?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I have.

Mr. ICHORD. Bring them forward.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. May the record reflect, Mr. Chairman, these are made not only on behalf of clients I represent, but on behalf of all seven subpoenaed witnesses before this committee.

May I read those procedural requests into the record at this juncture?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will be recognized later. We have a witness before the committee. I appeal to the gentleman, as a member of the bar, to please be seated. That also goes for the other counsel.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I submit this on behalf of my client, Hoffman.

Mr. ICHORD. Do we have further objections and procedural demands?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. May I file one additional document—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has announced that the counsel will not be recognized for argument. The gentleman is a member of the New York bar, and I appeal to your sense of decorum, your sense of propriety. The gentleman will be recognized at the proper time. It will be taken under consideration by the Chair.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I am attempting to comply with the Chair's ruling.

Mr. ICHORD. Bring them forward.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. May the record reflect that this document is also filed on behalf of all seven subpoenaed witnesses and is a copy of the complaint of *Renard Davis, Dave [David] Dellinger, Bob [Robert] Greenblatt, Thomas Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin* versus *Edwin E. Willis, et al.*

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have further papers to file with the Chair?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Not at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will announce that these matters will be considered at the proper time, but not at this point in the hearing.

Proceed with the questioning.

Mr. GALLAGHER. On March 24, 1968, the *New York Times* reported on a secret meeting which had been planned by the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. According to this report, 200 delegates from the Old Left, New Left, and black power leaders from coast to coast met in a wooded camp outside of Chicago to plan a coordinated antiwar effort for this election year:

High on the agenda was a discussion of strategies for disrupting the Democratic National Convention here beginning Aug. 26. Sentiment among the delegates ranged from ignoring the convention to "closing" it.

On June 29 leaders of the National Mobilization Committee said at a news conference that massive direct action demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention would signal the start of renewed activity in the antiwar movement.

David Dellinger, chairman of the committee, stated that activities at the Chicago convention would consist of a "period of several days of escalating actions climaxed by a massive mobilization at the time of the nomination."

The *Guardian* announced, too, in its July 6, 1968, issue that Rennie Davis, Chicago spokesman for the National Mobilization Committee, had announced plans to conduct demonstrations in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention.

On July 31 the National Mobilization Committee issued a letter to its supporters calling for their presence in Chicago on August

24-29. It noted that Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden were project co-directors and would head the Mobilization Chicago office which had been opened for almost 2 months. This was located at Room 315, 407 South Dearborn. It had a staff of approximately 20 to 25 people.

On August 10 the National Mobilization Committee advised its friends on what progress had been made. A schedule for the week was enclosed in the mailing along with a call to "Confront the War-makers—chicago—august 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29."

That concludes the first organization.

#### YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY—YIPPIES

The second group, another key group in Chicago, was the Youth International Party, commonly known as the Yippies.

According to an article in the September 15, 1968, issue of the *New York Times Magazine*, the Yippies were founded in January of this year at a New Year's Eve party in Greenwich Village by Jerry Rubin, Paul Krassner, Ed Sanders, Abbie Hoffman, and Keith Lampe.

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute.

Mr. Counsel, will you please be seated. The Chair has ruled several times that points of order will not be entertained at this time.

Now the gentleman is seeking to disturb the hearings. I think you are seeking to delay the hearings.

Mr. DI SUVERO. That is not so. This is the first time that my client's name has been mentioned. I would like for the purpose of the record to ask the committee to allow me to cross-examine any witnesses who appear in testimony in executive session, or otherwise, in relation to my client.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will overrule the point of order for the reasons which I stated, that this is not an adversary proceeding. This is not a court proceeding.

Now will the gentleman please stop interrupting the hearing and let the witness proceed. Let the Chair admonish the people in the audience that you are guests of the committee. It is necessary that the Chair maintain order. Boisterous conduct, laughing, emotional outbursts will not be permitted. We must proceed with the hearing.

Mr. DI SUVERO. I heard the Chair state to the committee and to the audience today the rules of the House Committee pertaining to the rights of counsel before this body.

I also heard the chairman state that he was well versed in the Constitution.

It is my suggestion, Mr. Chairman, that the various rules of the House Committee impinge upon the right of counsel and the right to cross-examine witnesses which are adversary to the clients which we represent.

I am sure that, Mr. Chairman, you are very well aware, whatever rule the House may adopt, that that rule must be in accordance with the strict constitutional mandates under which we all live.

In terms of that, Mr. Chairman, I would just like to state that I represent Thomas Hayden, I would like to make a representation for the record.

If at any time Mr. Hayden's name is mentioned by any witness before this committee, I would like to have a chance to cross-examine



that person. One of the things I believe has happened, Mr. Chairman, is that there has been created a sort of intimidating atmosphere with respect to the attorneys by the kind of comments you have made.

I think this intimidating atmosphere is reinforced by the kind of people that we are presently being visited with here in these council chambers.

MR. ICHORD. The gentleman will not be recognized further. I appeal to the gentleman as a member of the bar to please be seated. Your request is denied. There are no precedents in favor of what you state.

The rights of cross-examination do not prevail in a legislative hearing. No one is on trial here. This committee is seeking to punish no one.

Now for the last time I ask the gentleman to please be seated and not disrupt the hearings further. Will the gentleman be seated? Will the gentleman be seated? I direct the gentleman to be seated.

Proceed.

MR. GALLAGHER. Hoffman, Rubin, and Lampe have a history of being radical activists. Abbie Hoffman was active in SNCC; Jerry Rubin was one of the leaders of the Vietnam Day Committee; Lampe was a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

The purpose of the Yippies was to organize the hippies into radical political activity. The Yippies formally announced "their intention of swooping down on Chicago during the Democratic National Convention," at a news conference on March 19, 1968, according to an article in the *Washington Post* of March 20.

They reportedly declared, "We're going to Chicago not to drop out of society but to claim it as rightfully ours." However, the plans for Chicago had been set forth the previous month in an underground publication, the *Washington Free Press*. A two-page layout in its February 29 issue stated:

Even if Chicago does not burn, the paranoia and guilt of the government will force them to bring in thousands of troops, and the more troops, the better the theater.

Letters announcing what they call their "Festival of Life" and signed by Krassner, Hoffman, Rubin, and Sanders, were printed in *New Left Notes*, a publication of the Students for a Democratic Society, in the *Guardian*, and in the Communist *People's World*.

The Yippies promised that the festival would include—

daily publication of an underground paper; draft-card burners spelling out [the words] "Beat Army" with their fires; guerrilla theater—lots of it; a mock convention; hundreds of continuing small-discussion groups; and magic! \* \* \*

Other leaflets were distributed in March and later which called for donations of money, time, and talent to execute their plans for Chicago.

However, what the Yippies had been proposing as a festival of life and fun and freedom took on a new look as convention time drew near. *RAT*, R-A-T, an underground publication, reported in its undated special convention issue that:

About two and one-half weeks before the Democratic Convention, in a pre-convention funk, the Chicago yippies put out a statement saying, "It's no go". In a letter signed by most of the Chicago yippie leaders, for the Free City Survival Committee, they said, "\* \* \* Chicago may host a Festival of Blood." \* \* \*

## STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The third group, Mr. Chairman, that I would like to comment on is the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This group is generally recognized as the largest radical student organization in the United States today.

At the time of its last national convention in June 1968, SDS laid claim to some 30,000 members and about 300 local chapters in a highly decentralized operation.

SDS was only a small group, rooted in a few universities, in 1959 when it was selected as a new name for the youth arm of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy. LID's youth group had been operating intermittently since the early 1930's under the title "Student League for Industrial Democracy."

Among the policy shifts made by SDS was the abolition of a ban on Communist memberships.

In 1965 the student organization formally adopted a nonexclusion policy. Today it openly acknowledges that its members include affiliates of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as well as such Communist splinter groups as the pro-Peking-oriented Progressive Labor Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. However, in September of 1965, the League for Industrial Democracy severed all ties with the youth organization.

Michael Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn, two of the three newly elected national secretaries of the SDS, announced at a public session of the organization's June convention that they were "communists."

They insisted, however, that the word be spelled with a small "c" to distinguish SDS leadership from that of the disciplined Communist organizations having an agreed-upon ideology—the CPUSA, for example.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Most respectfully, Mr. Chairman, I would like to request of the Chair that inasmuch as my associate, Miss Bernardine Dohrn, who is here today, has been named, that she be given an opportunity to respond to her name. This is my parliamentary inquiry. I was wondering if under the rules of the committee there is such a procedure that can be made available in the interest of fairness and pursuit of the truth.

MR. ICHORD. Has Bernardine Dohrn been called as a witness before the committee?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. She has not.

MR. ICHORD. This has been brought up, Mr. Counsel—perhaps you are new before a parliamentary body—time and time again. You will not be recognized at this time. The Chair will overrule your request.

Will you please be seated, sir.

Proceed.

MR. GALLAGHER. SDS avowedly advocates "the necessity of an activist and revolutionary politics for the New Left." Its members have been extremely militant in expressing opposition to U.S. efforts to protect South Vietnam from a Communist takeover.

SDS's delegations have repeatedly traveled to Communist Cuba, and its representatives have also conferred with officials from Communist North Vietnam and the pro-Communist National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the political wing of the Viet Cong.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has charged that:

The protest activity of the new left and the SDS, under the guise of legitimate expression of dissent, has created an insurrectionary climate which has conditioned a number of young Americans—especially college students—to resort to civil disobedience and violence. \* \* \*

Mr. Hoover also revealed that the aforementioned convention of SDS last June included a workshop on sabotage and explosives. He said that participants in this workshop discussed methods to disrupt selective service facilities and law enforcement, and among the suggestions were flushing bombs down toilets to destroy plumbing; use of tripod-shaped metal instruments to halt vehicles; firing of Molotov cocktails from shotguns; and dropping “thermite bombs” down man-holes to destroy communications systems.

The SDS National Council meeting in December 1967 authorized an SDS representative to attend meetings of the National Mobilization Committee and to keep the student organization advised of plans for demonstrations at the forthcoming Democratic Convention. The leadership of SDS withheld official endorsement of the proposed mass mobilization in Chicago on the grounds that such a confrontation would project no “clear political message” and furthermore might give an impression that SDS hoped to influence the Democratic Party, whereas SDS had an aversion to both major parties.

The national interim committee of SDS met on the weekend of July 19, 1968, nevertheless, to work out a strategy for the Democratic Convention and decided to present official SDS participation in the confrontation in terms of week-long recruiting activity by SDS organizers.

SDS leaders predicted some 200 to 500 organizers would arrive in Chicago under this primarily “educational” program. At the same time, as SDS leaders observed—

it is unreal to expect SDS people coming to Chicago not to get involved in the Mobilization demonstrations.

and

despite our lack of enthusiasm for the Mobilization demonstration, it is clear that if movement people are attacked by police, our organizers won't be off in an office writing the “History of the Tactical Failures of the Democratic Convention Protest.”

National Secretary Klonsky and others writing in SDS publications announced the National Mobilization Committee had assigned to SDS five “Movement centers” in Chicago where persons would gather to discuss ideas and actions. A daily wall newspaper as well as a special issue of the SDS publication, *New Left Notes*, was promised and was eventually issued.

“Many individual SDS organizers will be in the streets,” Klonsky announced on August 5, 1968. A warning from the Chicago area SDS office on the same date expressed hope that—

wherever possible SDS people will organize support demonstrations with their local constituencies—especially if Daley's Pigs start rioting in the streets of Chicago. \* \* \*

SDS people coming to Chicago were also advised to—

find out what your blood type is before you come and carry an identification card with that blood type on it.

On August 28, 1968, Radio Havana, in Cuba, conducted a telephone interview with SDS National Secretary Klonsky, who reportedly made the following statement in Chicago:

We have been fighting in the streets for four days. Many of our people have been beaten up, and many of them are in jail, but we are winning. \* \* \*

That concludes the third major organization, Mr. Chairman.

#### CHICAGO PEACE COUNCIL

The next group is the Chicago Peace Council. Among the local groups throughout the country which promoted planned demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in August, the Chicago Peace Council was perhaps the most active.

Its geographical location in the host city for the convention was, of course, one factor. More significant, however, was its organizational experience which the Chicago Peace Council contributed to the National Mobilization Committee's program of confrontation at that Democratic Convention.

It was the Chicago Peace Council, it should be recalled, which had issued a national call for, and then hosted a meeting of, young people throughout the U.S. in Chicago in December 1966. The purpose of the council's meeting at that time was to generate support for a nationwide student strike against the war in Vietnam proposed by Bettina Aptheker (Mrs. Jack Kurzweil), a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

The Chicago Peace Council itself was characterized last year in a report prepared by the committee staff, entitled *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week*, as follows:

The Chicago Peace Council, organized in the summer of 1965, is run by a mixed group of Communists (both the Moscow and Trotskyist variety), pacifists, and individuals from the so-called New Left. \* \* \*

Operationally, the council follows a united front policy, cooperating and participating in projects with pacifist groups, front organizations, and Communists.

Its activities as the host group for Aptheker's student project and other pro-Viet Cong programs provided the council with suitable organizational credentials to aid the key sponsor at the Chicago convention demonstrations, namely, the National Mobilization Committee, with many of the routine but necessary details and chores, such as housing, preparing maps, communications, and so forth.

Jack Spiegel, a top official of the Chicago Peace Council, was identified as a member of the CPUSA before this committee in 1964 by an informant of the FBI.

#### RADICAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The fifth group, Mr. Chairman, a group which I touched on before in a local way, was a seminational group called the Radical Organizing Committee (ROC) headquartered in Philadelphia. ROC was formed by a group of about 100 persons who walked out of a meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam (SMC). Disruption of the organization occurred on June 29 [1968] at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City. Five national officers walked

out and charged that the Young Socialist Alliance had stacked the meeting.

The YSA—Young Socialist Alliance—is the youth arm of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite Communist organization which had been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the U.S.

Two of the national officers who walked out of that meeting, Phyllis Kalb and Paul Friedman, were members of the Communist Party. The group which walked out on SMC quickly formed the Radical Organizing Committee. It has been announced that the organization would support the liberation movements throughout the world of all oppressed people. It would also support the fight for student power.

Student Mobilization, it will be remembered, was formed as a result of the conference to call a national student strike—the one proposed by Aptheker in December 1966.

That proposal for a national student strike was completely Communist in origin. SMC was Communist dominated from its inception. There were Communists from both the CPUSA and the SWP in SMC until June 29, 1968. Trotskyites now in control have declared their intention to keep it a single-issue organization—demonstrating and agitating solely against the war in Vietnam.

On August 12 Steve Scher, S-c-h-e-r, of the Radical Organizing Committee staff, which is headquartered in Philadelphia, stated in a letter that ROC intended to participate in organized demonstrations at the Democratic Convention.

#### THE RESISTANCE

The sixth group, Mr. Chairman, is the group known as The Resistance. A handbill dated May 17 [1967] stated that:

THE RESISTANCE is a group of men who are refusing any cooperation with the draft. We are organizing now across the country for a dramatic "NO!" to the draft on Oct. For information contact THE RESISTENCE in Berkeley [California]. \* \* \*

By October 1967 The Resistance boasted that it had organized a mass protest. Its members throughout the country were to turn in their draft cards on October 16. Its handbill stated that:

The Resistance is a nation-wide movement organized to encourage resistance to, disruption of, and non-cooperation with the warmaking machinery of the United States.

On August 13, 1968, the New York City chapter of The Resistance was scheduled to meet to discuss its Chicago plans according to the [August 6, 1968,] Communist *Daily World* publication.

The New England Resistance also distributed handbills on August 18 announcing their intention to go to Chicago. They stated that they would "operate a movement center to coordinate demonstrations against appropriate targets."

The handbill carried the addresses of the movement office in Cambridge and the proposed center in Chicago during the convention.

#### FIFTH AVENUE VIETNAM PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE

The seventh group, Mr. Chairman, is the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. This group has declared itself to be the New York arm of the National Mobilization Committee.

Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker are coordinators of the Fifth Avenue Committee. Dellinger, of course, is also chairman of the National Mobilization Committee.

The Committee on Un-American Activities pointed out in its report entitled *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week* that the Fifth Avenue Committee had a "mixed group of identified Communists, notorious fellow travelers, and pacifists in its leadership."

The organization had provided housing in New York City for the Student Mobilization Committee until July 1968. At that time, a split between the CPUSA group and the Trotskyites in the Student Committee resulted in a walkout by the Communists (CPUSA) and the pacifists and a Trotskyist (SWP) takeover of the Student Mobilization Committee.

The group which walked out "quickly formed a new organization called the Radical Organizing Committee," previously mentioned, stated the *New York Times* of July 14, 1968. The Fifth Avenue Committee promptly evicted SMC from its headquarters. In early August the Fifth Avenue Committee issued a letter and flyer, calling on its followers to "confront the warmakers" in Chicago.

The letter, which was actually a progress report on plans for disrupting the Democratic National Convention, was signed by Linda Morse for the staff. Miss Morse, you will recall, was the executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee.

The letter reported that housing was being arranged in Chicago and transportation from New York to Chicago was being organized by the Fifth Avenue Committee, which announced that it was organizing busloads of demonstrators to go to Chicago and that car pools were also being coordinated.

The committee appealed for contributions to help pay the \$34 fare for persons who wanted to demonstrate in Chicago. The *New York Times* reported that 200 demonstrators, most of whom were equipped with helmets, left Union Square aboard two buses on August 26.

#### MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The eighth group, Mr. Chairman, is the Medical Committee for Human Rights. The Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) was formed in July 1964 at the request of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) in Mississippi, to provide emergency medical aid for civil rights workers injured while serving in the South. According to MCHR's former national chairman, Dr. Aaron O. Wells, the group was designed to serve as the medical arm of the civil rights movement.

Subsequent activities of the organization, however, have indicated a much broader scope. In June of this year, for example, members of MCHR attempted to disrupt the annual meeting of the American Medical Association in San Francisco. Further, the Medical Committee has become increasingly involved in the antiwar movement. It was

included in a list of Vietnam peace committees in the United States compiled during the summer of 1966 by the staff of the National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam. It played a significant role in organizing legal-medical teams to support those involved in the October 21, 1967, massive demonstration on the Pentagon, organized by the National Mobilization Committee.

Most recently, the Medical Committee, working in conjunction with a group known as the Student Health Organization (SHO), the one I previously mentioned in Cleveland, organized medical aid for demonstrators injured in Chicago during the National Democratic Convention.

The Communist news weekly, *Guardian*, reported in its issue dated September 21, 1968, that the Medical Committee had a staff in excess of 400 doctors, nurses, and medical students in Chicago during the disorders.

The Medical Committee has vigorously disputed Mayor Daley's version of the disorders, particularly his estimates of the number of those injured, claiming some 1,000 people were injured during the demonstrations as against an official estimate of 60. In attacking this estimate, Medical Committee spokesman, Dr. Quentin Young, cast aspersions on the entire version of the city's official position as to the violence and its results.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. A point of parliamentary privilege. I represent Dr. Young. On his behalf I would like to ask the Chair that any information pertaining to Dr. Young or to the Medical Committee for Human Rights be produced for our inspection and that we also have the right to cross-examine any witnesses who have any information concerning Dr. Young or the Medical Committee.

Mr. ICHORD. At this time the Chair will have to overrule the request of the counsel for Mr. Young. Mr. Young has been subpoenaed before this committee. He will be given the opportunity to deny or refute or explain away any of the testimony given against him in this hearing.

I would further point out that the committee took up the matter of subpoenaing Dr. Young since he had not been mentioned before or considered in committee hearings previously.

A rule 26(m) letter was sent to him, mailed to him on September 20, 1968, addressed to Dr. Quentin David Young, 1512 East 55th Street, Chicago, Illinois, in which he was given an opportunity to appear in executive session, and not a public session, to deny, explain, or refute any of the testimony that had been given against him in executive session also.

Dr. Quentin David Young did not avail himself of the opportunity to have that executive hearing. Therefore, rule 26(m) has been fully complied with by the committee.

The Chair will have to overrule your request.

Proceed.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The membership of the Medical Committee appears to be fairly sizable. As of June 1968 the *New York Times* estimated it at about 5,000.

However, in articles in that newspaper and in the Communist newspaper, *Guardian*, subsequent to events in Chicago, the figure rose to some 7,000 persons. The organization's main office is in New York City, but the largest single chapter, with about 600 members, is in Chicago.

#### RAMPARTS

The ninth group, Mr. Chairman, is the role of the publication, *Ramparts*, at the Democratic Convention. *Ramparts* is a radical, revolutionary magazine of the New Left which was uncharacteristically silent during the first 7 months of 1968 concerning the Democratic Convention.

Its special role, however, in Chicago became evident a few weeks before the convention commenced because local groups affiliated with the National Mobilization Committee made mention in their pre-convention circulars of the forthcoming role that *Ramparts* would play.

The Dow Action Committee in California, for example, stated that it would provide reportorial and technical aid to *Ramparts* while in Chicago. Other local groups made mention in their respective preconvention instruction sheets that *Ramparts* would provide the principal source of information for the demonstrators in Chicago.

*Ramparts'* proposed plans included a newspaper which would be published from August 24 to August 29. Its initial run would be approximately 20,000 copies at 10 cents each.

*Ramparts'* top staff personnel were to be sent to Chicago, including both the editor and managing editor and several reporters. The various movement centers set up in Chicago would provide *Ramparts* with a distribution network. *Ramparts* stated, however, that :

David Canter [C-a-n-t-e-r] has lines [sic] up our production facilities for us, and has been a great help. We wouldn't be anywhere without him. \* \* \*

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, a check of the committee files reveals the following information concerning David Simon Canter just mentioned by the witness.

David Canter appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 12, 1962, and refused to answer any questions propounded to him regarding past or present membership in the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Canter was subpoenaed to appear before the committee regarding the Chicago publishing firm, Translation World Publishers, which he jointly owned with LeRoy Wolins, an identified Communist. Translation World Publishers was an outlet for the distribution of Soviet propaganda.

The committee found that this publishing house was subsidized by Soviet funds and was created by known Communists to serve the propaganda interests of the U.S.S.R.



Translation World Publishers was initially formed for the purpose of publicizing the admissions made by U-2 pilot Gary F. Powers during his trial in Moscow.

Canter and Wolins failed——

Mr. ICHORD. Let the counsel suspend for just a minute.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Is counsel for the committee going to testify or is the witness going to testify?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will please be seated. The gentleman is interrupting the committee. Please be seated.

The point of order is not recognized at this time.

Mr. Wulf, I believe in your request you also requested the opportunity to subpoena additional witnesses. Is that correct, sir?

Mr. WULF. No, sir. I want to know who the witnesses were who had information pertaining to Dr. Young and to request production of all records pertaining to the committee and Dr. Young.

Mr. ICHORD. The ruling will stand. Dr. Young will have an opportunity to deny or refute any of the testimony about his activities.

I thought that you had made a request under 26(m) for the right to subpoena additional witnesses. The committee would receive those and consider them, because we would welcome additional testimony about the activities that went on in Chicago.

Mr. WULF. If you will advise who the witnesses against Dr. Young are, we will be pleased to subpoena them if we will be granted the right to cross-examine them.

Mr. ICHORD. If you have those requests, submit them to the Chair. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. HOFFMAN. A point of information, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will please be seated. Mr. Hoffman, the Chair does not intend to argue with you at this time. I do not intend for the hearing to be disrupted.

Mr. SMITH. Canter and Wolins failed to comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act in publishing two of their pro-Soviet books, *The Trial of the U-2*, *The Case Against General Heusinger*.

During his appearance before the committee, Canter refused to answer any questions relative to the publication of both of these books. Canter was listed in the 1960 and 1962 editions of the *Lawyers Referral Directory*, a publication of the National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist-front organization. He was involved both in public relations work for the National Conference for New Politics, NCNP, and as the editor of NCNP's newspaper, *New Politics News*, during its convention held August 29 to September 4, 1967.

The NCNP is a New Left-oriented group which is heavily infiltrated by members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and other subversive organizations.

Mr. Gallagher, what does staff research show regarding the length of time spent by these organizations on planning and organizing the Chicago disruption?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I just want to conclude the last of the 10 major groups.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with your summary.

(At this point Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

#### COMMUNIST PARTY. U.S.A.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The final and last group, surely by no means the least, is the Communist Party, U.S.A.

During the months of planning and preparation for Chicago the Communist Party, through its controlled press and judicious use of concealed functionaries, played an important and continuing role. This was the logical outgrowth of two key elements in the Communist program: an unyielding agitational and propaganda campaign against our Vietnam involvement, and an equally determined attempt to demonstrate the alleged total bankruptcy of our political processes.

As these hearings will show with conclusive documentary and testimonial evidence, the Communist Party, along with several rival Communist groups, was deeply involved in the advance preparation made for Chicago. Time and again party functionaries, together with agents of other groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers World Party, were present at secret planning sessions, rendering organizational expertise and other necessary forms of assistance.

Further, while carefully avoiding outright endorsement of disruption or violence in Chicago, the Communist press served as an invaluable source of information for those groups that were committed to such a course of action in Chicago. Thus, the pages of *The Worker*, the *Daily World*, the *Guardian*, and, to a lesser extent, *The Militant*, gave feature coverage to the plans of such groups as the National Mobilization Committee, SDS, and the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. Participants in the projected demonstrations could always turn to the key Communist press for such essential information as transportation arrangements, meeting places, and the course of action to be followed during the demonstrations. It should be pointed out that the anti-Vietnam war theme, pressed at Chicago, was tailor made to fit the overall Communist strategy as indicated by a long series of party directives on the subject, going back to at least 1964. This is an exhibit of a collection of such party directives on Vietnam which I would like to submit for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the exhibit be accepted as Committee Exhibit No. 2.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2

DIRECTIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., CONCERNING THE WAR IN VIETNAM

AUGUST 19, 1964.

TO ALL DISTRICTS:

On August 7th our Party issued a statement condemning the military aggression by the United States against North Vietnam and the danger of a world nuclear conflagration created by such an attack.

That statement in full was published in *The Worker* of August 11 and called for all people "to speak out for peace" and for "all peoples organizations, trade unions, churches \* \* \* to speak out before it is too late."

We called for meetings, petitions, letters, telegrams to be sent to President Johnson, the Senators and Congressmen urging negotiation and the settlement of all the issues through the existing machinery of the 14-power Geneva conference and the good offices of the United Nations."

During the weekend of August 8-9, there were many peace actions which raised the slogans of "No More Hiroshimas. End War in Vietnam." Meetings were held in Washington Square in New York, the Boston Common, and other places. Picket lines and peace walks were also held in some cities. Full-page ads were placed in Chicago papers. Statements have been published in newspapers. Leaflets have been issued. TV and radio programs have been promoted. There are many forms through which the broader mass movement has expressed the peace demand. All of this needs encouragement. We also want to know what has been done in your locality and what is being planned to help influence policy toward the negotiation of a peaceful settlement.

We also want to know what activities have been conducted by our Party and by the Left forces. What use was made of our statement, what leaflets have been issued, what articles from *The Worker* have been reprinted, what statements have been issued and by whom. Let us also know what activities are planned for this in relation to the election campaign and which identify our positive contribution to the struggle for peace.

It is obvious that the danger of expansion of the war in Southeast Asia remains high and that this and similar foreign policy issues will be central in the election campaign. In view of this situation and our special responsibilities because of the role of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, we urge even greater initiative to stimulate pressure for a negotiated settlement and the convening of the 14-nation conference.

Fraternally yours,

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

NOVEMBER 25, 1964.

TO ALL DISTRICTS:

## MEMO—ON END THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM

1. The demand for peace is a key point in the election mandate and any implementation of that demand calls for an end to the war in South Vietnam. The vote against Goldwater was a vote against reckless brinkmanship, a vote against the very proposals which are now being advanced by Gen. Maxwell Taylor.

The demand for the end of the war in South Vietnam comes immediately on the agenda, and is urgent because of the scheduled policy conferences starting on November 27 with President Johnson and including Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary McNamara, General Taylor, the Pentagon, and others.

The real danger—and the major threat—is that the Taylor proposals would escalate the war into a world nuclear war. Such a threat places South Vietnam as a top priority and the urgent point for all mankind. This is no narrow demand for the organized peace forces.

In presenting this demand it is essential to call attention to certain additional facts. The demand for peace comes from all parts of the world. It is the agonized cry of the people of South Vietnam. This is demonstrated again and again by the people on the streets of Saigon as well as in all parts of that country. One puppet government after the other cannot cover up the demand for peace, for an end to war.

That war has brought suffering and terror to the mass of people in that country. Our government is held responsible for napalm bombing, the strafing of villages, the destruction of food supplies by chemical warfare, the imprisonment of popula-

tions in stockaded concentration camps, the brutal torture of prisoners, and the senseless killing of people.

Our own soldiers have been killed in battle. And any escalation can mean that thousands of American troops will be in battles. This warning is made in a New York Times editorial of November 25 which warns that the proposals of General Taylor imply "a willingness to send as many as eight American divisions to defend South Vietnam," and warns, "it could involve war with Communist China."

This could mean a world nuclear war. That policy must be rejected. This must be the occasion for the beginning of an opposite course—a peace policy as the will of the American people.

II. Millions of Americans have demanded Peace: For 10 years, the people of South Vietnam have been denied their right of self-determination and the application of the terms of the Geneva agreement which promised free elections within 2 years.

For 10 years mass organizations and individuals have demanded that the military intervention and war in South Vietnam be ended. During these years thousands have signed petitions, sent letters to the editor, placed ads in newspapers and participated in all kinds of activities which have involved people of varied political persuasions and from all walks of life. It is partly on this base that the immediate mass expression of the people should be organized.

III. In the immediate situation, there is the need for mass demonstrative action, such as picket lines and vigils which can dramatize the issue to the American people. The youth of our country undoubtedly will welcome the opportunity to participate in such forms.

Certain mass professional peace organizations in which many people of varied views today participate are sending delegations to Washington in an effort to see the President or the Secretary of State and to place the demand for peace. This is also true in regard to many prominent individuals who have been making telephone calls and visiting public officials.

It is urgent that every form be used to bring the peace plea to the President, and we should aid in organizing cooperation with all organizations to this end. In some cities peace vigils have been organized, such as at Times Square in New York. In other cities plans are made for mass meetings. Some organizations have mass petitions and a mass mailing of post cards and letters. There should be cooperation on all of these.

Campus activities are very important. This applies both to student meetings, articles in the student newspapers as well as distribution of leaflets and participation in peace walks.

Many congressmen were elected on the basis of a peace program. All congressmen and senators should be visited during these crucial days. Immediate actions should be organized with a perspective of continued activity until peace is established.

To achieve this, the main forces of the trade union movement, the Negro people's movement, the youth and religious organizations are finally decisive. At this time church and other organizations raise the question of Peace on Earth and the key test is, of course, what they say on Vietnam. Many youth will plan on sending delegations to Washington during the Christmas holidays. The key on this is Vietnam.

We will be issuing a mass piece of literature in the form of a small leaflet giving our point of view on Vietnam. We are also preparing now for a supplement to the Worker and for the writing of a more basic piece of literature which combines the issues involved in Vietnam with those involved in the Congo and the need for a change in U.S. foreign policy so as to have our country express the will of the people for peace.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

DECEMBER 3, 1964.

TO ALL DISTRICTS:

DEAR COMRADES: While the proposals of Gen. Maxwell Taylor to extend the war into North Vietnam at the reckless risk of a world nuclear war did not get open administration support or repudiation, he was returned to his post. Taylor and his immediate supporters should have been removed in accord with the de-

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

mand made by Senator Wayne Morse. The danger of all-out war continues and must be defeated.

The popular movement to end the war in South Vietnam was intensified during the past 2 weeks and got some results. The mass actions in Washington, D.C., New York, and other areas, and the many declarations and statements to the President are now being followed up by more actions in the cities and on the campus. These are becoming so effective that the HUAC and the ultra-Right sections of the press are trying to smear and suppress the peace demands of the people.

This means that much more attention must be given to sustained and growing activity.

We urge special attention immediately to the full use of the "Peace on Earth" expression of the people during this month. Undoubtedly, the various peace organizations will be calling on the religious leaders to devote one Sunday this month to a sermon on ending the war in South Vietnam and to halting the military intervention of the Congo as a practical application of the universal peace theme. The action of Rev. Martin Luther King and others in presenting the peace demand to the President and the speeches of Pope Paul with the emphasis on peace are important declarations which represent the desires of millions of Americans. Such declarations are a challenge to labor and other sections of the population to speak out for peace.

It is reported that trade unions in other parts of the world are dedicating the weekend of December 20 to the slogan of "End the War in South Vietnam." It is also reported that many church and religious organizations are using this same weekend for this peace theme. We want to know what is being planned, as well as what has been done, by labor, youth, and women as well as church and professional peace organizations in your area to make the greatest use of these days when the world is calling for "Peace on Earth."

During these days when Congressmen and Senators are at home—what delegations are visiting them with peace petitions and resolutions?

And during these days, when the youth are still on the campus, what plans are being made to send delegations to Washington for peace activity during the Christmas holidays? During recent years, the student peace organizations have utilized these days for such a purpose.

This deserves immediate attention. Every phase of this campaign must be followed up.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

DECEMBER 8, 1964.

To ALL DISTRICTS :

Our letter of December 3 emphasized the need for all sections of the population to speak out "to end the war in South Vietnam." Every event makes this more urgent.

We also urged that special efforts be made for mass activities and expressions for peace during the weekend of December 19 and 20 with the theme "Peace on Earth" being applied to South Vietnam.

Since writing that letter, the enclosed "Appeal to the Conscience of America" has come to our attention. This deserves wide support. It is undoubtedly being sent to many people in your area.

Please keep us informed as to all developments on this campaign for peace, and as to what activities are being planned by the varied peace forces in your area.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

MARCH 2, 1965.

To ALL DISTRICTS :

DEAR COMRADES: Obviously the major crisis facing the American people at the present time is the threat of a world nuclear war arising from the escalation of the unjust war in South Vietnam to North Vietnam. The escalation

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

is not only in the form of territory but also in its brutality and its use of weapons. The bankruptcy of U.S. policy and the failure to have any support for that policy among the people is one of the reasons for the stepped up military aggression. The so-called white paper indicates the crisis.

Every step must be taken quickly to express every form of protest against this threatened world war.

We are enclosing a graphic folder which can be ordered directly from Massachusetts. We are also enclosing a memorandum on the trial of March 16 and the Assembly of the Accused on March 15. We are also enclosing a copy of the recent Truman radio program.

Please let us know what is happening in these fields.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

MARCH 5, 1965.

TO ALL DISTRICTS :

Once in many years a book is capable of being a significant factor in changing history. Wilfred Burchett's "Viet Nam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War" is such a book. The crucial character for all social progress in the U.S. of ending the brutal U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam makes the book so important. Its appearance at this moment and the nature of the book as an eyewitness account of the character of the war all demand that anything but a routine approach be used in promoting its circulation.

There are, of course, an endless variety of ways to promote its use. One District has bought over 500 copies at \$2.50 a book and is selling it to its clubs at \$3.50 a copy. This enables the District to guarantee itself against a loss and permits the club to make some money, since they sell it for retail at \$4.95. Every club is urged to buy at least two copies, one to be sold within the club and one to club contacts. In addition, a fund is being raised from friends to enable the District to give the book free to some key local people in the peace, trade union, Negro, and youth fields who would not otherwise buy it. The District is also mailing out to their local list several hundred copies of the attractive advertising brochure that is enclosed.

The prices are as follows either to a local bookstore or to the District :

1-4 copies : 25 percent discount.

5-9 copies : 1/3 discount.

10-499 copies : 40 percent discount.

500 and over : 50 percent discount (or \$3 apiece to District, including shipping).

Retail price: \$4.95 clothbound.

Reasonable quantities of the advertising brochure for sending out to a mailing list can be acquired from: International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y., 10016.

Sale of the book, we understand, is moving so rapidly that the first edition is nearly sold out and there will be a delay before new edition appears. So get in your order and money rapidly.

*April 17, 1965, Vietnam march on Washington*

The enclosed call has come to our attention. This event is shaping up as the biggest single action calling for an end to the war in Vietnam. We understand that Women's Strike for Peace and other adult as well as youth groups have endorsed it and are making an all-out mobilization of people to produce thousands of people in Washington, D.C., on April 17, from the Midwest, East, and even token representation from the West Coast.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT.

MARCH 31, 1965.

MEMO TO ALL DISTRICTS FROM NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT :

At this writing, the war drums are being beaten very loudly in connection with the current visit of General Taylor. All indications point to an attempt to escalate much further the atrocious war in Vietnam. As a result, within the framework of a generally very dangerous situation for world peace, this is an especially critical moment.

We urge as many protest actions, big and small, as possible pinpointed at the Taylor visit. Despite the horror of the world at the use of nausea gas, "lazy

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

dog" and other weapons of a genocidal type and the growing isolation of the United States, the administration refuses to indicate a willingness to negotiate an end to the war, an end which, of course, can only come based on the United States withdrawing its military forces. Instead, it plans new provocations.

April 17th is becoming the major point of concentration, not only for youth but also for adults in peace organizations, in many other circles, and among the Left, including the Communists. In the East and Midwest, the main drive is to get maximum participation in the march to Washington, D.C., sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society and endorsed in most cities by Women's Strike for Peace, SANE, DuBois Clubs, etc. In some cities, there will be a city march with speakers to send the travelers off to Washington.

On the West Coast, parallel actions are being organized and the point for Vietnam protests by the more advanced forces undoubtedly will be May Day.

In connection with these developments, it is important to examine at all levels whether we are living up to our responsibilities and character as a Party of action, including strong protest. At each new stage, such as the announcement of the use of gas, did we react everywhere with sharp protests, mobilizing our forces on an emergency basis as a first step toward our mobilizing many others?

Such ongoing examination and improvement and correction is necessary to build the Party in the course of struggle.

New Outlook Publishers has just published a new pamphlet on Vietnam by Betty Gannett. We have been informed that the orders for this very important and timely pamphlet are very small and in many cases no order whatsoever has been placed. Only the Illinois order indicates anything more than a routine approach of sale to some of our own people and slightly beyond.

The orders do not reflect plans to sell or distribute pamphlets widely at the April 17th events and the many other meetings and actions, or to put out a substantial mailing. While we have often tended to treat everything as an emergency, if we are going to treat the Vietnam question in a routine manner, then what is a crucial question for extraordinary measures?

SEPTEMBER 10, 1965.

TO ALL DISTRICTS:

I. To strengthen the campaign to end the war in Vietnam and for greater unity of all peace forces, the following slogans should be used:

1. End the War in Vietnam!
2. Stop U.S. Aggression Against Vietnam!
3. Bring Our Boys Home!
4. Withdraw All U.S. Troops!  
Let the People of Vietnam Determine their Own Affairs!
5. End Bombings! Stop Escalation!  
Create the Climate for Meaningful Negotiations with the National Liberation Front!
6. Halt all Acts of Torture!  
End Gas and Chemical Warfare!
7. Restore the 1954 Geneva Accord for the Independence and Unification of Vietnam!
8. Peace in Asia! Recognize People's China!  
Give China its Rightful Place in the U.N.!
9. U.S. Imperialist Aggression in Vietnam Endangers World Peace!

Of course, local conditions will largely determine which slogans may be most effective for specific meetings, leaflets, or demonstrations.

II. Gus Hall's "Open Letter to President Johnson" which was published in The Worker of September 12, is being reprinted in leaflet form in 100,000 copies as a public service by The Worker, for mass distribution.

It can be ordered by the districts and other organizations from this office or from The Worker at \$5.00 per thousand. Send money with your order. Give this immediate attention.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORG., DEPT.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

January 8, 1968

To All Districts &amp; Leading Youth:

Re: International Student Strike<sup>1/</sup>

Just a reminder that a conference is being held in Chicago sponsored by the Student Mobilization to discuss an international student strike. This conference will take place on January 27-29 at the University of Chicago, in Chicago. All indications are that it will be one of the most significant conferences in the student movement. Thousands of invitations have been sent out including more than 300 to Black student groups.

At the recent SDS Convention it was decided that while national SDS did not really "like" the idea of the strike, if one took place it would not oppose it as SDS has on previous national mobilizations. Instead SDS would try to find some way to integrate it into their Call for ten days of resistance in April.

SDS representatives will be attending the conference to argue their approach. This development has resolved a number of problems but important questions still remain.

Still unresolved are the basic questions of:

1. Whether in addition to "disruptive type" actions involving the more left, there will be a militant action which can reach out to hundreds of thousands (such as a student strike).
2. Whether such a movement will work for an alliance with Black students. And in general whether some attempts will be made by the Peace movement to deal with the racist attacks against itself and the whole movement.

At this point the possibilities for winning these points look good. But they are still unresolved and will require a lot of debate.

We urge all young Communists to build this conference, to organize as many students to go as possible and to guarantee Black student attendance.

The Du Bois Clubs has called a meeting of interested young people to discuss approaches to this conference. Their meeting will be held January 27-29 in Chicago.

In a previous memo we requested that you send us information on what you are doing to mobilize for this conference and also a list of students from your area to be proposed for a new Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization.

If you haven't already answered, please rush this information to us immediately.

Black Youth Conference

There will be a Black Youth Conference in Chicago. This Conference is an outgrowth of a series of regional conferences organized from the Newark Black Power Conference.

The dates are: February 3-5 in Chicago, at the University of Chicago.

Specific issues in question are not known, but as soon as more information is received it will be sent out.

Mike Zagarell  
For National Youth Commission

<sup>1</sup> [Committee Note: The International Student Strike, which is the subject of this Communist Party directive, was proposed by Bettina Aptheker, a member of the Communist Party's National Committee, for the purpose of protesting the Vietnam War (see Committee Report, *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)*.)]



COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the parties that have been subpoenaed, may counsel be supplied with copies of that exhibit?

Mr. Chairman, I seem to observe also that the witness seems to be testifying from prepared testimony. If that is the case, Mr. Chairman, we would like to have copies of that testimony made available to us.

The other request I have, Mr. Chairman, is listed in terms of what the Chair said to me when I got up earlier. That is, that we would make the request, Mr. Chairman, to have at least one television camera posed in this room so that an accurate reporting can be made on both sound and film of whatever transpires in this room.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will advise the counsel that the Rules of the House of Representatives prohibit the televising of proceedings in a committee of the House of Representatives. The Chair is bound by that rule. The Chair will enforce the rule.

In regard to the request of the gentleman for a copy of this document, Mr. Director, will you reproduce this and give him a copy of the document.

Do you have further requests?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I didn't hear the Chair's ruling on the witness' prepared testimony, as to whether we may have a copy.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is giving summary testimony of the activity of certain organizations that participated in the organization and the planning of the Chicago disturbance. The Chair realizes that much of this testimony is judgment and opinion. It will be accepted for what it is worth. The Chair will ask the gentleman to be seated, and the counsel will proceed with the questioning of the witness.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Do I take it, Mr. Chairman, you deny the request?

Mr. ICHORD. The request is denied; yes.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, do you have anything else to add?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Not on the major groups; no.

Mr. SMITH. What does staff research show regarding the length of time spent by these organizations on planning and organizing the Chicago disruption? In other words, how early did these groups start their planning?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Generally speaking, the major groups involved began their preparations for Chicago during the winter of 1967-1968. Actually, some may have started earlier, but based on what we have that appears to be a relatively good approximation.

The earliest evidence of clearly subversive involvement in plans to disrupt the Democratic Convention uncovered in the course of research for this hearing was provided in a meeting of the New York chapter of the National Conference for New Politics, which took place at the Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on October 17, 1967. This was just 9 days after it had been announced that the Democratic Party Convention would be held in Chicago and just 4 days before the October 21, 1967, Pentagon demonstration.

The facts about what took place at this meeting were published in two columns written by the syndicated columnist Alice Widener and published in various newspapers throughout the United States. One

of the columns was published as early as October 20 and the other appeared in early December. Alice Widener wrote in her unchallenged and uncontested columns that plans for disrupting the [National Democratic] Convention were discussed at the meeting just mentioned.

She revealed that John J. Abt, a member of the national committee of the National Conference for New Politics, was not only a speaker at this meeting, but that he dominated it.

Other speakers were Seymour Copstein, C-o-p-s-t-e-i-n, and Laird Cummings. Several speakers mentioned "disruption" of the convention and—

boasted that the forthcoming demonstration at the Pentagon would serve as valuable experience in testing tactics for Chicago next August where "a real showdown" could be achieved. \* \* \*

Abt announced that the strategy and tactics for the Democratic Convention would be discussed at later meetings of the NCNP.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, a check of the committee files reveals the following information concerning the individuals just named by the witness.

First, John J. Abt. Whittaker Chambers testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948 that in the early 1930's John Abt was a member of the Ware-Abt-Witt group, which was composed of members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., employed by various agencies of the United States Government. Abt held legal positions with several Federal agencies from 1933 to 1938. Chambers stated that this underground Communist group to which Abt belonged was organized to implement the CPUSA's plan to work its members into high policymaking positions in the Federal Government with espionage as one of its objectives.

Elizabeth Bentley, who served as a courier between Soviet agents and Communist employees of the U.S. Government in the early 1940's, testified before the committee in 1948 that Abt was the leader of the Perlo group, an underground organization composed of Communists which had been operating since the early 1930's in the Federal Government and which had been collecting intelligence information for the benefit of the Soviet Union for a number of years. Abt is the CPUSA's principal lawyer. He has signed numerous public statements in support of the Communist Party and has been affiliated with a great number of its front organizations. Abt is currently a member of the executive committee of the National Conference for New Politics, an organization infiltrated by Communists.

It is noteworthy that when Colonel Rudolf I. Abel, a high-ranking Soviet intelligence officer, was arrested in the United States in 1957 on espionage charges, he requested to see Abt. Abt interviewed Abel in prison, but declined to represent him.

Also, when Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested for the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, he publicly called for Abt. Oswald attempted to contact Abt. However, he never actually reached Abt in connection with representing Oswald.

The next, Seymour Copstein. Seymour Copstein was suspended from a teaching position in the City College of New York in 1941 for engaging in activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A. A witness before hearings conducted by a [subcommittee of the] New York State

Joint Legislative Committee<sup>1</sup> during 1940 and 1941 identified Copstein as a member of the Communist Party and as a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.'s, City College unit. This witness testified that Copstein, whose party name was "Plaven," taught a course entitled "Principles of Communism" at the New York Workers School and was considered by the Communist Party, U.S.A., to be "a leading authority on political questions."

In 1942 Copstein was an instructor at the School for Democracy and in 1947 served as a lecturer for the Jefferson School of Social Science. The New York Workers School, School for Democracy, and the Jefferson School of Social Science were Communist Party educational institutions.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., formed the Jefferson School of Social Science in 1944 by merging the New York Workers School and the School for Democracy.

Next, Laird Cummings. Laird Cummings is a member of the New York chapter of the National Conference for New Politics, a Communist-infiltrated organization. He was involved in a demonstration against Secretary of State Dean Rusk on November 14, 1967, which was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, an antiwar group headed by identified Communists, notorious fellow travelers, and pacifists. He subsequently issued a statement charging "police brutality" and claimed that he was physically attacked by police at this demonstration.

Cummings was arrested during the Communist-supported "Stop the Draft Week" demonstration in New York City on December 4-8, 1967.

Proceed.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, a point of parliamentary inquiry. I did not get the name of the person who was speaking at the table. May I have his name, sir?

(At this point Mr. Tuck left the hearing room.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. James Gallagher.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. No, the person just making this statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chester Smith, the counsel for the committee; he is not testifying. It will be accepted for what it is worth.

The gentlemen will please proceed.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. He is not testifying?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chester Smith.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. He is not testifying; he is not under oath?

Mr. ICHORD. That is quite true.

Proceed.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The National Conference for New Politics, in a full-page ad published in the *New York Times* December 10, 1967, this one here, stated:

If necessary, we are also prepared to help mobilize the largest demonstration this country has ever seen. It would descend upon the National Democratic Convention in Chicago as a final reminder to the delegates of the strength of the opposition. \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods of Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes and Subversive Activities (Rapp-Coudert Committee).

This ad was signed by Dr. Benjamin Spock and James Rollins, a Negro community organizer in St. Louis.

Paul Booth, former official of Students for a Democratic Society and also former board member of the National Conference for New Politics, in referring to the demonstration stated, as quoted in an article in the *New York Times* of the same date:

"There's no committee yet, and no call has gone out, but everybody is going on the assumption it will happen," he said. "It's an obvious thing to do."

The *Times* continued:

But Mr. Booth was not so certain the demonstration would be a passive one. "That's one of the topics under discussion," he said.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Gallagher, at what point in time did other groups begin their planning organization operation?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Concerning the Students for a Democratic Society, it appears that SDS began marshaling its program as early as December 1967 when its national council suggested: "That a member of the NIC"—that is their national interim committee—

be mandated to attend the meetings of the National Mobilization Committee or whatever coalition is ultimately responsible for the call to demonstration at the Democratic Party National Convention;

The SMC—the Student Mobilization Committee—the following month on January 19, 1968, the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee proposed in a letter to its membership that its national conference discuss "possible action at the Democratic Party national convention in Chicago in August."

Jerry Rubin and the Yippies were beginning, it appears, to formulate their plans for Chicago in early winter, as illustrated in a February 3 article in *National Guardian* entitled "What tactics for Chicago?"

Finally, the National Mobilization Committee itself.

Although it seems rather certain that the National Mobilization Committee must have had some preliminary meetings prior to the secret, by-invitation-only meeting at a rural camp outside of Chicago, which I briefly touched on before, which is described by the *New York Times* on March 24 [1968], that date is, at least at this time, the only one we have.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. A point of order.

I move that that be stricken.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will suspend.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. This is all hearsay. I don't believe you can accept it. "They must have had the meetings before," that goes beyond what any respectable lawyer can accept.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is summarizing the activities of numerous organizations that participated in the planning.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. "They must have had" is not a respectable summary. I move that it be stricken.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman and his client will be called before the committee at the proper time. The request will have to be denied. The motion will have to be overruled.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, that completes the interrogation of this witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Are there any questions of the witness?

Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have no questions.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. I have no questions.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness may be excused.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Lieutenant Joseph Healy and Sergeant Grubisic.

Will you swear the witnesses, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HEALY. I do.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH J. HEALY AND JOSEPH GRUBISIC

Mr. SMITH. Will each of you please state your names, starting with Lieutenant Healy.

Mr. HEALY. Lieutenant Joseph J. Healy, subversive unit of the Chicago Police Department.

Mr. GRUBISIC. My name is Joseph Grubisic. I am sergeant of police, Chicago Police Department, presently assigned to the subversive unit of the intelligence division.

Mr. SMITH. Will you please advise the committee of your background and functions in the department, starting with Mr. Healy.

Mr. HEALY. I have worked all phases of police work with patrol division, vice control division, narcotics, prostitution. I was appointed commanding officer of the subversive unit in March of this year.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Healy, how long have you been a member of the Chicago Police Department?

Mr. HEALY. Since May 1956. I was promoted to sergeant in 1962, lieutenant in 1966.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I was appointed to the police department in December 1959. In July of 1965 I was assigned to the subversive unit of the intelligence division, where I am presently.

Mr. SMITH. Did you undertake an investigation prior to the Democratic Convention of activities by persons who intended to disrupt the convention?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, we did.

Mr. SMITH. Would you please outline the information that you developed prior to the convention concerning these disruptive activities?

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel, you have both witnesses here at the same time. Will you direct your questions to the particular witness by name?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Grubisic will testify. Lieutenant Healy will assist.

Mr. GRUBISIC. The first information we received was during the latter part of 1967. Rennie Davis talked about antiwar, antidraft demonstrations and said that participants of such demonstrations who are not willing to join in direct acts of civil disobedience should at least form circles around others who are engaging in such acts to hinder or prevent arrest.

Davis continued speaking on noncooperation and acts of civil disobedience and stated during the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago there are going to be a lot of demonstrations that will disrupt the proceedings.

Mr. HEALY. Counsel, this matter of these investigations started in the latter part of 1967 and continued on through and including the convention time. There is a great deal of information that we have compiled over this period of time.

Mr. ICHORD. Lieutenant Healy, when did the investigation begin?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, it is very difficult for counsel here to understand who is testifying. I understood Mr. Grubisic was testifying. Could the witness who is testifying state his name for the record for our understanding of what is happening?

Mr. ICHORD. I believe the gentleman is sitting close enough to the witness chair that he can tell who is testifying. The Chair has directed counsel to name the witness to whom he is directing the question.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. The backs of the witnesses are to me, and I am not in a position to find out who is testifying. I believe two people are testifying, but I am not sure of that.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you mention names, Mr. Counsel, so that the counsel can tell who is testifying.

When did the investigation begin, Sergeant?

Mr. GRUBISIC. In the latter part of 1967.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GRUBISIC. To continue, also we have received information when we became aware that the convention was going to be held in Chicago, there was some talk of gaining entrance into the Amphitheatre where the convention was going to be held. A John Rossen made the following comment regarding union leaders who are going to be given passes. John Rossen stated, "These passes can be duplicated quite easily."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, is this Mr. Rossen associated with any of the 10 groups that we have named?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Ashbrook, I am going to put in some information on this.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter into the record information from the files and published reports concerning Mr. Rossen just mentioned by the sergeant. In connection with the committee's publication, *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week*, on page 15, in a discussion concerning the Chicago Peace Council, it is stated that:

The building in which it has its headquarters [meaning the Chicago Peace Council] (located at 1608 West Madison Street) is owned by John Rossen, formerly an official of the Communist Party and of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. \* \* \*

Additionally, in 1957 in testimony before this committee Mr. Rossen availed himself of the fifth amendment when questioned about his Communist Party membership and activities. Further, in a case before the Subversive Activities Control Board, *Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner, versus National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Respondent*, John Rossen is referred to as the executive director of the Chicago chapter, at least as late as 1953, and appears to be the important officer there. He was shown also to be an important member of the Communist Party, with activities which included membership on the Communist Party

City of St. Louis Central Committee, membership on the Missouri State Board of the party, and party organizer in southern Illinois.

In 1941 and in 1947 he ran for elective offices on the Communist Party ticket.

Continue, Sergeant Grubisic.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I have here a copy—

Mr. ICHORD. What is the question pending, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. The question pending: Please outline the information you developed prior to the convention concerning these disruptive activities.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I have here a copy of *THE MOVEMENT* dated February 1968. It is entitled "The Democratic Convention, a Challenge to Organizers."

Rennie Davis states:

I think we can do better than attempting to prevent the convention from taking place, as some have suggested by closing down the city on the first day of pre-convention activity. The delegates should be allowed to come to Chicago, so long as they give their support to a policy of ending racism and the war. I favor letting the delegates meet in the International Amphitheater and making our demands and the actions behind those demands escalate in militancy as the Convention proceeds and as the TV's drum into everyone's home that we're moving towards a Johnson-Nixon "choice". I would like to see us be able to carry our incredible, imaginative actions even against Chicago's blanket injunction that will prohibit all demonstrations. Even against the two US Army regiments that will be "protecting" the convention \* \* \*

Also:

to release the real power of our many forces in a new and significant way at the time that Johnson is nominated, turning the delegates back into the amphitheater as they attempt to leave, demanding that the American people be given a choice, demanding that they reconsider a decision not in the national interest, a decision that can only lead to the funeral of the democratic policies that support racism and the war, should carry not only us, but thousands of Americans into an active boycott of the elections and giant showdown in Washington to prevent the inauguration next January.

Mr. ICHORD. For the record, Mr. Counsel, what is the witness reading from there?

Mr. SMITH. He is reading from a publication, *THE MOVEMENT*.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the publication, *THE MOVEMENT*?

What organization publishes *THE MOVEMENT*? Is the witness aware of what organization publishes it?

Mr. SMITH. This is SDS oriented, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Is it an SDS publication?

Mr. ASHBROOK. There is no attribution.

Mr. SMITH. Nothing official.

Mr. ICHORD. I think you can supply that for the record. Let us identify what the papers are and get that into the record before you proceed with the hearing. Let us proceed with the question so that we know what the witness is talking about.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, I was not able to hear the answer of the witness.

Mr. ICHORD. I have gotten no identification of it. The record will stand. The gentleman will please be seated. Let us proceed with the questioning.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move it be stricken because there is no identification to lay a foundation for the introduction of this document.

Mr. ICHORD. As I explained to the gentleman many times previously, the gentleman has been on his feet several times objecting, this is not a court proceeding, this is a legislative inquiry for the committee to endeavor to establish facts. The Chair will announce that the publication means nothing unless it can be identified, and it will be so considered by the committee.

Now, please proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the exhibit be received for the record pursuant to further identification.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will take that under consideration at this time. Let us see if we can identify it for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Continue, Sergeant.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I also have here a letter dated January 19, 1968, on the National Lawyers Guild stationery, signed by Ken Cloke, executive secretary of such. The letter reads as follows:

Dear Friend:

A meeting will be held at the office of the National Lawyers Guild, 5 Beekman St., Room 610 at 7:30 [p.m.] on Friday, January [sic] 26th to discuss the establishment of a nationwide legal defense apparatus [sic] to deal with the projected legal problems arising out of the political protest planned for the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago this summer.

The meeting will be attended by the \* \* \* [illegible] of the political protest and by lawyers and law students nationally who wish to be of some help in sorting out the complex legal problems posed by the possibilities of injunctive suits to stop the convention proceedings [sic], mass arrests, civil disobedience, coordinated nationwide protest, civil suits for police brutality, and numerous other legal problems we must begin to face *now*. We will prepare forms, affidavits, research memoranda, and a handbook on mass arrests. We desperately need your help, ideas, criticisms and suggestions.

Please attend the meeting, but if you are unable, send us your name and address and any written suggestions you may have, and we will forward information to you.

Signed, "Sincerely, Ken Cloke."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this be accepted as Grubisic Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the date of that publication?

Mr. GRUBISIC. January 19, 1968.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, the letter under the letter-head of the National Lawyers Guild, signed by Ken Cloke, will be accepted for the record.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 1" follows:)



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 1

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

5 BEEKMAN STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10038  
(212) - 227-1078



January 19, 1968

PRESIDENT  
VICIOP PARDINOWITZ  
NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
KENNETH CLOKE

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY  
JOAN LEVENSON

VICE PRESIDENTS  
HON. GEORGE B. CROCKETT, JR.  
DETROIT

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL  
NEW YORK

ARTHUR KINOY  
NEW YORK

JOHN I. METERNAN  
LOS ANGELES

STANLEY FAULKNER  
NEW YORK

BENJAMIN SMITH  
NEW ORLEANS

HERMAN WRIGHT  
HOUSTON

MAX DEAN  
FLINT

ANN FAGAN GINGER  
BERKELEY

DOMS BRIN WALKER  
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FATHER ROBERT F. DRINAN, S. J.  
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LOS ANGELES

MALCOLM SHARP  
CHICAGO

THOMAS I. EMERSON  
NEW HAVEN

ERNEST GOODMAN  
DETROIT

Dear Friend:

A meeting will be held at the office of the National Lawyers Guild, 5 Beekman St., Room 610 at 7:30 on Friday, January 26th to discuss the establishment of a nationwide legal defense apparatus to deal with the projected legal problems arising out of the political protest planned for the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago this summer.

The meeting will be attended by the planners of the political protest and by lawyers and law students nationally who wish to be of some help in sorting out the complex legal problems posed by the possibilities of injunctive suits to stop the convention proceedings, mass arrests, civil disobedience, coordinated nationwide protest, civil suits for police brutality, and numerous other legal problems we must begin to face now. We will prepare forms, affidavits, research memoranda, and a handbook on mass arrests. We desperately need your help, ideas, criticisms and suggestions.

Please attend the meeting, but if you are unable, send us your name and address and any written suggestions you may have, and we will forward information to you.

Sincerely,  
*Ken Cloke*  
Ken Cloke  
Executive Secretary

KC:ak

Mr. SMITH. Continue, Sergeant.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I also have here a copy of the minutes of the meeting to discuss the setting up of the legal committee for Chicago referred to in the letter that I previously stated.

Present at this meeting as listed under minutes were:

Bernardine Dohrn, and they give her address as National Lawyers Guild, 5 Beekman; Lee Webb, Washington, D.C.; Ken Cloke, National Lawyers Guild; Connie Brown, 631 Hunterdon Street, Newark; Tom Hayden; Harriet Van Tassel, 116 Market Street, Newark; George Logan, 116 Market Street, Newark; Alicia Kaplow, National Lawyers Guild; Eric W. Schmidt, 11 Park Place, New York; William Schaap, 120 Broadway; Arthur Goldberg, 204 Johnson Avenue; Jonathan Lubell, 103 Park Avenue; Steven Halliwell, 210 West 109 Street, New York; Rennie Davis, 820 Agatite, #D, Chicago; Paul Mitelman, 50 James Street, Newark; Eric Walgren, 210 Forsyth; Cecil C. Butler, 55 West Chestnut, Chicago.

The minutes go on to describe Rennie asking or stating—

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I object to this. This is as flagrant violation of the sixth amendment as I have ever heard. This is a lawyers' meeting in New York City. And your committee is putting in this record confidential matters in violation of the United States Constitution. I think it is out of order. I think as an American lawyer you should say something about it.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has been very lenient. I have explained to the gentleman, Mr. Counselor, who has now arisen, that this is not a court of law. The rules of the court of law do not apply here. This is a legislative proceeding. The document will be accepted for what it is worth.

What was the date?

And the gentleman will please be seated.

What is the date?

Mr. GRUBISIC. The date of the meeting is January 26, 7:30 p.m., at the National Lawyers Guild office.

Mr. ICHORD. Sergeant, how did you come into possession of the minutes? Can you reveal the source?

Mr. GRUBISIC. I don't recall at this time where—

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I move that that be stricken, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counselor, you are aware of the rules of parliamentary procedure. You are not in keeping with those rules. The Chair will conduct the proceedings. The Chair will make rulings on matters of constitutional law. I would ask that the gentleman please be seated and let us proceed. The gentleman has his opinion, the Chair has his.

Proceed.

Mr. HEALY. May I explain where this came from, please?

I am Lt. Joseph Healy. These came from an informant of ours who at that time was connected with NMC.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. We can't hear.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentlemen will please be seated.

Gentlemen, I have been very patient with the attorneys. I want to let you represent your clients zealously, but you are in violation of the rules at this time. I would ask that the gentleman please be seated.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I would like to state for the record that I was not able to hear the response of the last witness. I feel I am entitled in representing my client—

Mr. ICHORD. I would say to the gentleman if some of the people in the audience would please be just a little quieter I think that the gentleman could hear.

Proceed, Mr. Healy.

Mr. HEALY. My name is Lieutenant Joseph Healy. These records that have been read, the minutes of this meeting, were recovered from an informant of ours who at that time was connected with NMC.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will observe that the witness will not be required to name the informant. There are intelligence sources which do have to be kept secure.

Proceed.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. Who is rising?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Attorney for Mr. Hoffman.

I would direct the committee to ask the witness to identify the source of the information and was it recovered by constitutional means?

Mr. ICHORD. The counsel for the committee will propound the questions. The gentleman is out of order and in violation of the rules of parliamentary procedure. I ask that he please be seated at this time.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. This may be a violation of the constitution of the State of New York—

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel, I have explained many times this is not a court of law. You are trying to raise points of order that would be applicable for action in a court of law, but this is a legislative inquiry. I have read the rules to you. You are aware of the rules. I ask that you abide by that rule and stop disturbing the hearing.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Was this the mimeographed document that was widely disseminated?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, I believe this was.

Mr. SMITH. Continue with your statement.

Mr. GRUBISIC. These are their own minutes of the meeting.

Rennie Davis stated or asked Tom, referring to Hayden, to "talk about the political perspective and I will talk about the legal aspect."

Tom Hayden replied:

In the next several weeks there will be the development of an organizational machine. Now there is an office in Chicago and the beginnings of a staff. Tomorrow is a meeting of a small group of people [sic] to plan for a larger conference in Chicago late next month. We are now in the initial stages. Hope to see come into existence [sic] many related projects, i.e.: legal project, a project consisting of a weekly newspaper and a daily during the convention. Another project is films. Idea is to mobilize people. \* \* \* The third stage would be the convention itself in which we would have a pooling of 50 to 100 thousand people. Don't want these people to be passive objects, but on the other hand, don't want chaos. \* \* \*

Ken Cloke asked:

What do you think is going to be the dynamic during the days of the convention? i.e.: there are going to be large numbers of people, cops, etc. Is there going to be mobile action?

Tom Hayden replied:

We discussed this with a number of people, it is not as yet clear—should have people organized who can fight the police, people who are willing to get arrested.

No question that there will be a lot of arrests. My thinking is not to leave the initiative to the police. Have to have isolated, yet coordinated communications. \* \* \*

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, a point. The witness' testimony, it seems unbelievably clear that somebody had some sort of surveillance item on hand at that meeting. I would ask the chairman at this time to question the lawyers present here with their clients—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is completely out of order, the request is out of order. It is not in compliance with the rules of parliamentary procedure. I ask the gentleman to please be seated and quit disturbing the hearing.

Proceed.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Rennie Davis stated:

Biggest problem is going to be with Chicago lawyers. Real question for us is if 500 to 1000 people are going to be in jail who can go into court? Movement has not been successful with building up a large number of attys. What we would like to do is to begin to get organizers and organize a committee of staff people and lawyers and law students. People who are radical politically and who are in agreement with most of what is happening. What we would like to do is to call sometime in the early Spring a conference of lawyers. (Chicago lawyers) We are approaching the ACLU to sponsor it. \* \* \*

Mr. ICHORD. Sergeant, you are reading from the minutes there. The time is now 12:36. The bells have sounded. The Chair will declare a recess until 2 o'clock, and you can begin at that point.

(Whereupon, at 12:36 p.m., Tuesday, October 1, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1968

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:10 p.m., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Will the witnesses and the guests please be seated?

Will the photographers please abide by the rules?

The committee will come to order.

During the morning session, a point of order was directed by one of the attorneys.

There will be a slight recess until the guests get into the room.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. ICHORD. All right.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Before we commence, I would like to be heard on the issue that the Chair raised earlier, and that was that this was to be a public hearing.

I would like the record to reflect that there are about 30 to 40 empty chairs in this committee room and that there are taxpayers of the United States who are seeking entrance right now who are being excluded, as I understand it, on the orders of the Chair.

I would like the Chair to reconsider this decision of excluding these people and permit them to enter.

I would like the Chair to take note that I observed at the close of the last session that there were about 20 plainclothes officers standing in the room. I believe these gentlemen are still present, occupying seats, to the exclusion of the public. I ask that they stand and make room for the people who are seeking entrance.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will take the request of the gentleman under consideration.

The Chair will advise the attorney, as the Chair believes the attorney well knows, that many people made the statement they were going to endeavor to disrupt these hearings. For this reason, the security is being exercised at the door.

Now, the Chair would further advise the attorney that he has been informed by the police that some of the attorneys have been advising the police that certain people who have gotten into the room have been their associates. The police thought that they were associate attorneys of the attorneys. They were not.

The Chair will further advise the gentleman that the police have advised the Chair this morning that there were certain persons in the room who deliberately refused to use ash trays that had been provided by the committee. They have stamped out their cigarette butts on this very expensive rug.

There has also been the burning of incense.

The Chair will instruct the police at this time that if they observe any person burning incense or failing to use the plastic ashtrays which have been provided, ask them politely to leave the room. If they do not politely leave the room, the Chair instructs the police to remove them from the room.

Now, there are certain people present apparently, Mr. Counsel, who do not believe in abiding by the rules of ordinary human behavior. Now, there may be some in the room who want to overthrow the existing social order, but there is no need to destroy public property today.

This is an arm of Congress, a legislative investigation. I have explained that to you time and time again. Order will prevail in this room. The Chair will use all of the authority vested in him as chairman and all of the statutes of the United States to obtain that order.

The request of the gentleman is overruled as frivolous, and the Chair would further state that he believes the attorney knows that it is frivolous.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to respond as a point of personal privilege.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order. Will you please be seated? The Chair will not recognize you at this time. The Chair directs the attorney to be seated so that the hearings can begin.

Mr. Counsel, you will proceed with the questioning of the witness. But prior to that, the Chair will announce that this morning a point was raised by one of the attorneys in regard to the publication *THE MOVEMENT*.

The Chair has been handed a copy of the publication *THE MOVEMENT*. On the masthead it states: "Affiliated with SNCC and SDS." And also included on the publication are these words:

*THE MOVEMENT* is published monthly by The Movement Press, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California 94103, [telephone] 626-4577.

This is not a court of law, as I have stated many times before. The ordinary rules of court procedure do not apply here. The ordinary rules of evidence do not apply.

The document will be accepted for what it is worth.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with your questioning.

### TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH J. HEALY AND JOSEPH GRUBISIC—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, at the time we recessed, you were reading excerpts from the minutes of a meeting held in the offices of the National Lawyers Guild.

Would you continue with your presentation?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, sir.

Ken Cloke asked: "What about raising political questions with law."

Bernardine Dohrn replied: "Could be done in the streets. Could be done throughout the whole thing. It is just a device.

"What are the other types of restrictions Illinois has—syndic. [alism] law."

Tom Hayden replied: "Smith Act."

Eric Schmidt stated: "Overview—have to have two hats—nice and violent."

Bernardine Dohrn stated: "Could we go back to the problem of structure."

Ken Cloke replied: "First thing that we have already done is to begin compiling a referral director[y]. Second thing is a conference we plan to hold in Chicago on Police Damage Actions and mass arrests. Third thing—putting together a hand book on mass arrests. Fourth—Bernadine<sup>1</sup> and I will be doing national travelling. Will be a Lawyers Guild convention in Los Angeles on July 4th."

Rennie Davis stated: "How do you get 20 full time people."

Bernardine Dohrn replied: "What are the finances?"

Rennie Davis stated: "We at least need one person now."

Ken Cloke: "Bernadine,<sup>1</sup> I, Alicia and Dennis Roberts will all be able to give approx.[imately] one month or more."

Mr. SMITH. At this point, may we make one clarification? Was this your understanding that this was a meeting of lawyers or agitators in this National Guild office?

Mr. GRUBISIC. They were not all lawyers or agitators. Some were lawyers and some were agitators.

[Laughter.]

Mr. ICHORD. Could there be such a thing as a lawyer and an agitator?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Possibly.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Ken Cloke stated: "Hire a staff counsel now. In addition you have to have a certain kind of feeling for hwat [sic] kinds of things are going to come up."

<sup>1</sup> Correct spelling "Bernadine."

Rennie Davis: "Chicago operations should find subsistance [sic] for 50 law students. Guild should handle recruiting. For the time being Chicago should handle the research into Chicago and Illinois law."

Ken Cloke: "Affirmative suits should be referred to Kunstler and Kinoy. Bail problems should be referred to Detroit."

I have concluded reading excerpts from this document.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be received as Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection by the members of the committee, the document will be received.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 3" appears on pages 2284-2291.)

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. This evidence that is being received, is this evidence legally received?

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3

Minutes of Meeting to Discuss  
Setting Up a Legal Committee for Chicago

Jan. 26th 7:30 P.M.  
Nat'l Lawyers Guild Office

Bernadine Generally this was called to discuss who will take up responsibility, what this groups relationship will be to the broader group politically etc.

Rennie Tom should talk about the political perspective and I will talk about the legal aspect.

Tom In the next several weeks there will be the development of an organizational machine. Now there is an office in Chicago and the beginnings of a staff. Tomorrow is a meeting of a small group of people to plan for a larger conference in Chicago late next month. We are now in the initial stages. Hope to see come into existence many related projects. i.e: legal project, a project consisting of a weekly newspaper and a daily during the convention. Another project is films. Idea is to mobilize people. Idea began to take shape of sometype of program that would begin early in the year and challenge at each level the Democratic party. This is to climax at Chicago when in the eyes of the people the country re-news its democracy. We see a tightening up on the part of the government. Attempt by the party to isolate the anti-war movement. We see a major opportunity to organize a force that challenges the status-quo. Clearly Johnson and others are going to define us by whether we are violent or non-violent. The basic question is the unresponsiveness of the parties. We propose to make an attack on the elitism of the Parties. This would take the form of attacks on the local and national levels. It would find more and more people in anti-war demonstrations against the Democratic Party. During April there would be a change of focus on to the Democratic machine. (Mayor of Chicago etc.) The next change-- will be an enormous amount of people who will want concrete tasks during the summer. (Draft organizers, mass demonstrations) We would see at this point the need for flexible organization that would allow people to do many things, but that would try to relate these things to the Democratic Party. The third stage would be the convention itself in which we would have a pooling of 50 to 100 thousand people. Don't want these people to be passive objects, but on the other hand, don't want chaos. Will have to take into account that the eyes of the world will be on us. It will be the most important national and international news. Must be organized orderly and politically. Have to build up not only a structural but a consensus on the political goals. We propose the beginning of a coordinating committee of a kind. This committee would generate ideas, discussion etc. Might not be clear what we do until July. What we have to do is to establish a framework.



## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

Ken First thing---are there any national days of protest?

Tom April 3 and then ten days from April 20-30.

Rennie The notion is that everywhere during those 10 days there would be a focus on the Democratic Party and its delegates. It would spark committees to take action throughout the country.

Ken What kinds of plans have you made for people coming from other parts of the country? We really don't know what to expect---will there be trains, buses, car-pools etc.

Tom Probably be all of them.

Have there been plans for another circus--- to try to get kids engaged before school lets out. This would prepare people to come to Chicago.

Tom Don't think there is the machinery or the people<sup>e</sup> to do that.

Rennie There is going to be a confrence in Chicago at which these type of things are going to be discussed.

Ken Has there been any reception from any of the organizations i:e: Revolutionary contingent and Youth Against War and Fascism.

Rennie Everything is moving along.

Ken I don't think you can get a total consensus.

Are there signs that others will go on their own?

Tom Not yet

Bernadine Talk about a Youth Festival

Tom Is talk about bring in a lot of rock bands just prior to demonstration.

Ken Is MFDP evolving separate plans?

Tom There has been very little contact with the South. Will have to go down and find out.

Dave We envision somekind of plural approach. There are many days and many types of actions. It may very well be decided by them that there should be separate calls and separate structure but close coordination.

Ken What do you think is going to be the dynamic during the days of the convention? i:e: there are going to be large numbers of people, cops, etc. Is there going to be mobile action?

Tom We discussed this with a number of people, it is not as yet clear --should have people organized who can fight the police, people who are willing to get arrested. No question that there will be a lot of arrests. My thinking is not to leave the initiative to the police. Have to have isolated, yet coordinated communications. Don't want to get into the trap of violence vs. passive action.

Bernadine You mention a summer project.

Tom It means past the elections. Has to be broad. We will have testing demonstrations. Try to organize areas by units.

Ken Will we have an idea of who the units will be and where they will be so that if there are law students they can work with them.

Tom Lawyers will be involved all through both on the political and progamatic level.

Bill Were there any intentions to have preliminary demonstrations in Chicago--lawyers get tied up more after a demonstration then before one, there is a danger of leaving you with a legal abyss.

Rennie April 21st will be a march on city-hall.

Bill Late July and Early August is what I'm concerned with.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

Rennie City is very tight about the convention. Are developing a staff structure that can try to deal with this. Don't see any large demonstrations except perhaps in the Black community.

Dave That is why we are meeting with you tonight.

Rennie Demonstrations will occur outside of the convention area. General feeling is to stay out of the immediate surrounding area. Basically the concerns of the organizers is to see to it that the Mayor can't organize whites to come an attack organized protest. (demonstrators.)

Ken First policy decisions we had to make in D.C. was whether to represent the Nazi. I think that there ought to be a policy decision. The other thing is what if there is a large reaction to the cops on the part of the Blacks. Whole question of bail or jail.---whether to represent everybody---other factor---jail no bail. There ought to be a clear statement if there is any policy.

Rennie Lets get into the project a bit. First of all---jail no bail, we may not have any choice about it. All state misdeam. start at 1,000 dollars bail. (This means 100 dollars)

Bill Do you have any experience on the disorderly conduct charges as against mis-beamoznors.

Rennie Charges a multiple----state and municiple. Let me outline. how we see this project developing. Biggest problem is going to be with Chicago lawyers. Real question for us is if 500 to 1000 people are going to be in jail who can go into court? Movement has not been successful with building up a large number of attys. What we would like to do is to begin to get organizers and organize a committee of staff people and lawyers and law students. People who are radical politically and who are in agreement with most of what is happening. What we would like to do is to call sometime in the early Spring a conference of lawyers. (Chicago lawyers) We are approaching the ACLU to sponsor it. Hope is that conference could be very broad, attract people on the basis of protecting civil liberties. At the same time would like to see created a national organizing committee for lawyers. Would bring together a national conference. Now in Chicago, after the Chicago conference -- what we see would be a merging of the Chicago and national committees and that would be the political decision making body. ( A lawyers representative of this committee would be on the coordinating board.)

Bill Legal Aid in Chicago courts--- what is the policy? Should we try to bog down the legal aid system.

Cecil In Chicago there is a public defender--there is no legal aid.

Harriet There is a technique we try to develop---using affirmative actions---injunctions. Should we have guys in jail?

Something else beyond staying in jail.

Tom A lot of this remains to be studied. As far as the political orientation so far---would clearly come down on the side of accusing them of attempting to wipe the demonstrators off the streets There may be an injunction on the part of the government.

Cecil Is an injunction in Chicago limiting demonstrations to 500 persons.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

ric Is it pretty much assumed that people who are going  
 o participate will be willing to stay in jail.  
 ave Seems to me that there will be a significant number  
 f people who are going to want to be out of jail. This is going to  
 e a different type of demonstration. Would be a bad mistake to  
 ocus just on the convention, I think it is beginning already,  
 lear that they will try to organize some type of preventative  
 ction. Have to start to set up our own counter offensive.  
 en One of the things we all have to think about---  
 ow to or how you can use various legal forms---do you want to go  
 nto court to try to stop the convening of the convention?  
 ernadine We should direct our attention to some of the  
 hings listed under number II--- the legal needs during the Spring.  
 om Political point of view two things that are most  
 mportant. a) argument that demonstrators will not be allowed to  
 onstrate b) the local and national levels should be challenged.  
 o reason why we can't get into the delegate challenges. Most  
 mportant is to start giving them trouble where it hurts. Want to look  
 or the underbelly.  
 ernadine Seems to me the first thing you said is the most  
 mportant. One consideration would be to push for that early.  
 ill This injunction that we talked about---get 503 people to  
 nounce that they are going to have a demonstration.  
 en You just have to announce it.  
 emonstration. Need affirmative action that is going to allow the  
 en What about raising political questions with law.  
 ernadine Could be done in the streets. Could be done  
 hroughout the whole thing. It is just a device.  
 as---syndic. law. What are the other types of restrictions Illinois  
 om Smith Act  
 ric Overview--- have to have two hats---nice and violent.  
 ernadine Could we go back to the problem of structure.  
 en First thing that we have already done is to  
 egin compiling a referral director. Second thing is a conference  
 e plan to hold in Chicago on Police Damage Actions and mass arrests.  
 hird thing---putting together a hand book on mass arrests. Fourth--  
 ernadine and I will be doing national travelling. Will be a Lawyers  
 uld convention in Los Angeles on July 4th.  
 ennie How do you get 20 full time people.  
 ernadine What are the finances?  
 ennie We at least need one person now.  
 Ken Bernadine, I, Alicia and Dennis Roberts will all  
 e able to give approx. one month or more.  
 en Chicago should request law students for the Law  
 tudents Civil Rights Research Council--lawyers in Chicago have to  
 ake the request.  
 ave Everything now is June or July, but the most  
 mportant thing is now. Have to get sometype of staff set up.  
 n terms of financing , going to have at least 10 or 20 groups  
 hat are going to have important functions to perform. If the  
 ntral committee has to fund them all they will not be able to.  
 ach group should raise its own money.  
 ernadine try to get big law firms to <sup>have</sup> ~~hire~~ law students etc.  
 ho won't have to be at that particular office.  
 Ken Dave is correct.  
 ernadine Problem right now is to find the money for a skeleton  
 egal staff.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3--Continued

Ken                   Hire; a staff counsel now. In addition you have to have a certain kind of feeling for what kinds of things are going to come up.

Rennie               Chicago operations should find subsistance for 50 law students. Guild should handle recruiting. For the time being Chicago should handle the research into Chicago and Illinois law.

Ken                   Affirmative suits should be referred to Kunstler and Kinoy. Bail problems should be referred to Detroit. Staff person in Chicago should form a whole series of questions to be sent around. Can put together a national contact list.

                      Research coordination should come from a small group of attorneys who can frame the issues.

Bernadine            One thing that is going to be needed is some small legal committee to meet monthly in Chicago.

Ken                   What kind of money is available in terms of ~~XXXXXX~~ hiring someone?

Rennie                we can handle most of what is to be done.

Cecil                 Kind of waive to go and formulate legal issues up in the air. We could challenge certain things but that could be held up until after the convention. This is the vehicle that they use. I think that really the most affective way that is going to be had for getting any kinds of concessions will have to be a political way.

Ken                   Are a couple of other considerations. Can be exposure. In terms of the politics of the thing, would like to have political development of lawyers and law students.

Dave                  This is where the legal and political come together. On structure again-- it seems to me that in this whole legal thing it seems to be you have to have some kind of top committee.

Bernadine            Question really is to get a wide spread committee and to get a smaller working committee that can work with the Chicago group.

Rennie                Would like to see this conversation be geared toward the creation of a legal defense committee.

Dave                  Think that the logical way to start is that after a certain amount is crystalized tomorrow is to call together people from the other legal groups between now and Feb. 24-- so that each of the groups can commit themselves.

Bernadine            Whole Young Turk thing in the ACLU can work to our advantage.

Ken                   That meeting of all lawyers should be called by the larger group. (Not the lawyers group)

                      I have a series of questions related to what you can do for us. What kind of money is available--- for travel, for an office.

Rennie                Should take responsibility for founding a law students group this summer and for office space. In terms of money, what I think we should try to do is project should be self contained--- at the Chicago conference there should be an effort to raise money from the lawyers.

Ken                   Another thing to do very quickly is to put together a national list of people. Need a decision making group. Ought to be political people on the body that is making legal decisions.

DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION 2289

GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

Dave                    It should work the other way too.

Bernadine            Should have communication right after tomorrow.

Tom                    Either Bernadine or Ken should come to the

meeting tomorrow

Ken                    You should take the perspective back to Chicago .

PRESENT AT THIS MEETING.

Bernardine Dohrn	Nat'l Lawyers Guild ' 5 Beckman	212-227-1078
Lee Webb	Washington D.C.	
Ken Cloke	NLG	
Connie Brown	631 Huuterdon St. Newark	
Tom Hayden		
Harriet Van Tassel	116 Market St. Newark	201-622-1467
George Logan	"	"
Alicia Kaplow	NLG	
Eric W. Schmidt	11 Parc Place, N.Y.	964-4540
William Schapp	120 Broadway	964-6500
Arthur Goldberg	204 Johnson Ave.	243-6250
Jonathan Lubell	103 Park Avenue	889-5290
Steven Halliwell	210 W. 109 St. N.Y.	662-7748
Rennie Davis	820 Agatite #D Chicago	728-2077
Paul Mitelman	50 James St. Newark	643-5779
Eric Walgren	210 Forsyth	674-4992
Cecil C. Butler	55 West Chestnut, Chicago	312-664-8495

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

CHICAGO CONVENTION CHALLENGE  
PROPOSED NEEDS OF A LEGAL APPARATUS

- I. The Organization of a Legal Committee
- relationship to specific organizations (MFDP, SDS, Mobilization, etc.) inside coalition: WHO MAKES DECISIONS
  - contacts and call to lawyers, referral directory
  - division of labor among lawyers (specialization of legal aspects i:e: Federal court, admission to Illinois courts, appellate lawyers, ACLU, ECLC specialities, student research.)
  - summer project for law students
  - follow up responsibility
- ADMINISTRATION
- office, staff
  - communications
  - operations during demonstration
  - finances
- II Legal Needs During Spring = Projection of What is Expected
- response to injunctions
  - defense of pre-summer arrests (convention committee leadership, Chicago blacks and community people, traveling organizers, local non-Chicago arrests, car-pools etc.)
  - obtaining building space for challenge
  - preparation for bail and bail fund
  - research coordination (Illinois criminal law, procedure, laws relating to practicing, Nuremberg, Democratic delegate challenge)
  - affirmative suits
  - press conference
- III Summer Legal Committee
- All of II
  - problems of housing
  - transportation
  - teenagers
  - drugs
  - negotiations
  - legal observers---documentation (cameras, affidavits, witnesses)
  - preparation of pamphlets etc. (Know your Rights, affidavit forms)
  - trial of people arrested
  - relationship with monitors, operation of legal central national legal coordination, exposure

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued

AGENDA

CHICAGO CONVENTION CHALLENGE LEGAL COMMITTEE

January 26, 1968  
7:30 P.M.  
NLG Office

- I. Report on proposed action, organization and needs
- II. Organization of Lawyers (see attached number I)
  - A. Projected needs ( See II & III Attached)
  - B. Structure
    - 1. administrative (numbers, resp. students, pre-summer work)
    - 2. political (policy decisions, relationship to larger challenge, specific groups, within challenge)
  - C. Law Students Project
  - D. Lawyers Meeting in Spring

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is asking a parliamentary inquiry. The Chair will refuse to recognize him at this point. He may come forward later with his client.

Mr. GRUBISIC. A meeting took place in Room 315, 407 South Dearborn Street. Our information about this meeting, which lasted from approximately 10 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., was obtained from the official publication issued by the meeting participants, entitled "CONVENTION NOTES," dated February 17, 1968.

The meeting was cochaired by Carlos Russell from New York and Rennie Davis from Chicago.

This document lists the participants as being Kendra Alexander, NCNP, black caucus; Carolyn Black, National DuBois; Greg Calvert, SDS; Dovie Coleman, WRDA; Tom Cornell, FOR; William Darden, WSO; Rennie Davis, CRR; Dave Dellinger, National Mob; Don Duncan, *Ramparts*; Earl Durham, BCCC; Corky Gonzales,<sup>1</sup> Crusade for Justice; Bob Greenblatt, National Mob; Vernon Grizzard, Boston Resistance; Fred Halstead, SWP; Don Hammerquist,<sup>2</sup> CP; Jim Hawley, Peace and Freedom; Tom Hayden; Frank Joyce, People Against Racism; Sid Lens, National Mob; Obed Lopez, LADO; Lincoln Lynch, UBF; Steward Meacham, AFSC; Charlene Mitchell, black caucus; Lucy Montgomery, Women's Coalition; Sue Munaker, Radical Women; Sid Peck, Ohio Peace Action; James Rollins, black caucus; Fred Rosen, New York Resistance; Paul Rupert, CADRE, Resistance; Jack Spiegel, Chicago Peace Council; David Welsh, Peace and Freedom; George Wiley, NWRO; Dagmar Wilson, WSP; and Leni Zeiger, Berkeley campus.

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order in the room.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted for the record as Exhibit No. 4.

Mr. ICHORD. Hand the record forward, please.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Point of parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will be seated until the Chair looks at this.

VOICE. Would you spell out names, instead of initials?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has repeatedly admonished some people in the room that there must be order in this room. You gave me no other choice. I ask you, if you insist upon bursting out in emotional outbursts, please leave the room and do it outside. I appeal to your sense of decorum and your sense of propriety. Please abide by that request.

Is there any objection to the admission of the document?

Hearing none, the document will be admitted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 4" appears on pages 2293-2298.)

Mr. ICHORD. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I request that the documents subpoenaed—

<sup>1</sup> Correct spelling "Gonzalez."

<sup>2</sup> Correct spelling "Hamerquist."



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 4

ROOM 315 - 407 SOUTH DEARBORN - CHICAGO 60605 PHONE 939-2666

# CONVENTION NOTES

published by the March 23<sup>RD</sup>

CONVENTION COMMITTEE

 first issue  
 february 17, 1968

## MINUTES: FEBRUARY 11 MEETING

### summary:

On February 11, an ad hoc committee of 34 people (names attached) met in Chicago to discuss a method for making decisions about a possible challenge to the Democratic National Convention.

The meeting was co-chaired by Carlos Russell from New York and Rennie Davis from Chicago.

The agenda included:

**Morning:** General discussion of alternative perspectives and programs for the Convention

**Afternoon (early):** Black and white workshops to develop a democratic method for making decisions about possible actions and programs related to the Convention

**Afternoon (late):** Report from the two workshops. Establishment of an interim committee. Adoption of a structure proposal.

The decisions, stated briefly, were:

(1) to establish an interim committee of the following people: Carolyn Black, Earl Durham, Corky Gonzales, Lincoln Lynch, Carlos Russell; Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Bob Greenblatt, Tom Hayden, Sue Munacker

(2) to call and plan for a representative movement conference on March 24-25 in the mid-West. The conference participation should include representation from all major black liberation and anti-war organizations with attention given to the breadth, constituency base, and interest of the people receiving invitations.

(3) to prepare people attending this conference to make political decisions. Working papers outlining four alternative strategies should be prepared and distributed before the conference. Regional and organizational meetings should be encouraged to discuss the various proposals prior to March 23-24.

(4) to develop an agenda for the March conference which can allow decision-making on a general strategy for the Democratic Convention and establish machinery for developing and carrying out that strategy.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

## meeting minutes:

(Apologies for omission or misrepresentation, if any)

Dave Dellinger: Reported on the background to this Chicago planning meeting. In December, the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam discussed the Democratic Convention as a possible target for a major movement convergence. The Mobilization decided to initiate a broad conference of movement representatives to consider possible actions at the Chicago Convention. To plan this conference, the officers of the National Mobilization called a meeting in New York to discuss the feasibility of such a conference. The planning session in New York (Jan. 27) had virtually no representation from black organizations. The New York meeting established an interim committee to prepare for a second planning meeting in Chicago that would seek to be more representative of the movements. The interim committee included Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Carlos Russel, Cora Weiss. February 11 was set as the date for a second planning meeting.

The meeting today is meant to be open ended. We may decide that we would not want to work together. We should not consider ourselves bound by earlier meetings.

Carlos Russell: Proposed agenda for the meeting. Morning: Discussion of alternative strategic perspectives on the Democratic Convention. Afternoon (early): black and white workshops to develop a democratic method for choosing a strategy. Afternoon (late): Discussion of any structure proposals.

The agenda has been discussed informally by groups that met last night. Is there additional discussion or suggestions?

Sidney Peck: I didn't know that people were going to meet last night and could have been present. We have had problems in the

last two meetings with communication and must correct this if we are to work well together.

Carlos: Suggest that Rennie Davis and I report on informal meetings last night.

Rennie Davis: Last night, I reported that I thought the major movement positions on the Democratic Convention could be reduced to four paragraphs and that the movement should be given an opportunity to decide one of these four views.

(1) DISRUPTION

One view, popular in the press, holds that the movement should prevent the Convention from assembling. The Democratic Party is totally illegitimate and should be destroyed. The movement should do everything possible to disrupt its deliberations in August.

(2) ELECTORAL ALTERNATIVES

A second view says that the movement must offer a concrete political alternative to Johnson-Nixon race. We should call for the creation of a third party and/or project a Presidential candidate who runs against racism and imperialism. Perhaps in August we should hold a counter-convention to nominate our own slate.

(3) STAY HOME

A third view foresees any demonstration playing into Johnson's hands. Johnson wants violence and is setting up the movement for a giant "bust" in which the movement will lose support from average Americans. The best thing is to stay home or organize demonstrations in every city except Chicago.

(4) DISCIPLINED, COORDINATED DEMONSTRATION

A fourth view argues that thousands of people will come to Chicago whatever we do. We should take advantage of this time to dramatize to the world the millions of Americans who feel unrepresented by a Johnson-Nixon "choice." This view emphasizes local organizing and education about the Democratic Party to prepare the country for August, and organization against disruption and violence in Chicago.

## GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Art Waskow has sent us a memo which suggests some specific ideas for the #4 approach. Art would emphasize local organizing this summer which helped the country to focus on the illegitimacy of the Democratic Party and its unwillingness to act creatively on the crisis of our cities, racism, and the war. Perhaps Democratic Peoples Assemblies could meet locally which would take up these issues. People could then come to Chicago demanding that the Convention focus on the crisis and take up the major problems in an "open forum." On the first day, the demand would be that the Convention focus on the crisis of the cities. Demonstrations could be organized at welfare offices, police stations, schools and urban renewal offices to dramatize this demand. On the second day, actions would dramatize the war and foreign policy by focusing on draft boards, induction centers and corporate war manufacturers. The last day might center on the unrepresentativeness of the Democratic Party as an institution, which cannot claim to represent the interest of ordinary Americans because of its control by business, military and political interests tied to the Democratic gravy train. Art has developed his scheme on several pages and I suggest that you read this memo.

Carlos: I will report on the black caucus meeting last night. Not everyone expecting to attend the meeting today was able to come. FDP, for example, had an emergency executive committee meeting today in Mississippi and expressed regrets they could not have someone here. George Wiley will be arriving later today. Dave Dellinger has reported that John Wilson is expected.

Radical whites today are basically occupied with anti-war activity. Blacks are focusing on black liberation. Any participation of blacks in a parallel strategy with whites at the Convention will be based on a dual theme of racism and imperialism. Any preparation for the Convention would see blacks organizing around black liberation locally and whites reaching out to their own communities around the issue of war and imperialism. The #3 position, advocated by some, is a cop out.

We would hope that the movement would come out of the convention activities understanding that Johnson per se is not the enemy. The enemy is the system of racism and imperialism.

We believe a parallel structure of anti-war and black liberation organizations around a Convention challenge is possible. Leadership for the challenge would be selected separately by anti-war and black organizations. The separate leadership would hire separate black and white staffs to work in their own communities. But on questions of common policy, the two leadership groups would meet together and function together.

Unless there are questions about the reports, I suggest we get right into the general discussion on perspectives.

Lincoln Lynch: We want a confrontation? What forms will this confrontation take? What contingencies are we planning for hippies, yippies and so on? How are we going to discredit Deley and show him to be a liar? How will we present challenges to the convention? What will be our relation to the platform committee hearings? I could go on. But these are some of the questions.

Corky Gonzalez: I am wondering what relation the Mexican-American community will have to any possible structure. I must remind the blacks, who sometimes overlook us, about the oppression of their brown brothers and sisters. If the structure were divided into black and white, where would the browns fit?

Carlos: The black caucus assumed that the Mexican-American community would be a part of the black coalition, but that would depend on decisions of people like yourself and Obad Jones.

Sid Lens: At the Pentagon in October, we said we could no longer operate within the system. Now we must find ways to convince Americans outside the movement to join us outside the system. It will not serve our purpose to disrupt the Convention. We must expose it. Americans must learn that the chairman of the Democracy Party is also the President of Con Edison, hardly a position for a man who is expected to care about the poor.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Tom Hayden: As an organization develops to challenge the Democratic Party, it must project a non-violent, legal face. We cannot call for violence, although violence is a major method of change in this society. We cannot mobilize thousands to fight a war at the Convention. Wars may be fought locally. A national mobilization is another matter. It must be legal and have a particular kind of political meaning. It must be designed to reach out to new people. New people will come to the Convention not because of America's racist and imperialist policies but because the party doesn't represent anyone. Our major emphasis should be on the unrepresentative nature of the Democratic party.

Fred Halstead: We should have a demonstration in Chicago whether or not it is allowed by the city. We should definitely go ahead with an action. But it would be a mistake to develop a national organization as the real purpose behind such an action. Once we agree on the action, we need a loose coordinating group to bring people to Chicago, and nothing more.

~~Don Hammerquist: Why do we want a confrontation with the Democratic Party? In the political framework of most people, there is an identity with the Democratic Party. The illusion people hold about the country, they also hold about the party. What we must do is make concrete demands on the Convention which the Convention cannot respond to. Our confrontation must be political in the sense of winning people away from the Democratic Party. The organization that develops around this activity should emphasize local organizing and political education. It should develop an alternative ideology and real leadership for the left in the country.~~

Sid Peck: Our previous national actions had limited objectives. Now there are signs that our objectives will be too broad. We cannot move too fast or beyond the meager base that we have. We do not yet have a base against imperialism, for example. And we should not make a mechanical division between imperialism and racism either. The two issues affect all Americans.

~~Carlos Russell: I want to respond briefly to a couple of points. First, the war is not the major issue for blacks. Blacks are concerned about their own survival and liberation. We are working from separate concerns. Second, it is not our intention to build another organization, like NCNP, in case anyone was thinking that.~~

Sue Munacker: It is not premature to discuss the issue of imperialism. Many people--more than we realize--are ready to consider that perspective and with them, we should talk about the war in those terms. Those who are not at that level, we should reach in other ways, without dismissing the broader perspective in our work.

It seems ludicrous to discuss what should happen on specific days in Chicago. We should be focusing on what people do now. Is the action of the summer going to fit into the timetables of our different organizations? Do different groups, such as draft resistance, prefer many local actions rather than one national action? We should be talking about how we will organize between now and the spring.

Jim Rollins: I oppose, at this time, a demonstration in Chicago, because we can't come out with anything that gives us power. We should continue to work locally.

Steward Meacham: We should develop a paper of demands, a program or document on war, racism and self-determination. The document should have radical content but be expressed in a moderate tone with emphasis on reason and moral arguments. It should de-emphasize ideological terms.

~~Jack Spiegel: We can't call 200,000 people to Chicago and then disassociate ourselves from violence. Disruption and violence will occur. It's going to happen and we'll have to deal with that fact. I think one form for the Chicago demonstration should be a "people's convention" to express our fears. We should gather at Soldier's Field, hold our Convention, and then march on the Democratic Convention. Perhaps we could elect 300 to 500 representatives who demand to enter the Convention to air our grievances.~~

## GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Lincoln Lynch: The question of a demonstration has not yet been decided. There are many approaches, inside and outside the Convention. Possibility we could develop a platform for self-determination, calling for the DC vote, withdraw from Vietnam and so on. Before we go too far, we must get clear on our objectives.

Earl Durham: The question of black participation in the Convention is based on how it strengthens the black base and organizing in the black community. That is why we stress the theme of racism and imperialism. The confrontation should help lead to the transfer of power in the ghetto. We must insist that this be a fight against racism in the white community.

Dave Welch: I have talked to radicals inside and outside the Peace and Freedom Party and all are opposed to any petitioning of the Democratic Party. Are we for reforming the Democratic Party or building a mass movement? If we petition the Democrats it will only serve the interests of the dump-Johnson campaign. We should say fuck the Democratic Party. Also, we should focus on actions against the police, as an illegitimate use of state power.

Bob Greenblatt: I like the idea of a "people's convention." Since we should be discussing in August what happens in the fall, perhaps after the funeral march on the Democratic Convention, we should march back to our own convention to decide on next steps for the movement.

Dave Dellinger: We are confusing the discussion of local organizing and spring and summer activity with what will happen in August. We need to be more precise about what could happen in Chicago. Certainly, there has to be many levels in which people can participate. While the Pentagon action moved the consciousness of the nation and of the participants, there was not enough preparation and follow through. We should begin now to expose the Democratic Party. We must expose the electoral illusion. Discussions and working papers should raise the Chicago action in a broader perspective.

Lucy Montgomery: I want to agree with much of what's been said. I only want to say that I don't believe anyone can control what will happen in Chicago. I like the idea of the people's assembly.

Charlene Mitchell: Why are we "opposed" to the war and "concerned" about racism. Whites have to begin to oppose racism. Blacks, each time they mention racism, must refer to the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Fred Halstead: Radicals should never petition the Democratic Party, unless we are petitioning to abolish capitalism. We must explain the need to break with the Democratic Party. I believe it is possible for the movement to set a tone for the Chicago action and I believe the movement should. Finally, I agree with the idea of a document which would have radical content but moderate tone.

Dagmar Wilson: At some point, we've got to stop street walking and go to war. But I don't want to go to war over nothing. It's not that I'm opting out, but it's too soon for war. I'm not sure about this event. I feel we need to do more than hack away at a dying system. We need, somehow, to construct an alternative.

Corky Conzoles: In our movement and demonstrations, we must distinguish between those who have something to lose and those who do not. We must support those who will put their bodies on the line. And we must find a way to get economic support to these people, before OEO and the Ford foundation buy them off.

## workshop reports:

Afternoon: Nearly all afternoon was spent in black and white workshops considering ways that the issues raised by the four alternative strategic perspectives might be discussed and voted on in a representative movement gathering. The summary report of those two workshops follows:

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 4—Continued

Carlos Russell: These were the decisions of the black workshop: (1) we agreed on the idea of a dual movement conference to consider and vote on the different perspectives; (2) We will circulate a position paper on the issues in the next several days to all black people who attended the Black Power Conference in Newark and the NCNP Convention and to members of the Puerto Rican and Mexican American communities; (3) we established an administrative group to carry out the details of preparing for the conference. The group is Caroline Black, Corky Gonzales, Lincoln Lynch and Carlos Russell; (4) final decision about the general strategy, the relationship between blacks and whites and the black leadership for any coalition would be decided at the convention. The convention would operate somewhat like the planning meeting today. There would be some joint sessions, but most of the work would take place in separate workshops; (5) The four people on the administrative committee would function only to prepare for the movement conference. Any permanent structure would come out of the conference itself.

Tom Hayden: These were the decisions of the anti-war workshop:  
 (1) We should call and prepare for a large movement conference. The conference would be invitational and include three types of representation: from constituency organizations, from coalition or area-wide groupings, from individuals expressing strong interest; (2) The convention would be asked to consider the four perspectives and to establish machinery for developing and carrying out the adopted perspectives; (3) An interim committee would (a) develop an invitational list in consultation with the broadest spectrum of movement leadership; (b) contact people to write working papers on the various positions and ideas circulating about the Democratic Convention; (c) organize pre-conference meetings to discuss the various perspectives, through organizational or regional contacts; (d) take general responsibility for the administration and management of the conference; (4) The suggested date for the conference is March 23-24; (5) The interim committee would consist of 14 people.

The discussion which followed attempted to resolve divergences in the two proposals. The principal item dealt with the size of the two interim committees.

It was argued that the committees did not have to be politically representative if a smaller, administrative committee would follow the guidelines developed by this planning meeting. The final decision was to add Earl Durham to be black interim committee and to cut back the white committee to the following people: Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Bob Greenblatt, Tom Hayden, Sue Munacker. These individuals volunteered to work as staff for the conference preparation.

## Participants;

Kendra Alexander, NCNP, black caucus  
 Carolyn Black, National DuBois  
 Greg Calvert, SDS  
 Dovie Coleman, WKDA  
 Tom Cornell, FOR  
 William Darden, WSO  
 Rennie Davis, CRR  
 Dave Dellinger, Natl Mob  
 Don Duncan, Ramparts  
 Earl Durham, BCCC  
 Corky Gonzales, Crusade for Justice  
 Bob Greenblatt, Natl Mob  
 Vernon Grizzard, Boston Resistance  
 Fred Halstead, SWP  
 Don Hammerquist, CP  
 Jip Hawley, Peace and Freedom  
 Tom Hayden, " "  
 Frank Joyce, People Against Racism  
 Sid Lens, Natl Mob  
 Obed Lopez, LADO  
 Lincoln Lynch, URF  
 Steward Meacham, AFSC  
 Charlene Mitchell, black caucus  
 Lucy Montgomery, Women's Coalition  
 Sue Munacker, Radical Women  
 Sid Peck, Ohio Peace Action  
 James Rollins, black caucus  
 Fred Rosen, NY Resistance  
 Paul Rupert, CADRE, Resistance  
 Jack Spiegel, Chicago Peace Council  
 David Welsh, Peace and Freedom  
 George Wiley, NWRO  
 Dagmar Wilson, WSP  
 Leni Zeiger, Berkeley campus

organizations listed for identification only.

Mr. ICHORD. This is the fourth or fifth time requests for documents have been made. The Chair is advised by the director of the committee that the gentleman has requested a copy of the transcript. That will be provided to him under the rules of the committee at the cost of the gentleman. That will be provided to him tomorrow. He will have that in sufficient time to go over the record so that he can properly advise his witness.

I cannot repeatedly be stopped, sir, by interruptions from you requesting the documents be reproduced immediately. It is the feeling of the Chair, rightly or wrongly, that these are strictly delaying tactics. I will have to overrule your request so that these hearings can proceed.

Counsel will proceed, and the gentleman will be seated.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, I would like, as a point of clarification, to understand whether the witnesses who have been called thus far are here in answer to a committee subpoena, or are here voluntarily.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is appearing here at the request of the committee. Were subpoenas issued to the gentlemen? They are appearing here at the request of the committee.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I would like to read into the record information obtained from the committee's records and files concerning several of these individuals named as participants in this meeting.

First, Kendra Claire Harris Alexander. Kendra Alexander is the wife of Franklin Delano Alexander, an identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and former national chairman of the Communist youth group, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.

Her husband was identified in the CPUSA press in September 1968 as "a Communist youth leader in the black liberation movement."

Kendra Alexander has been an active leader in the DCA and has served in this group as an organizer. She was one of four organizing members of the Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops, a Communist-front group formed in May 1966 to foment racial discord in the Negro community of Watts, Los Angeles, California.

Kendra Alexander was arrested on March 16, 1966, by police for drunkenness, in the company of her husband, at the approximate time and in the vicinity of the Watts riot number 2. At the time of her arrest, she gave her occupation as a DuBois Club employee.

During the spring of 1967, Kendra Alexander and her husband were actively involved in organizing disruptive activities and racial agitation on the campus of Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas.

Both Kendra Alexander and her husband attended the Communist-sponsored Ninth World Youth Festival held in Sofia, Bulgaria, [July 28–August 6] in 1968. Subsequent to their attendance at the festival, the Alexanders visited the Soviet Union.

According to the September 3, 1968, issue of the *Daily World*, East Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Kendra Alexander toured the U.S.S.R. with her husband, "as a member of a Communist Party delegation of ten."

Next, Donald Lee Hamerquist.

Donald Hamerquist is a self-admitted Communist leader. He was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at its 18th National Convention held in New York City on June 22-26, 1966.

In April 1967 Hamerquist publicly admitted to the press that he was the Oregon State organizing chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. His admission followed public disclosures by Russell K. Krueger, a former FBI informant who identified Hamerquist as the one who had recruited Krueger into the party.

Krueger appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session on March 12, 1967. However, only a portion of his testimony has been publicly released.

Although the testimony relating to Hamerquist was not released to the public, Krueger stated to the press in April 1967 that full disclosures regarding Hamerquist's Communist background were made during his appearance before the committee in executive session.

According to press interviews, Hamerquist has readily confirmed his active membership, or leadership, in the Communist Party and the fact that he recruited Krueger into the party.

Hamerquist has been an active leader in Communist youth groups. He served as a member of the national council of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee and sponsored the founding convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America in June 1964.

Hamerquist is a second-generation Communist. His father, Donald Andrew Hamerquist, recently deceased, was a member of the Northwest District Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Next, Jack Drobny Spiegel.

Jack Spiegel has been affiliated with the Communist movement since the 1930's. In 1934 he ran for public office on the Communist Party, U.S.A., ticket.

Spiegel was identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., during the testimony of former FBI informant Lucius Armstrong before the Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1964.<sup>1</sup> He has been a supporter of numerous Communist-front organizations, including the Progressive Party, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the National Labor Conference for Peace.

Spiegel has signed several public statements in defense of the Communist Party, U.S.A., national leaders who have been convicted for Smith Act violations.

He has served as a member of the board of directors of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, a group headed by identified Communists.

Spiegel has functioned as an activist in the anti-Vietnam war movement. He was one of the initial sponsors of a Communist-instigated Conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace held in Chicago in December of 1966 and he took an active role in its deliberations.

<sup>1</sup> This identification was made by Armstrong in executive testimony on Dec. 17, 1964, and released by the committee on Oct. 4, 1967.



He is an executive officer of the Chicago Peace Council, which has actively supported the Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, a Communist-dominated organization which stemmed from the Chicago conference.

Spiegel has been a sponsor of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.

He has also sponsored the Communist-dominated Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, as well as its predecessor, the November 8 Mobilization Committee.

Spiegel has been employed as the Chicago district organizational director of the United Shoe Workers of America.

Next, Earl Durham.

Earl Durham has served in numerous leadership posts in the top echelons of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He was elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA at the party's 16th National Convention held in New York City on February 9-12, 1957, at which time he was also chosen to serve on the party's 11-member national administrative committee.

Durham was later designated as a member of the national executive board, which was established by the National Committee of the Communist Party to function between quarterly meetings of the National Committee.

At a meeting of the CPUSA National Administrative Committee in May 1957, Durham was named as youth affairs secretary of the party. He was subsequently appointed as one of nine party secretaries, who functioned as "a collective leadership" for the CPUSA.

Durham was identified in the Communist press in December 1957 as the CPUSA national youth secretary and in 1958 as a party national executive committeeman.

During the period from 1950 to 1956, Durham served as a leader of the Labor Youth League, a former youth section of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Among his various Labor Youth League assignments were chairman of the Illinois Labor Youth League, national councilman, national vice chairman, and acting national chairman.

Next, Charlene Mitchell, a member of the Communist Party National Committee who has been named and who is now running for President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket.

Fred Halstead, a long-time officer of the Trotskyist Communist Socialist Workers Party. He is now the candidate of that party for the office of Vice President of the United States.

In connection with Earl Durham, I would like to offer into the record as an exhibit a photostatic copy of a clipping from *Chicago's AMERICAN*, Monday, March 25, 1968, with a picture of Earl Durham in the office of the National Mobilization Committee in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. If there is no objection, the publication will be admitted into the record.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

24 \* CHICAGO'S AMERICAN, MONDAY, MARCH 25, 1968



*Miss Levitor turns to talk with other visitor Earl Durham*

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, you mentioned an address a little while ago, South Dearborn Street.

VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. May I make a motion, or shall I go outside to do it?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is not recognized for that purpose.

VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. It is getting boring.

Mr. ICHORD. We will have to ask you to remain orderly.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned this address located at 407 South Dearborn Street, Room 315. What address—what is located at this address?

Mr. GRUBISIC. This served as the headquarters for the National Mobilization Committee, which was the center for disruptive activities during the convention.

Mr. SMITH. I believe you have excerpts you want to read from.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes. I desire to read excerpts from the publication I previously mentioned as the "CONVENTION NOTES." They identify—

Mr. SMITH. Convention notes of what?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Published by the "CONVENTION COMMITTEE," dated February 17, 1968, "MINUTES: FEBRUARY 11 MEETING, SUMMARY."

Mr. SMITH. Right.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Carlos Russell is identified and is listed as stating the following:

Proposed agenda for the meeting. Morning: Discussion of alternative strategic perspectives on the Democratic Convention. Afternoon (early): black and white workshops to develop a democratic method for choosing a strategy—

Mr. ICHORD. What meeting is this, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. This is the February 11 meeting, 1968, of the National Mobilization Committee.

Mr. ICHORD. Where was the place of the meeting?

Mr. SMITH. In Chicago.

Mr. GRUBISIC. 407 South Dearborn. [Continues reading:]

Afternoon (late): Discussion of any structure proposals.

The agenda has been discussed informally by groups that met last night. Is there additional discussion or suggestions?

\* \* \* \* \*

Art Waskow has sent us a memo which suggests some specific ideas for the #4 approach. Art would emphasize local organizing this summer which helped the country to focus on the illegitimacy of the Democratic Party and its unwillingness to act creatively on the crisis of our cities, racism, and the war. \* \* \*

Carlos Russell describes further:

I will report on the black caucus meeting last night. Not everyone expecting to attend the meeting today was able to come. FDP, for example, had an emergency executive committee meeting today in Mississippi and expressed regrets they could not have someone here. George Wiley will be arriving later today. Dave Dellinger has reported that John Wilson is expected.

Radical whites today are basically occupied with anti-war activity. Blacks are focusing on black liberation. Any participation of blacks in a parallel strategy with whites at the Convention will be based on a dual theme of racism [sic] and imperialism. \* \* \*

Mr. ICHORD. At that point, the Chair will declare a recess until 3:05 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 2:45 p.m. the subcommittee recessed and reconvened at 3:15 p.m. Subcommittee members present when hearings resumed: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Let the record show, Mr. Counsel, that Mr. di Suvero has made a request on behalf of all of the attorneys that the documents that are submitted for the record be reproduced and furnished to him.

They will be delivered to Mr. di Suvero at his request, along with a transcript, of course, which will be at the cost of Mr. di Suvero.

The staff is directed to reproduce these documents with a copying machine and give them to Mr. di Suvero tomorrow.

With that, Mr. Counsel, proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, just before recess, the witness mentioned the name of Carlos Russell as one who had attended a special meeting of February 11, 1968, of the National Mobilization Committee.

I would like to read into the record information obtained from committee files concerning Mr. Russell.

Carlos Russell has been a supporter of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, youth front of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He was listed as a scheduled speaker at a forum held in October 1967 sponsored jointly by the DuBois Clubs of America and the New York School for Marxist Studies, the CPUSA's major school in the United States.

Russell has been affiliated with the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, a Communist-supported organization.

He has served as an activist in the National Conference for New Politics, a New Left-oriented organization which is heavily infiltrated by Communist elements.

Russell was the chairman of the black caucus at NCNP's first convention, held in Chicago on August 29 through September 4, 1967, and is currently a member of the executive board of the NCNP.

Sergeant Grubisic, will you continue your testimony?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes.

I would like to continue reading some excerpts from this publication on this document dated February 17, 1968, which is published by the convention committee, which is also the minutes for the February 11 meeting held at the National Mobilization office at 407 South Dearborn.

Lincoln Lynch is described as stating:

How are we going to discredit Daley and show him to be a liar? How will we present challenges to the Convention? \* \* \*

Fred Halstead is described as stating:

We should have a demonstration in Chicago whether or not it is allowed by the city. We should definitely go ahead with an action. \* \* \*

Don Hamerquist is quoted as stating:

What we must do is make concrete demands on the Convention which the Convention cannot respond to. Our confrontation must be political in the sense of winning people away from the Democratic Party. The organization that develops around this activity should emphasize local organizing and political education. \* \* \*

Jack Spiegel is quoted as stating:

We can't call 200,000 people to Chicago and then disassociate ourselves from violence. Disruption and violence will occur. It's going to happen and we'll have to deal with that fact.

I have concluded reading excerpts from this document.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant Grubisic, who were the officers of the National Mobilization Committee?

Mr. GRUBISIC. The February 11 meeting established an interim committee consisting of Carolyn Black, Earl Durham, Corcky "Gonzoles," Lincoln Lynch, Carlos Russell, Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Bob Greenblatt, Tom Hayden, and Sue "Munacker."

According to a press release issued by Davis on March 25, 1968, a conference of the group, which was held March 22 to the 24th in a location outside the city of Chicago, established an interim committee consisting of Davis, Dave Dellinger, and Vernon Grizzard.

A letter received from the National Mobilization Committee in the latter part of August 1968 stated that a staff of 25 persons had been operating in Chicago, headed by Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden. The letter was signed by Dave Dellinger and Robert Greenblatt.

Here is a copy of that letter.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be accepted for the record as Exhibit No. 6—the National Mobilization Committee letter.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, the document will be admitted. (Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Continue.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I also have here a list received by the intelligence division in the latter part of August, which is an invitational list by the National Mobilization Committee inviting persons—or listing persons who have been formally invited to attend meetings of the administrative committee.

Mr. SMITH. May I see the list, please?

Mr. Chairman, this list contains about 80 or 85 names.

I would like to call the attention of the committee to some of the names listed on the invitational list, along with their identification.

First, Herb Bleich.

Mr. ICHORD. This is an invitational list from whom?

Mr. SMITH. The National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Herb Bleich, B-l-e-i-c-h, care of the Progressive Labor Party, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, a member of the party. Stokely Carmichael, a former member of SNCC.

Kipp Dawson, of 316 East 11th Street, Apartment 4-A, member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jesse Gray, identified before this committee on the 3d of February 1960 as a member of the Communist Party and invoked the fifth amendment.

Paul Friedman. His address, in care of the Communist Party, New York, 33 Union Square West, Room 802.

Fred Halstead, whom I have previously identified as the vice presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Lew Jones, care of the Young Socialist Alliance, which is the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

Otto Nathan, identified in our published reports—in the committee's published reports—as a Communist Party member, affiliated with

the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 55 East 10th Street, New York City.

Jack O'Dell, also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, identified before this committee on February 3, 1960, as a Communist Party member and invoked the fifth amendment; address, in care of *Freedomways*, a publication of the Communist Party aimed at the Negroes, according to J. Edgar Hoover.

Reverend Howard Melish, identified by Louis Budenz as a Communist Party member, affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Harry Ring, known publicly as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, address at 873 Broadway, Second Floor, New York.

Jack Spiegel, whom I have previously identified before this committee as a Communist Party member, Chicago, Illinois.

Lastly, Arnold Johnson, 56 Seventh Avenue, publicly admitted leader and member of the Communist Party and the Communist Party legislative representative.

Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record as Exhibit No. 7.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, this document will be admitted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 7." See pages 2369-2374.)

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, what preparations were made in Chicago for legal defense of those demonstrators breaking the law and engaging in violent action?

Mr. GRUBISIC. On July 29, 1968, at approximately 7:30 p.m., a meeting of the Chicago Legal Defense Committee took place in the home of Lucy Montgomery, 1000 North Lake Shore Drive, in Chicago, Illinois.

Sylvia Kushner, in recent years married to Sam Kushner, acted as chairman of this meeting. Also present at the meeting was Lucy Montgomery, Ida Terkel, and others.

Sylvia Kushner said that the Chicago Legal Defense Committee needs office space and is temporarily using space located at 127 North Dearborn, Chicago.

Kushner said they need at least \$500 to start a bank checking account. She went on to say, in the meantime, any checks should be made out to a Mark Simons of the National Mobilization Committee, located at 407 South Dearborn.

She also went on to say to inform any movement people who are coming to town to bring their own bail money and deposit it with the Chicago Legal Defense Committee.

She said that when she and Jack Spiegel went to Washington, D.C., they each carried \$1,000 and had to send back for more.

Sylvia Kushner and Lucy Montgomery stated that they would start making phone calls in order to raise funds. Ida Terkel said she would collect at least \$50 by contacting some friends.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to read into the record information from the committee files concerning Sylvia Kushner.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Sylvia Kushner is the wife of Samuel Kushner, an identified member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who has served on the

party's National Committee and as Los Angeles editor of the *People's World*, the Communist Party, U.S.A.'s, West Coast newspaper.

Sylvia Kushner is the secretary of the Chicago Peace Council, a mixed group of Communists, Trotskyists, pacifists, and individuals from the so-called New Left, which is devoted to agitational work and propagandizing against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

The council, that is, the Chicago Peace Council, was one of several groups which sponsored the Communist-instigated Conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace held in Chicago in December 1966.

The Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam was an outgrowth of this conference and operated its Chicago headquarters from the office of the Chicago Peace Council for several weeks during the outset of 1967.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has found the Student Mobilization Committee to be a Communist-dominated organization.

Continue with your presentation, Sergeant.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I would also like to submit a couple of news articles that appeared in the *Washington Post*, dated September 4, 1968 [Grubisic Exhibit No. 8], relating to the Chicago Legal Defense Committee, and also another article that appeared in the Baltimore *Sun* pertaining to the Chicago Legal Defense Committee, dated September 3, 1968 [Grubisic Exhibit No. 9], also some letterhead stationery of the Chicago Legal Defense Committee [Grubisic Exhibit No. 10].

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. A point of order.

Mr. ICHORD. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. A point of parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

Inasmuch as I am affiliated with the Chicago Legal Defense Fund, and they are associated with us in a lawsuit against this committee, I would like to know the relevancy and germaneness, if any, of the attack that apparently is being made on the Chicago Legal Defense.

Is the committee suggesting that we were not entitled to legal defense?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair, in answer to the gentleman, will state that there will probably be many names and many organizations come before this committee in testimony.

As I have explained many times to the gentleman previously, this is not a court of law. No one is on trial here. The committee is not seeking to punish anyone. These are not adversary proceedings.

The point of inquiry I think is answered by those words, and I would ask that the counsel proceed with the questioning of the witness.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. If I may, sir, the fact that this is a parliamentary inquiry, if in fact it is such, should the committee be interested in the pursuit of truth, the committee should be interested in the minimum requirement of due process, because the chairman paid lipservice, at least, to the United States Constitution at the commencement of this proceeding, and like all of us who are members of the bar, we have taken an oath to support and defend the Constitution.

If I am to be emasculated as a lawyer before this committee, then I cannot possibly participate before this committee.

We are attempting to raise the minimum procedural—

Mr. ICHORD. Let me advise the gentleman that his client whom he represents will be called later on before the committee. I imagine,

however, that his client will probably refuse to testify, as so many have in the past.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I move that be stricken from the record.

Should my client choose to take his constitutional privileges under the fifth amendment, that is his right. And should he not so choose, that is also his right.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure the gentleman he will be permitted to take his constitutional privilege.

The gentleman is arguing with the committee.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, it seems eminently clear to me at this point—I demand a hearing, Mr. Chairman, on the procedural demand filed with this committee. The matter presently before this committee—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order. I direct the gentleman to be seated at this time as a member of the bar of the State of New York.

Will the gentleman please be seated?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Mr. Chairman, if the Constitution is to be razed and we as lawyers are to be emasculated in this armed camp, I should be allowed to make a slight protest and stand here silently in protest, because I am not allowed to participate as a lawyer in these proceedings at all.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is not required to participate. If the gentlemen wish to leave, they are permitted to leave.

OTHER COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. We wish to stand in protest silently.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair would have to rule that that would be in violation of the rules of the committee and that you would be disturbing the committee.

FIRST COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. The police are standing throughout this hearing.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I think you have done a fair job of keeping order.

The gentleman (counsel) is operating on the presumption he came here to participate in the hearing. As you stated so many times, he did not come here to participate in the hearings, but to advise his client. Obviously he has not understood the rules of the House so ably explained by you.

I merely suggest he be reminded he did not come here to participate or engage in debate with the Chair or this committee.

Mr. ICHORD. I have advised the gentleman many times—will the gentleman please desist? I have advised the gentleman many times heretofore that under the rules of parliamentary procedure, which are as old as the English parliamentary system, this is a legislative hearing. The ordinary rules of evidence do not prevail here, as in a court of law, because no one is on trial. No one is sought to be punished by the committee.

I have advised this gentleman, Mr. di Suvero—is that the correct name?

Mr. KENNEDY. My name is Michael Kennedy.

Mr. ICHORD. I have advised Michael Kennedy many times that under the rules of the House, the rules as announced by the Speaker, and also under the Constitution of the United States, that he will be restricted to advising his client.



You have interrupted with objections, and the Chair has been very lenient.

Mr. KENNEDY. I cannot advise my client in an armed camp.

Mr. ICHORD. Your client has not been called yet. These are other witnesses before the committee. Your client has not been called. At a proper time, your client will be called.

The Chair has always permitted the gentleman to file legal objections in writing as to these hearings. Those matters will be taken up by the committee and will be decided by the committee.

Now, I appeal to you, sir, as a member of the bar of New York—and I resent your statement. This Member of Congress is also a member of the bar, not only a member of the bar of the State of Missouri, but also a member of the Supreme Court bar, and I am acquainted with the Constitution.

It will be my intent, my sincere purpose, to protect the constitutional rights of your clients. Those rights have not been violated, as the Chair announces at this time.

So I would ask that the gentlemen please be seated. If not, I will respectfully request that you retire from the proceedings.

We do not require your presence here. You are welcome here if you want to remain in order. But if you insist upon standing, I shall have to ask that you leave the hearing room.

Let the record show that.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, most respectfully, sir, if in fact we are in accord on our feelings about the United States Constitution, this committee should in fact be willing to provide us a hearing at this juncture on the procedural request filed before the committee, because it will be mooted, sir—

Mr. ICHORD. I think we all know what is going on.

Let me advise the gentleman that the Chair will interpret the Rules of the House of Representatives and the constitutional provisions governing these proceedings.

The Chair has interpreted that the constitutional rights of your clients have not been violated.

If you wish to take that matter into a court of law, you have the opportunity to do so, but the Chair will not permit the attorney to make the rulings for him.

Mr. KENNEDY. I am not trying to make the rulings for the committee. I am merely pointing out errors wherein I most respectfully disagree with the application that the Chair is making of the United States Constitution.

The House Un-American Activities Committee has historically acknowledged only one amendment, and that is the fifth.

I am not relying on the fifth at this point. I am relying on the sixth amendment, the right of counsel, the sixth amendment right of confrontation, which has historically been a democratic ideal and should remain so, including it should remain so in the hallowed halls of Congress.

I most respectfully request a hearing, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me say to the gentleman that all of the precedents, all of the past procedures of the House of Representatives are not in agreement with what the gentleman says.

The Chair will have to overrule your point of order.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, if I am emasculated as a lawyer, there is no point in my being here at this time. I cannot participate at this time in a proceeding before this committee, in an armed camp atmosphere, where I am not allowed, as a member of the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court and the bar of California, to participate.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me say to the gentleman again, this is not a court of law. This is a legislative proceeding. Your client will be called at the proper time, and you will be permitted to participate, under the Rules of the House of Representatives, which are established rules of parliamentary procedures.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would request permission to stand in protest.

Mr. ICHORD. Not on your terms.

Mr. KENNEDY. In my dedication to the United States Constitution and to my oath as a member of the bar.

Mr. ICHORD. I ask again that you be seated. If not, I ask that you retire from the room. Will you please retire?

I warn counsel again as to Rule VIII and I shall read it again:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the Committee or Subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removal of counsel from the hearing room, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

Now, I direct the counsel to please be seated or else retire from the room.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, is it our understanding that unless we sit down, you will take some action against counsel?

Mr. ICHORD. That could very well be. It is your alternative.

I would also point out to the counsel, perhaps you are not familiar with the statute, so that at least members of the press and members of the public who may have come into the hearing will be aware of it, and I am going to read it again to the counsel and to the witnesses and to their associates, Public Law 90-108:

It shall be unlawful for any person or group of persons willfully and knowingly—

\* \* \* \* \*

(4) to utter loud, threatening, or abusive language, or to engage in any disorderly or disruptive conduct, at any place upon the United States Capitol Grounds or within any of the Capitol Buildings with intent to impede, disrupt, or disturb the orderly conduct of any session of the Congress or either House thereof, or the orderly conduct within any such building of any hearing before, or any deliberations of, any committee or subcommittee of the Congress or either House thereof;

I cannot conduct these hearings in an orderly manner with the counsel remaining standing.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I would say I think the Chair has conducted this meeting with tact and with patience.

Also, as a lawyer, and I say this particularly to Mr. Kunstler, who was present at the time that the unfortunate incident happened with Mr. Kinoy, no member of the committee—I know Mr. Kunstler was not pleased with what happened then. Certainly it is not our desire, if there are those present who want such an incident to happen again, to accommodate you. We certainly don't want that. Speaking for myself, and speaking for all of us present, not a one of us liked that incident.

There may be a difference of opinion as to whether it was inflicted upon us, or whether we responded improperly. We hope we don't get to that stage.

He has issued a warning. I would hope, in all fairness, unless this is an effort to make a confrontation with this committee, that the attorneys will accede to what I think is a reasonable request from the chairman, who has exercised great patience and tact, which might not always have been the case in some other hearings.

I would hope that you certainly will respond to what seems to me to be the very fair request of our Chair. I direct that particularly to Mr. Kunstler, who was present at the other time.

Maybe there are those who want to make a confrontation with this committee. We don't want it. We are doing everything to avoid it.

I would certainly commend the Chair for the way he has handled this. Unless the request is acceded to, I think you have nothing left to do except to remove them from the room.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that standing are Mr. di Suvero, Michael Kennedy, Mr. Melvin Wulf, Mr. William Kunstler, and Mr. Gerald Lefcourt.

Gentlemen, I have no alternative—

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I say a word?

I also would like to commend the chairman for his patience. I think you properly have stated now the action of the group at this time; not only of the lawyers standing, but also all of the witnesses, and a number of others are standing. And if it is the intention of the lawyers and others to stand in silent protest, I for one would like to certainly welcome the silence, but I wonder if you could not make your silent protest be in the form of sitting down, so that we might conclude the hearings.

If that is not your wish, then it is perfectly obvious that you are desiring a confrontation with the Chair and it is your purpose, as lawyers, in advising your clients, to disrupt this hearing and to prevent its continuing in an orderly fashion.

I stated to one of the gentlemen of the bar earlier that I was a little shocked at apparently the lawyers joining in with the frivolity, and such as that.

Mr. Chairman, I would agree with you that if they do not wish to sit in silent protest, which I think the committee would welcome, but they continue to stand up, then we will have no alternative but to impose the rules of the House.

Mr. KUNSTLER. May I say a word? Mr. Ashbrook addressed a word to me.

One of the great reasons for the standing protest is the fact that, one, we have been surrounded in this hearing by a great number of armed, uniformed officers in this hearing room and also by nonuniformed officers, many of whom I recognize from prior occasions.

Even more important than that—and that is certainly important—is the fact that we have seen discussed here in public what we think are the most sacred confidential communications of lawyer and client.

Lawyers have been singled out. John Abt for one. Others have been singled out in recitation of old and public history designed to reach an audience in a different fashion.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is not doing that now? The gentleman is not trying to reach an audience by word of mouth?

Mr. KUNSTLER. Of course I am trying to reach an audience. We all are. It is a question of one against the other. We have to at least counteract what is being done.

Mr. ICHORD. I think the Chair is being extremely lenient, but proceed.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I just want to finish up in this respect, that it is mainly because of what we consider the attack directly on some lawyers, an attack on lawyers' duties and obligations to their clients, that makes the lawyers stand up. This is different, Mr. Ashbrook, than in 1966. The attack was a physical attack on the lawyer.

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute. That is certainly in vilification of the committee, Mr. Counselor.

I have read the rules to you. These are rules which have never been overthrown in any of the courts of the land. They are established parliamentary procedures, because, as I have explained time and time again, the rules of evidence in a court, where a person is being tried, sought to be punished, do not prevail in a legislative inquiry.

You have, and the other members of the bar have, repeatedly stated objections, contrary to the rules of the House, contrary to the ruling of the Chair, and I am, as a Member of Congress, sworn to carry out the duties that have been thrust on me as chairman of this committee.

So, for the final time, I order you to sit down, or please retire from the room. If you fail to do so, I will entertain a motion from the committee that you be directed to sit down or retire from the chamber, or the officers, if you refuse to do that, will escort you outside.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. I want to make it clear, I am leaving under dual compulsion. I am leaving under compulsion, first, because I am unable to effectively represent my clients. I see no purpose in my being here. Secondly, I am leaving under compulsion of being threatened with prosecution under the statute which you read. And the two of those combined will persuade me to go, but I do so under the strictest protest.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has not ruled that there has been a disruption, as yet. The Chair will entertain a motion from a member of the committee.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I move that under Rule VIII, inasmuch as the Chair has issued what I think is a fair and clear warning which has not been met with an affirmative response by those who are now, I believe, disrupting our meeting, that the Chair hereby order all of those standing to retire from this room and, if there is failure to do so, that he order them to be escorted from the room.

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. Does that include the members of the police and detectives and others who are standing?

This is the first time I have opened my mouth. I don't think I am disrupting the hearing, or anybody else is, either. I am standing here silently.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will please cease.

The motion has been made that the Chair be directed to direct the attorneys and the witnesses standing to be seated so that the proceed-

ings can go on, or else that they retire from the room; if they fail to do so, that the officers be requested to escort them from the room.

All in favor say "Aye."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Aye.

Mr. WATSON. Aye.

Mr. ICHORD. Those opposed?

(No response.)

Mr. ICHORD. The ayes have it. The motion is adopted.

In pursuance to that motion, I direct that you be seated or retire from the room.

Let the record show that they are still remaining standing and are disrupting the hearing.

I would inform the police that it appears that there is an attempt to have a confrontation not only with the committee, but with the police. I would direct the police to escort them without the use of force, unless necessary, and the police are so directed.

(Police escort standees out of hearing room.)

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that the lawyers and their witnesses and others who joined with them have left the hearing room.

The hearing will continue. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Continue, Sergeant Grubisic.

Mr. GRUBISIC. I would also like to submit two flyers distributed by the Chicago Legal Defense Committee just prior and during the Democratic National Convention.

One flyer is entitled "YOUR 'RIGHTS' UNDER THE LAW" [Grubisic Exhibit No. 11].

Mr. SMITH. Will you identify the date, if you have it?

Mr. GRUBISIC. And the other flyer is entitled "IF YOU ARE ARRESTED" [Grubisic Exhibit No. 12].

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I should like to request that these documents be accepted for the record and be received.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, the documents will be admitted into the record.

(Documents marked "Grubisic Exhibits Nos. 8 through 12," respectively. Exhibit No. 9 retained in committee files; Nos. 8, 10, 11, and 12 follow:)

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 8

[*Washington Post*, September 4, 1968, page A-2]

# Chicago Demonstrators Are Released From Jail

CHICAGO, Sept. 3 (AP)— All of the 583 persons arrested in demonstrations last week during the Democratic National Convention have been released, according to the Chicago Legal Defense Committee.

"As far as we know everyone is out," a spokesman said. "Now, there may have been one or two lost in the shuffle, but we don't know of any."

Earlier reports had said that Dick Gregory, civil rights activist, had refused bail at first, but today Gregory's wife said that he was released after posting a \$25 bond.

Gregory submitted to voluntary arrest Thursday night when he tried to pass through a police blockade at the end of a line of marchers.

Most of the 583 arrested were charged with disorderly conduct and some with resisting arrest. About 75 per cent of the bail bonds set were for \$25, the spokesman said.

However, bonds ranged as high as \$25,000 in some cases.

An official of the Cook County state's attorney's office said that the few high bonds resulted from a combination of charges including aggravated battery and unlawful use of a weapon.

The majority of the arrests were made Wednesday and Thursday nights.

The Chicago police department, meanwhile, said today only one of the 152 policemen injured in last week's disorders still is in a hospital.

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 10

## CHICAGO LEGAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

127 NORTH DEARBORN STREET,

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

PHONE: 641-1470

## ERRATUM

(Subversive Involvement in Disruption of 1968 Democratic Party National Convention, Part 1 of hearings October 1, 3, and 4, 1968)

The following Grubisic Exhibit No. 10 should be substituted for the one now appearing on page 2314:

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 10

### CHICAGO LEGAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

127 NORTH DEARBORN STREET,

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

PHONE: 641-1470

Co-Chairmen:

Irving Birnbaum

Edward Ted Stein

Executive Secretary:

Mark Simons

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
DEPOSITED BY THE  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

APR 22 1971





GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 11

YOUR "RIGHTS" UNDER THE LAW

The "Catch 22" to this whole discussion is that you are required under law to obey the orders of a cop even if those orders are unlawful. The other point to keep in mind is that your rights under the law are basically irrelevant and that the decisions of the powers that be will be based on political and not legal analysis.

You have a right to peacefully picket or leaflet or speak on any sidewalk so long as you do not block the sidewalk or cause it to be blocked, without any permit. The exception to this is picketing on a sidewalk in front of a private residence, which is prohibited.

Police can regulate traffic pretty much as they see fit. That means they can stop you at intersections and keep you out of the street.

You have a right to speak and leaflet on publicly owned property, public parks and plazas, for example.

A recent Supreme Court decision holds that you have a right to leaflet even on private property if it is used for public access (for example, the parking lots of large shopping centers). Don't push on this one; its limits are narrow and poorly defined.

Bus and train stations in Chicago are private property.

If you enter a building or other property and are asked to leave by the owner or his duly authorized agent, you must do so or you are guilty of trespass. This is true even of publicly owned buildings.

Under the new stop-and-frisk law, a cop can stop you, ask for your identification and frisk you if he feels that you "might" have a deadly weapon.

To a cop, a protestor is always guilty of disorderly conduct, no matter what he is doing. The city ordinance on this is very vague and is probably unconstitutional.

Remember: The law, the courts and the cops are there to serve someone's interest - but that someone isn't you.

Misc.

Out of state drivers licenses cannot be used for bond in traffic arrests. You will need a bond card or \$25 cash if you get picked up on a traffic violation.

If you have any questions, call the Chicago Legal Defense Committee at 641-1470-1-2. But DON'T TIE UP THEIR LINES IF THERE HAVE BEEN MANY ARRESTS. Unless, of course, you are one of those arrested or you have bond money for someone in jail.

# 2316 DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 12

### IF YOU ARE ARRESTED

1. Remain organized.
2. Have the phone number of the Chicago Legal Defense Committee (CLDC), 641-1470, 1471, 1472, and the Friends of Chicago Legal Defense (FCLD), 243-2672, 2673, with you at all times.
3. Get the name (or badge number) of the cop who ACTUALLY arrests you. This is very important since they will later assign an "arresting officer" who you never saw before and who will testify as to your guilt.
4. Don't talk to the cops. Don't give them any statement of any kind. You should give them your correct name and address.
5. Try and get names of witnesses and note the presence and identity of any photographers who might have gotten a picture of the events surrounding the arrest.
6. As soon as possible, learn the names of all people arrested with you and determine whether or not they have bond resources. If they have outside contacts who can raise bond money, find out how to get in touch with those contacts.
7. As soon as anyone in the group arrested can make a phone call, they should call the CLDC at 641-1470, 1, 2. Give the CLDC: 1.) The names of all persons arrested, 2.) the bond resources of those persons, 3.) tell them what jail or detention center you are at and the charges against you. If you can't get through to CLDC, call FCLD at 243, 2672, 3.
8. When you get into court, demand that you be represented by a CLDC lawyer. If, for manpower shortage, a CLDC attorney is not in your court, the Bar Association volunteer is better than nothing--unless they are clearly messing over our people.
9. Make sure your lawyer knows your personal history (background is important in setting bond amounts) before your bond hearing.
10. Ask your lawyer to make a demand for immediate trial and to ask for copies of all charges.
11. After you are out on bond, come to the CLDC office at 127 North Dearborn, room 637. Bring with you: 1.) a bond receipt, 2.) the time and place of your bond hearing, 3.) copies of charges, 4.) a description of events (in triplicate). The description of events should include: 1.) Your name, address, and phone, 2.) a narrative of all events surrounding the arrest (political rhetoric excluded), 3.) identification of police, witnesses, photos or photographers, medical data (if any), 4.) name of your attorney, and 5.) statements of anyone who has knowledge of your case.
12. Under law, your rights in jail are: 1.) a right to make one phone call, 2.) a right to have bail speedily set, 3.) a right to consult an attorney of your choice, and 4.) a right to remain silent.

### REMAIN ORGANIZED

IMPORTANT NOTE: AS SOON AS YOU ARRIVE IN THE CITY, FILL OUT AN ARREST FORM AT ANY OF THE ORGANIZED HOUSING FACILITIES, MOVEMENT CENTERS, OR OTHER MOVEMENT PLACES. THEN RETURN THEM!!! WE MUST HAVE THESE FORMS TO GET YOU OUT OF JAIL IF IT COMES TO THAT.

The best place to pick up arrest forms is at the housing center:

547 S. Clark

Mr. SMITH. Do you have anything further to add in connection with this?

Mr. GRUBISIC. No, I don't.

Mr. SMITH. What medical facilities were planned in case demonstrators were injured in violent confrontations with the police?

Mr. GRUBISIC. The Medical Committee for Human Rights sent a report to its members which contained the following information:

Medical Committee for Human Rights and the Student Health Organization have been asked to provide medical presence by a number of organizations whose members plan to be visiting Chicago from August 26-30, 1968.

In response to these requests, MCHR and SHO have set up an apparatus for medical presence to become effective Saturday, August 24th and to continue through Friday, August 30th. This apparatus will include medical alert phone lines, mobile first aid teams, stationary first aid centers, private physicians' back-up offices, other general information about medical care resources in Chicago and housing for out-of-town medical volunteers.

Just prior to the convention, first aid classes were conducted in Lincoln Park.

Mr. ICHORD. What was the date of the first aid classes, Sergeant?

Was that back in the early part of the year?

Mr. GRUBISIC. No, it was not. I am almost positive it was just the week before the convention.

Mr. ICHORD. I realize you are testifying to a voluminous number of facts. If you wish to refer to any documents, please feel free to do so.

Mr. GRUBISIC. One class was conducted on August 13 at approximately 7:30 p.m., at 960 East 59th Street, in Chicago, Illinois, believed to be the headquarters of the Student Health Organization.

Mr. SMITH. Was there a specific plan to march on the Convention Hall or the Amphitheatre during the convention, regardless of the danger that this would create to the delegates and public officials gathered there?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes. According to the official minutes of the NMC meeting held on August 4 and chaired by Dave Dellinger, the discussion moved to the massive march proposal, analyzing the various routes to the Amphitheatre and the length of the different routes.

Dave pointed out their calling for action not related to the Amphitheatre on the 28th was ignoring the natural magnetism of the place, that the meeting would be at the Amphitheatre, and the necessity of having military surrounding masses of people at a Democratic Convention would lend political content to the action.

There was a discussion on the possibility of proceeding in the face of a curfew threat or denial of a permit.

It was pointed out that Mob, or National Mobilization Committee, has rallied people before without a permit and that insistence on fulfilling an announced aim made a strong bargaining position in negotiating their permit.

A curfew, according to Bob Greenblatt, would be clearly an oppressive measure to disobey.

Much of the material distributed by the National Mobilization Committee included reference to this mass march for which the city of Chicago has denied permit due to the dangers which it would create.

A letter sent to persons in Cincinnati who intended to come advised that in this demonstration they would carry both American and Viet Cong flags.

A special issue of the newspaper, *RAT*, which is controlled by SDS, was distributed to the demonstrators. It carried maps, including one of the Amphitheatre area, which showed the line of march of the proposed illegal demonstration which would carry them directly to the helicopter landing zone, where dignataries would be coming in.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a copy of the *RAT* that you mentioned, the publication that showed the route?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, I do.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these two documents be received for the record as exhibits.

Mr. ICHORD. Your request is that this special issue of the *RAT* be admitted into the record?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. And the second document? What is this?

Mr. SMITH. Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Mr. ICHORD. Article from the Medical Committee for Human Rights?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Is there any objection?

If not, it will be admitted.

(Documents marked "Grubisic Exhibits Nos. 13 and 14," respectively, follow:)

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 13

Medical Committee for Human Rights and the Student Health Organization have been asked to provide medical presence by a number of organizations whose members plan to be visiting Chicago from August 26-30, 1968.

In response to these requests, MCHR and SHO have set up an apparatus for medical presence to become effective Saturday, August 24th and to continue through Friday, August 30th. This apparatus will include medical alert phone lines, mobile first aid teams, stationary first aid centers, private physicians' back-up offices, other general information about medical care resources in Chicago and housing for out-of-town medical volunteers.

There will be three levels of service. The first will be first aid centers which will be equipped with personnel and supplies to render first aid if required. The second will be mobile first aid teams which will be dispatched to the sites of activities as indicated. These will be supplied with first aid equipment. The third will include physicians whose services will be available in their offices as necessary.

The mobile first aid team will bear the primary responsibility for service at the site of activity. This service will include giving information about health or medical care if requested; render first aid, if necessary; act as a calming influence, if possible, should panic situations arise; make referrals to first aid centers or doctor's offices or emergency rooms as indicated and transport, if possible, sick or injured persons away from the site of activity and to a source of medical care. Wherever possible patients should be removed from a site of activity to another source of care. Vans identified with red crosses will be at the sites of activity.

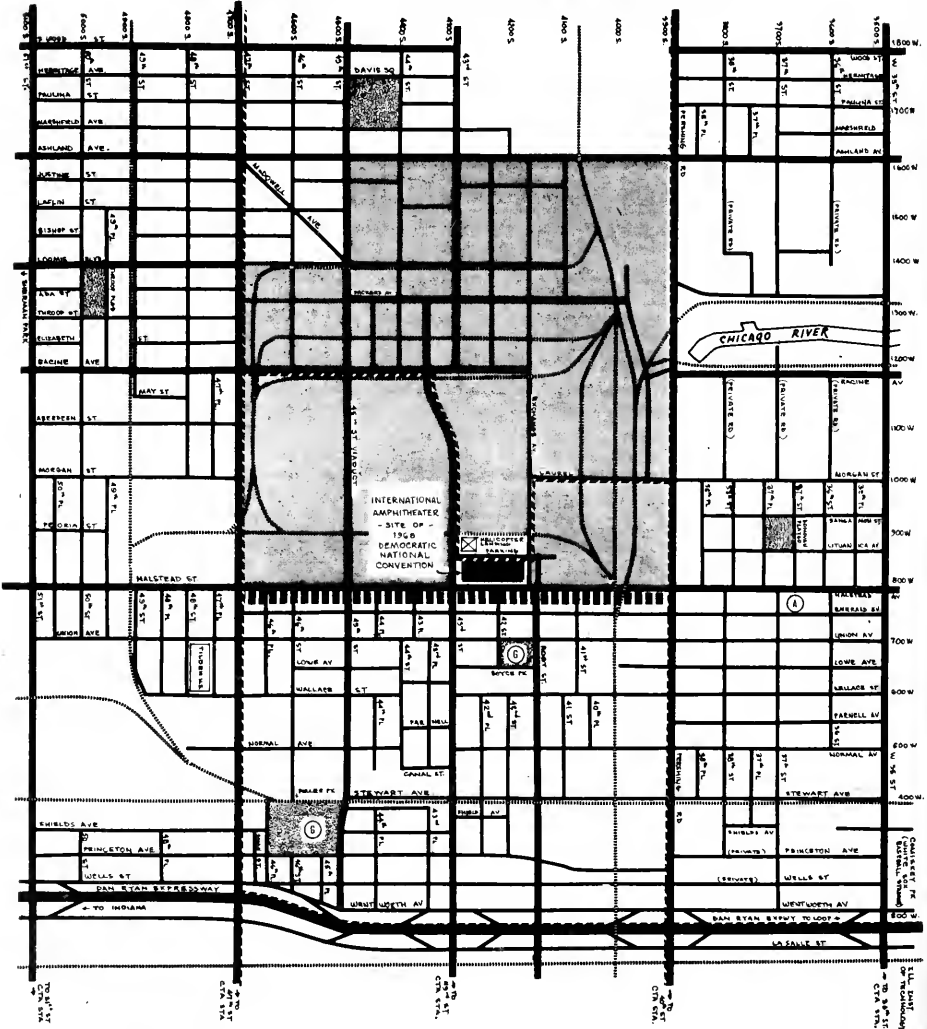
The first aid center will be more fully equipped and will care for persons, or refer them if indicated, to other sources of care. However, physicians are requested to bring their bags supplied for emergency care. (If you have a scissors and flashlight, please label it with your name and bring it with you.) The first aid center will also be the point of dispatch for mobile teams so that all mobile teams will be asked to report to a center and will be assigned from there with their entire team. They will report back to the center (by phone or in person) at the end of their assignment.

All medical volunteers are requested to maintain a neutral posture relative to any activities at the site. Medical volunteers will wear arm-bands with the red cross on white coats or uniforms at all times that they are on duty at a site of activity. Medical volunteers wishing to participate in the activity at the site are requested to remove their white coats and arm-bands and act as individuals. No volunteer should participate in the activity at a site if he is actively on duty as a member of a medical aid team. Any volunteer who does not feel it is possible to submit to this discipline is asked not to serve on a medical team.

Medical volunteers wearing the arm-band with the red cross have some assurances of safe conduct from the police. It is hoped that the medical symbol on the arm-band will be recognized as a neutral, medical insignia and will be treated as such. If, despite the neutrality of medical personnel and present assurances of safety, any of the medical personnel are detained or arrested, legal counsel will be available.



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 14

# AMPHITHEATER AREA



**KEY:**  
 **UNION STOCKYARD**  
 PATRIOTIC AREA - SURROUNDED BY FENCE WITH ALARMS

- ① 14<sup>TH</sup> WARD DEMOCRATIC H.Q. - 3655 S. HALSTEAD AV (MAYOR DALES COMMITTEE HQ)
- ② NATIONAL GUARD BIVOUACS

 PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AREA  
 ROUTE TO NFL AMPHITHEATER  
 TO BE USED BY CONVENTION DELEGATES  
 RAILROAD TRACKS

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant Grubisic, what was the role of the marshals organized by the National Mobilization Committee?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Just prior to the convention, our investigators watched as marshals were being trained in violent tactics in Lincoln Park.

Mr. SMITH. Who was in charge of the marshals?

Mr. GRUBISIC. The contacts were John Fronies or Vernon Grizzard, and David Baker was observed leading a number of people participating in what they called the snake dance.

I have here some photos of this dance.

Mr. SMITH. Is this a method of resisting the police that they were being trained in?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, it was. The purpose of the snake dance training was intended to break police lines, which these people have found were very effectively used by Japanese students against the police in Japan.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I don't quite understand. You mean you go up to the police line, and as a form of protest, you enter in a snake dance, you whip around and bring a confrontation of that type with the police?

I am not quite sure I understand how this would help the demonstrators.

Mr. HEALY. I am Lieutenant Healy. Possibly I can help on this.

They lined up in a group of eight, holding a pole in their hands. It was strictly a defensive maneuver, along with other actions that took place in the park.

They described this as defensive maneuvers. They were far from defensive maneuvers.

This plan, here, they interlocked arms, holding a pole. They marched along, a large group of 30, 40, or 50, the front group holding this pole. The momentum of this group, they felt, by marching along, yelling "Bo shai," a Japanese term I have no knowledge of—if the police attempted to stop them, they were unable to break through this line.

Another tactic they used in the park was a defensive tactic taught by a man known as Wolfe Lowenthal. He is supposedly a judo expert. He was imported into Chicago to show the marshals how to protect themselves or how to protect their people.

Now, myself and members of my unit observed these defensive tactics. They would start by stopping a blow apparently from a policeman who was striking them over the head.

This was their conversation prior to the discussion. It was immediately followed by a kick to the groin area. This is one of their defensive tactics.

They claim these were defensive tactics. These snake dances and defensive tactics were practiced every day for approximately a week prior to the convention, at Lincoln Park in Chicago.

It was attended by members of the Yippies; some members of NMC were observed on the scene every day.

We have pictures here that we could show you how they line up, holding the bar, and another picture showing a group of approximately 50 people, with David Baker, who is the man from Detroit who came into Chicago to demonstrate this procedure. He is the man that initiated this idea into the preconvention plan.

You will observe from the picture what type of force would be behind this type of maneuver.

Mr. ICHORD. Do they march with the pole, or do they actually run with the pole?

Mr. HEALY. They hop from foot to foot and "Bo shai, Bo shai" as they go on.

Mr. ICHORD. Was this so-called defensive tactic used during the convention to your knowledge?

Mr. HEALY. No, sir, it was not.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these pictures be received for the record and marked accordingly.

Mr. ICHORD. Have they been properly identified?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. I have three photographs, Lieutenant.

Where were these taken?

Mr. HEALY. They were all taken in Lincoln Park, near Chicago, where the confrontation between the Chicago police and Yippies took place.

Mr. ICHORD. This was immediately prior to the demonstration in Chicago?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. ICHORD. Is there any objection to the admission of the photographs?

They will be admitted.

(Photographs marked "Grubisic Exhibits Nos. 15-A through C," respectively, follow :)

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 15-A



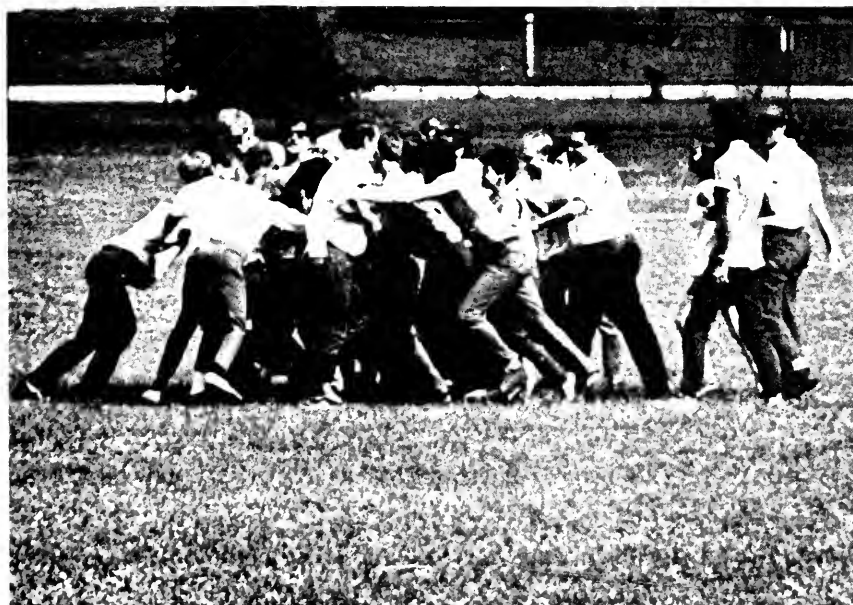


GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 15-B



No. 1 identified as David Baker.

GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 15-C



No. 1 identified as Lowen Berman.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, Sergeant Grubisic mentioned Vernon Grizzard as being in charge of the marshals.

I would like to enter into the record information from the committee files concerning Mr. Grizzard.

A publication issued by the League for Industrial Democracy in 1964 and 1965 reflects that Students for a Democratic Society is affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy and that Mr. Grizzard is vice president of the Students for a Democratic Society.

In addition, a clipping from the *National Guardian* of May 7, 1966, advertising or announcing a forum known as DEMOCRACY and the DRAFT EXAM, indicates that Vernon Grizzard was the past vice president of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Further, in a clipping of the *New York Times*, June 15, 1965, page C-26, under the title of "Left-Wing Student Group Elects a New President," Vernon Grizzard is listed among 200 at the closing session of the organizational meeting, and as having been succeeded by Jeffrey Shero, a student at the University of Texas, as vice president of the leftwing student group.

Jeffrey Shero is now editor of the *RAT* newspaper that was just introduced into the record.

Further, in a publication by the Students for a Democratic Society, Vernon Grizzard is indicated as vice president of the organization, and the publication reflects the objectives and the projects of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Further, in a *Washington Post* newspaper item of September 21, 1968, page A-3, under the title of "U.S. War Foes Met With Hanoi Group," Vernon Grizzard in an interview indicated that he had attended the antiwar group meeting in Hungary in September, meeting with representatives of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front to review the war and discuss strategy on U.S. campuses.

The meetings held in Budapest were organized in the United States by David Dellinger, head of the National Mobilization Committee, a coalition of antiwar groups.

Mr. Chairman, I request that these exhibits be accepted for the record.

Mr. ICHORD. Is there any objection?

If not, the exhibits will be accepted.

(Documents marked "Grubisic Exhibits Nos. 16 through 20," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Did the demonstrators compile additional maps and security information to enable them to engage in disruptive activities?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes.

I have here a description and maps of two National Guard armories in Chicago. One is the Humboldt National Guard Armory located on the southeast corner of Kedzie and North Avenue.

The other is a report on the Chicago Avenue Armory, the west end of block E of Seneca Avenue north of Chicago Avenue, just south of Pearson.

I would like to read from some of the reports, particularly the last two paragraphs—

Mr. SMITH. What report?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Of the report on the Chicago Armory.

Mr. SMITH. This is a report by whom?

Mr. GRUBISIC. This report was obtained by a confidential source who was active with the National Mobilization Committee.

This report states:

750 could easily block all doors symbolically, also possible provo action:<sup>1</sup> detour Lake shore drive traffic into immediate neighborhood with wooden horses, etc, then stop cars with other wooden horses, then saturate with people, then let air out of tires of more and more cars until tanks, etc in armory can't get out. A few cars sacrificed for most direct blocking of garage doors. Aluminum door could be bent out of operation. Could NWU [which we believe is Northwestern University, which is in very close proximity to the Chicago Avenue Armory] form a sanctuary? Source of cadre?

Lots of fire hydrants for further confusion, first aid for gas attacks Construction site(s) would provide barricade materials. Apartment houses and hotels provide many blind alleys, which connect, for possible escape through confusion.

I would like to submit Xeroxed copies of the report and the maps of the two armories.

Mr. SMITH. This is a report of the National Mobilization Committee?

Mr. GRUBISIC. This is a report that our confidential source, active with the National Mobilization Committee, obtained.

Mr. SMITH. Does it have a date indicated on it?

Mr. GRUBISIC. No, it does not.

Mr. SMITH. Can you give a reasonable time element?

Mr. GRUBISIC. I believe it was approximately 3 to 4 days just prior to the convention.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be accepted for the record and marked as Exhibit 21.

Mr. ICHORD. If there is no objection, the document will be accepted for what it is worth.

(Documents marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 21" follow:)

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<sup>1</sup> The committee believes the term "provo action" means "provost marshal action."

## 2326 DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

### GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21

REPORT ON HUMBOLDT PARK NAT'L Guard Armory

Address: southeast corner of Kedzie and North Ave.

Talked to guard on duty, said there would probably be little action here, although 4,000 could be pulled if needed, most riot duty went from South Side and Chicago Ave. armories, had only 3 or 4 men in armory on weekends, monthly drills.

There were steel bars on all ground floor windows.

Neighborhood mostly white and Puerto Rican lower middle class, park is haven for winos. Many young kids in neighborhood, private homes, wooden houses.

The park on the south and eastern sides forms a natural place to gather or regroup people, North Ave has heavy traffic with a narrow concrete divider down the middle. The blocks to the north all have alleys running down the middle serving garages behind houses.

There are 8 major entrances, a row of five on the west side that look like a row of troops could come out of, and three big doors on the north where trucks and tanks could drive out.

Peaceful picketing could be kept to the north and west sides of the building, as few as 100 persons would look OK. An attempt to block exits would call for at least 750 real cadre and would only be symbolic anyway.

Starting at NW corner and proceeding clockwise entrances are:

1. basement level garage-sized doors with ramp up, facing west, small door for single person facing N;
2. garage-sized double doors facing N, also slightly above street level, ramp to street;
3. same as 2;
4. same as 2;
5. same as 1, facing E (1-5 all symmetrically centered on N side of armory);
6. double person-sized doors, up ramp from street, facing E;
7. same as 6;
8. slightly larger, around corner, facing S;
9. 3 large doors big enough for motorcycle, about 3 ft above ground level face S but enclosed by fence, hard to maneuver out of;
10. same as 2, next to 9;
11. double doors to offices, up about 5 steps from street, facing W;
- 12-14. large double doors, each

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

2.

## Humboldt Park Armory

recessed into wall of building, big enough for motorcycles with sidecars, but not cars to drive through, all face W; 17. same as 11. In addition, there are three low, climable wooden gates at entrances to ramps to doors 1 and 5 (18 & 19) on the street level and to the fenced enclosure of doors 9 & 10, facing W (20).

In addition there is a basement door on the east side with two doors, one of which is blocked by scrap metal, the other may still open. Maybe a surprise entrance/exit, down a flight of steps from ground level.

It would seem impossible to get in or out through windows.

There is a gas pump at bottom of slight ramp down from east side raised platform.

There is a pond with bushes, etc, in the park about 200 yds SE of armory, can't be seen from ground floor of armory but from roof. Element of surprise after dark more likely.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

REPORT ON CHICAGO AVE. ARMORY

Address: W end of block E of Seneca Ave, N of Chicago, S of Pearson

Noticed sign at top of main stairs inside; "Demcon Briefings 3rd E." E end of building is offices on 2nd and 3rd floors, maybe 1st, too. W end is large parking lot 2nd floor—would be indoor parade ground, motor pool probably below that—door 5 had ramps leading up and down, large enough for tanks.

Immediate neighborhood: upper class N parks E and W, Restaurant, campus S, ghospitals further S, business further W, Lake further E. Chicago campus of North-western Univ to immediate SE.

Seems like easily demonstrated around or even blocked.

Doors: starting NW corner & clockwise 1. Large double doors up a few steps probably for offices, facing N, 2 same as 1, 3. large doors center of E side, face E, up a few steps, lead to flight of steps to offices, about 10 feet wide; 4. three single person doors, street level or a few steps up.; 5. street level large double doors big enough for tanks; 6. large aluminum door, slide up, big enough for tanks; 7. set of 4 small doors, face W, same as 7. large windows below ground level, in wells, along N wall, indicate lower level, probably S side is ramps to these two levels.

North side Pearson St. 2 way street E of Seneca, one way E W of Seneca. Michigan Avenue very wide & busy. Parking lot on N side of street Pearson between Mich. & Seneca, vacant lot with 2 large billboards on W end of same block. church on SW corner of Mich and Delaware, big construction on block between Mich and Seneca and Dela. & Chestnut. High rise wealthy apartments due N. Blind alleys—parking lots off DeWitt Pl between Chestnut and Pearson, one blind alley, one thru alley

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

2.

Chicago Ave. Armory

to E off Devitt between Chestnut and Dela., also stairs down to basement level shopping center, hallway leading to elevator in a hotel-escape route?

Construction work NE of armory 4 trailers on S side of Pearson, N side, some open area, piles of: sand, concrete bags, wooden horses, cd cement blocks, lumber, timbers, iron pipes, iron U's for setting concrete, rocks. Also a truck, and entrance, to underground parking lot.

Broad sidewalk runs along E side of armory with concrete stumps at each end to keep cars, not motorcycles out. E of that a low chain link fence, then a cinder track, fenced with iron spike 4 ft fence, hard to climb, but 8 ft gaps. Tennis courts fenced in, then baseball field, E facing SE Driveway for park vehicles runs between Pearson and Chicago, then playground and park admin. buildings, then Lake Shore drive, a natural military hwy, better than Mich. Tunnell for pedestrians at SE corner of this n block crosses under to lake, which is concrete slabs. Park area about 3/4 mile south. Local lanes area W of Express, easy to walk across, too., only one low guardrail to hop across, but much traffic. Campus has two alleys running N-S with lockable fence in middle—possible escape, regroup-points, large lawn on NE corner of that block, also.

Small parking lot E off Fairbanks, possible escape route. Superior one way East, Huron W, S of Superior and E of Fairbanks are parking lots for hospital, S of Huron is VA research hosp., N is private hosp. Block SW of Huron & Fairbanks is private parking lot, block north of that is 3 story city parking lot.

The block due S of armory has alley in line with door #6, goes through to Superior, also branches W and through to Mich.? Hosp on SE corner of that block with fire alarm out front.

Very wide sidewalk S side of Chicago, with overhang building—store, with a large area just W of armory where fountain not fully installed,

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 21—Continued

3.

Chicago Ave, Armory

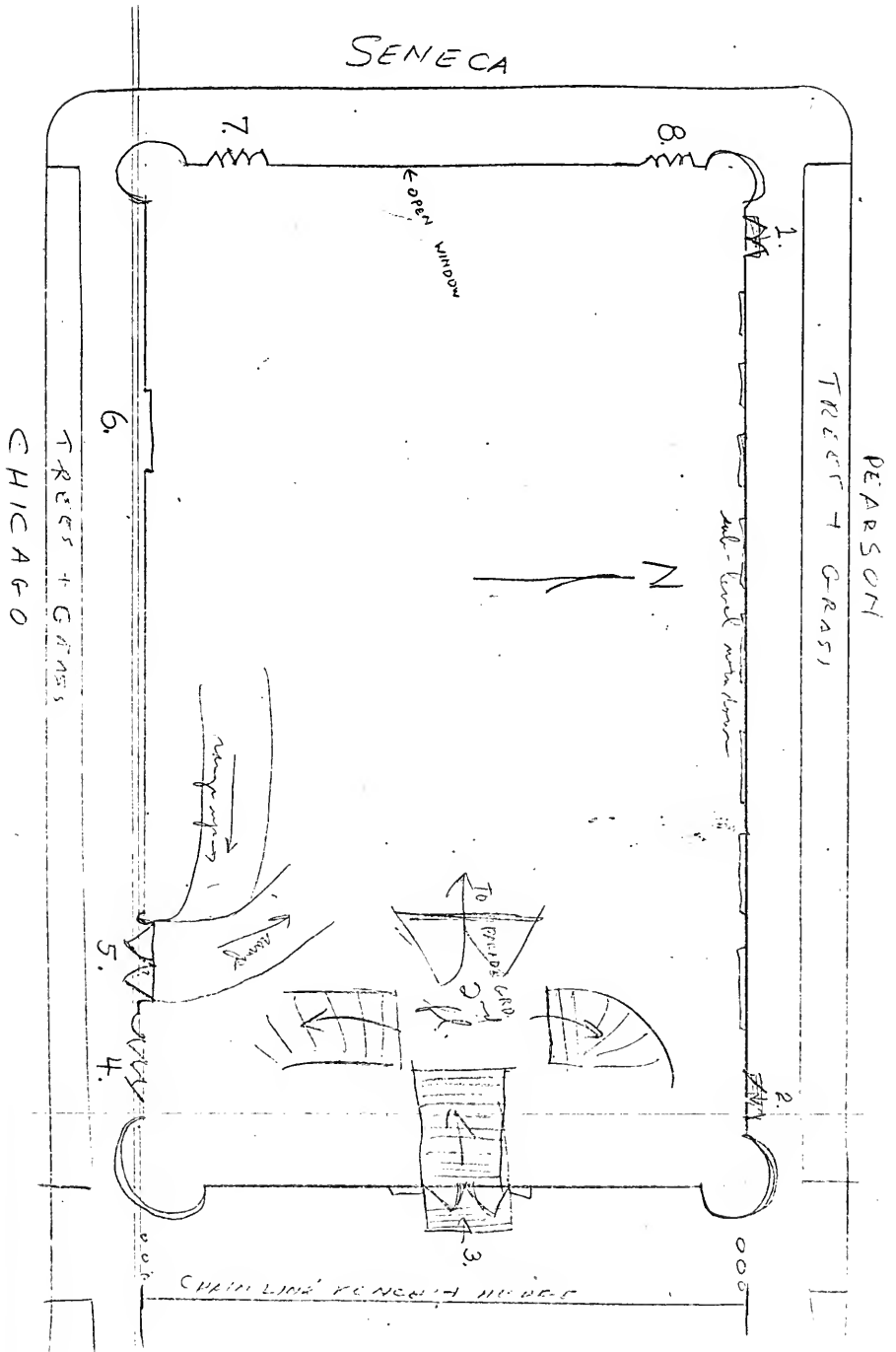
good for regrouping, hidden by awning for Carriage House, S of Armory. W of armory is small park, bordered by 4 ft chain link fence, easily climbed, two exits S, one N, large exit W around small first aid garage/office, which has parking lot with exit N on Pearson, wide grass strip S to Chicago, stone wall to W separates from waterworks offices. Good place to gather and march from.

750 could easily block all doors symbolically, also possible provocation: detour Lake shore drive traffic into immediate neighborhood with wooden horses, etc, then stop cars with other wooden horses, then saturate with people. then let air out of tires of more and more cars until tanks, etc in armory can't get out. A few cars sacrificed for most direct blocking of garage doors. Aluminum door could be bent out of operation. Could NWU form a sanctuary? Source of cadre?

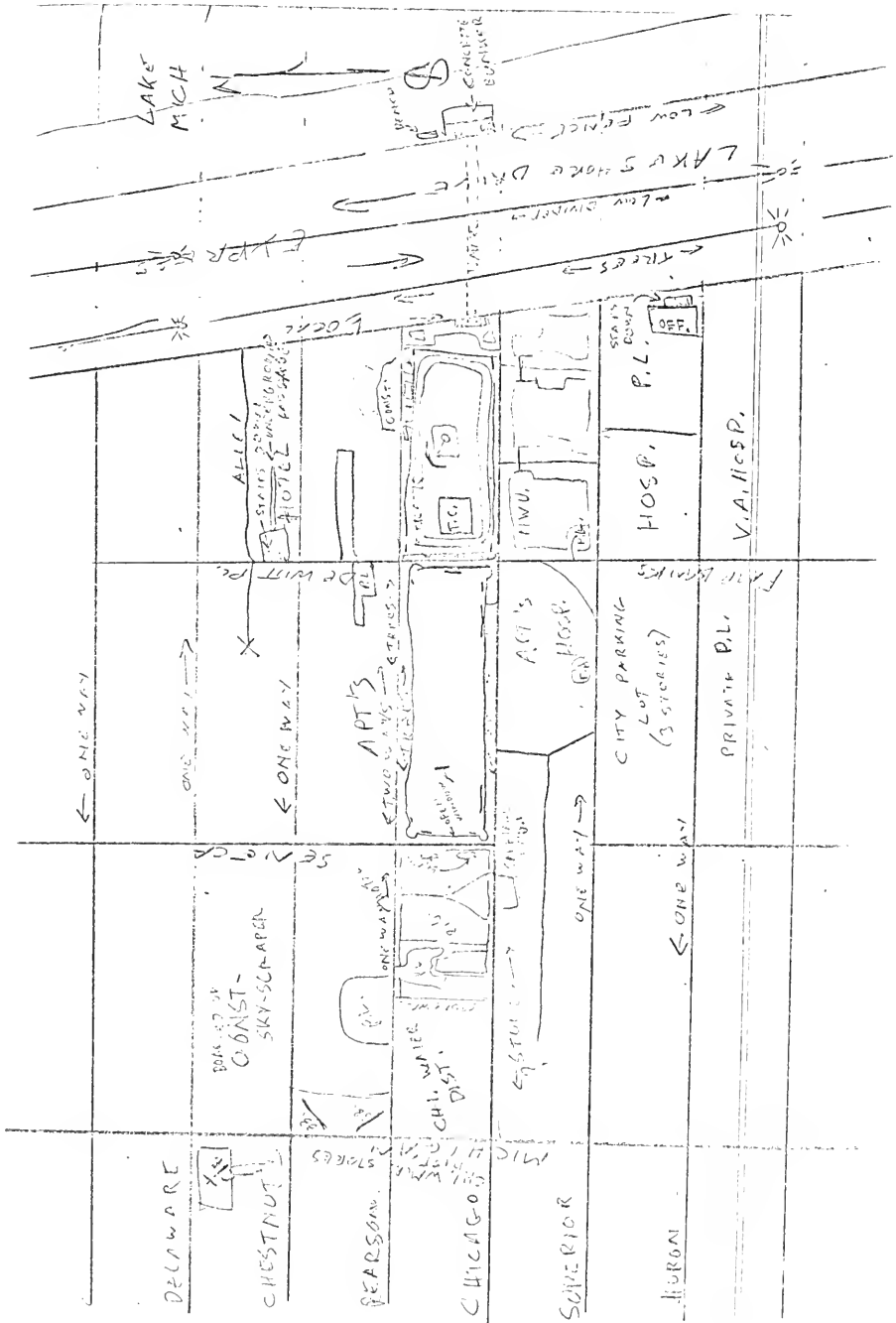
Lots of fire hydrants for further confusion, first aid for gas attacks. Construction site(s) would provide barricade materials. Apartment houses and hotels provide many blind alleys, which connect, for possible escape through confusion.



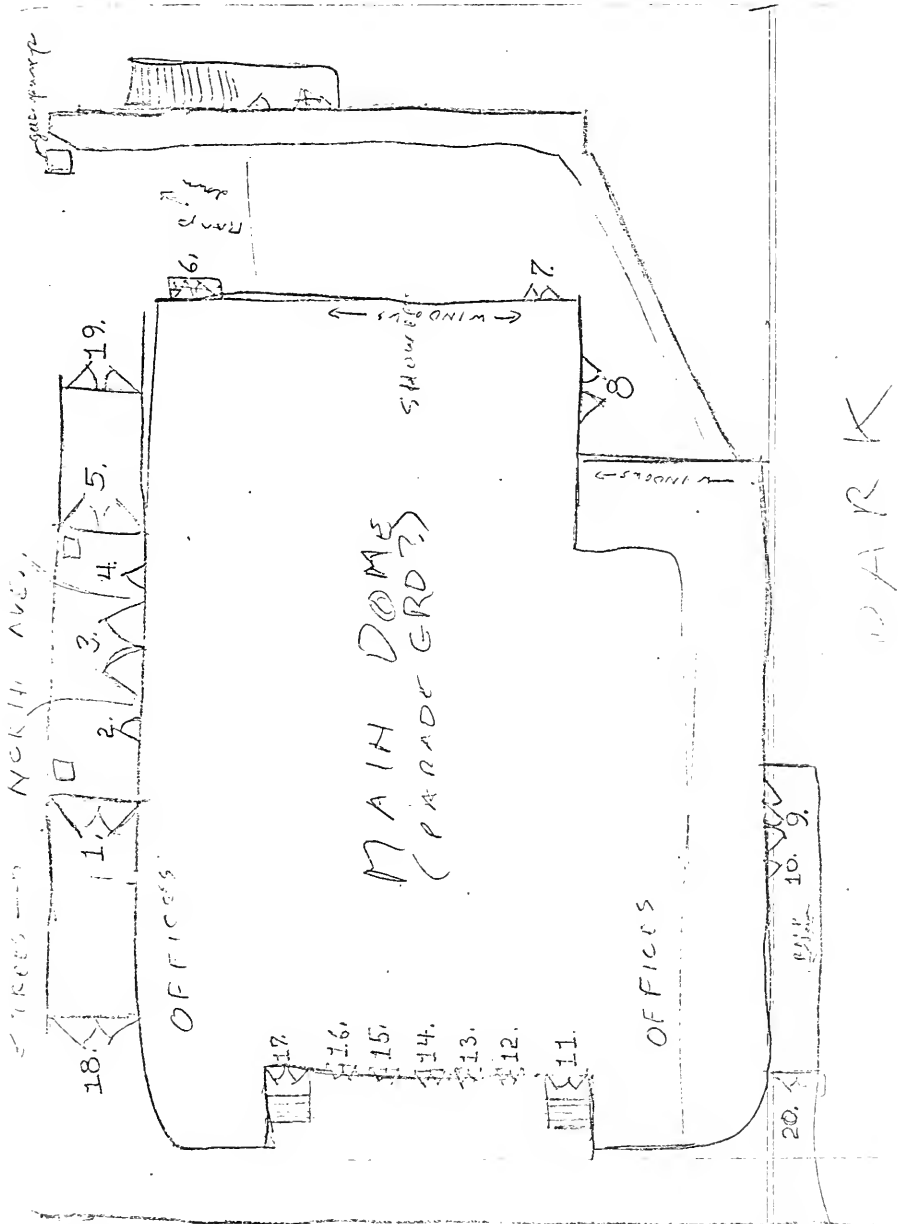
GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

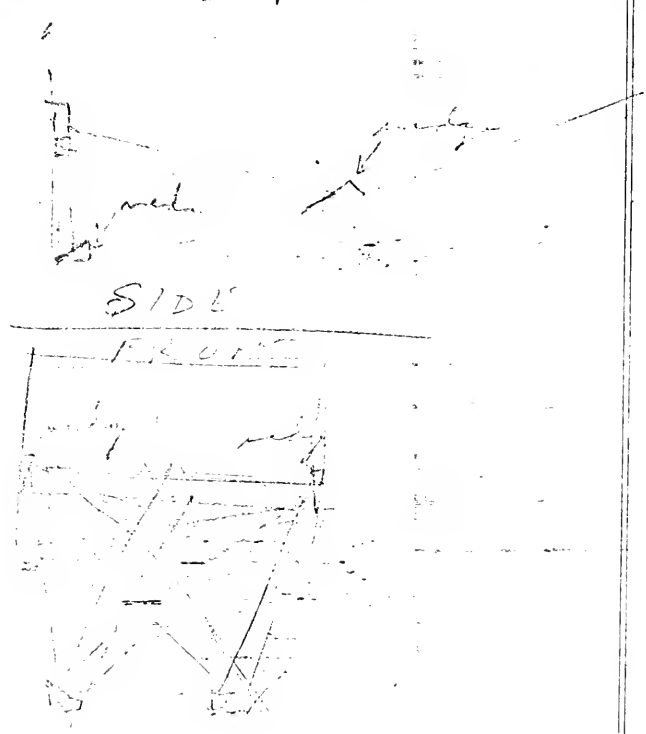


KEDZIE

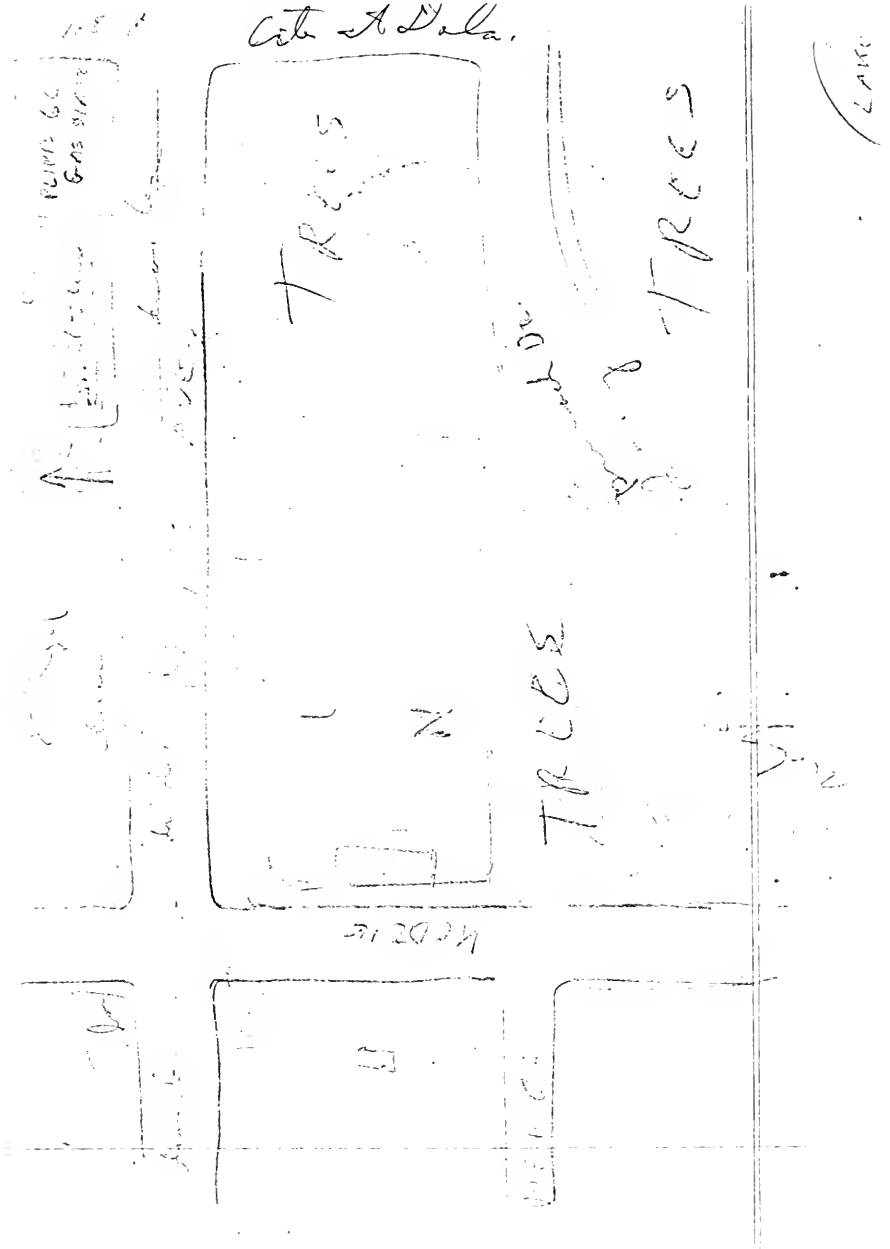
GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued

TACTICAL IDEA

BARRICADE MAIN DOORS



GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 21—Continued



Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, was an attempt made to get Negroes in Chicago to join in the violent demonstration?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, but this was generally unsuccessful.

On March 8, 1968, a letter was sent from the National Mobilization Committee office to black militants throughout the country, asking for their participation to help involve the black people of Chicago.

The letter, which gave a Brooklyn, New York, return address, was signed by Kendra Alexander, Corky Gonzalez, Lincoln Lynch, Carlos Russell, Hosea Williams, and John Wilson.

Very few Negroes participated in the demonstration, despite the fact that one of the feature activities was a speech by Bobby Seale, a leader of the Black Panthers.

I would like to submit a copy of the letter I just described.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be accepted for the record.

Mr. ICHORD. Without objection, the exhibit will be admitted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 22" follows:)

# DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION 2337

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 22

486 Brooklyn Avenue  
Brooklyn, New York

March 8, 1968

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Several black folks interested in the black community's reaction to the coming Democratic National Convention got together informally on February 11 in Chicago. Our interest was in discussing activities that could be meaningful to the black community in the coming election year 1968 as a means to strengthening the grass roots organizations among the black people. We felt that one area of the struggle against racism was exposing the racist, corrupt, imperialist character of the Democratic Party and the U.S. as a whole through a meaningful election year program for the black community.

Many of the predominantly white anti-war organizations were also present at the February 11 Chicago meeting. After a preliminary exchange, we separated into a black caucus to discuss the desirability of participation in actions at the Democratic National Convention. We took the position that we could not commit our black brothers and sisters to any participation until we had a full consultation. We are, therefore, taking this opportunity to consult on the widest basis possible and to gather a consensus and direction.

On March 22-24 in Chicago, separate conferences are scheduled for black liberation and white anti-war organizers with the goal of creating a parallel organizational structure in which black and white people operate from a basis of separate and equal strength.

We are asking you for your opinions. We made it crystal clear that we would not be committed to any policy or activity until we heard from you. The final decision as to our participation lies in your response. The program and activities for blacks will be determined by you. If you agree to meet in Chicago, those of us who have been in on the first discussion will take the responsibility only for structuring the black caucus, arrangements of travel where possible, housing and other physical arrangements. However, we must hear from you as soon as possible. Please send ideas and comments with the enclosed sheet to:

Carlos Russell  
486 Brooklyn Avenue  
Brooklyn, New York

Also, as you prepare to come to Chicago, we would suggest that thought be given to the format, structure and content of a meaningful challenge to the Democratic National Convention. Our emphasis must be on meaningful and effective action that helps us to build in the ghettos against racism and war and for black self-determination. Our participation in this event must lead in this direction. We must act together for:

Freedom, Power and Peace,

Kendra Alexander  
Corky Gonzales  
Lincoln Lynch  
Carlos Russell  
Hosea Williams  
John Wilson

Enclosed working paper is for discussion only and to stimulate your reaction to the idea.

Mr. ICHORD. Sergeant, it is my understanding that you did come into possession of certain maps that some elements had prepared concerning the city. Would you describe these maps and the source of the maps?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Some of our confidential sources supplied to the intelligence division maps of the Sherman House Hotel, the Tribune Building, the Chicago Board of Trade Building, and the Tribune-Equitable Buildings area, specifically the lobby area of the Tribune Tower; the same building, the Tribune-Equitable Buildings, the lower level exterior; and an exterior view of the Tribune-Equitable Buildings area.

I would like also to submit these to the committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the documents be accepted for the record and marked as an exhibit.

Mr. ICHORD. Sergeant, can you tell the committee from what organization they were obtained?

I am not asking you to reveal the source.

Mr. GRUBISIC. These maps were received by the intelligence division from a confidential source after the National Mobilization Committee, who were planning and mapping out the areas they mentioned for demonstrations, but as one can actually see, they went to great effort to be very detailed in their description of the area.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, the maps will be accepted into the record.

(Documents marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 23" follow :)



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23

TRIBUNE-EQUITABLE BUILDING AREA

Map 1 - An exterior view of the area. The entire area is dual-level with upper and lower Michigan Ave. On this map both Illinois St. and Hubbard Ave. are lower level. Pioneer Terrace, directly south of Michigan Ave., appears to be a good spot for a demonstration. However, there is no exit on three of the four sides of the terrace. Stairways to the lower level are marked.

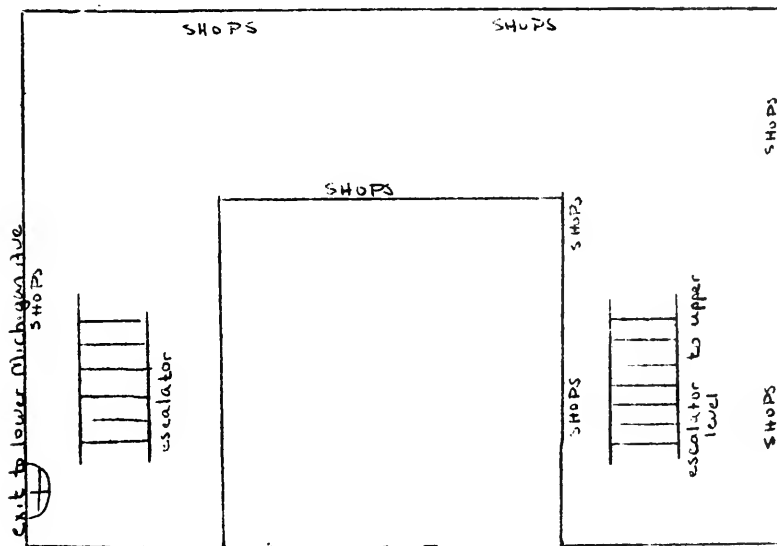
Map 2 - is an exterior view of the lower level of the Tribune Tower-Equitable Building area. Escape routes are marked.

Map 3 - is an interior view of the lobby of the Tribune tower. Note position of the doors and guards. Security is light.

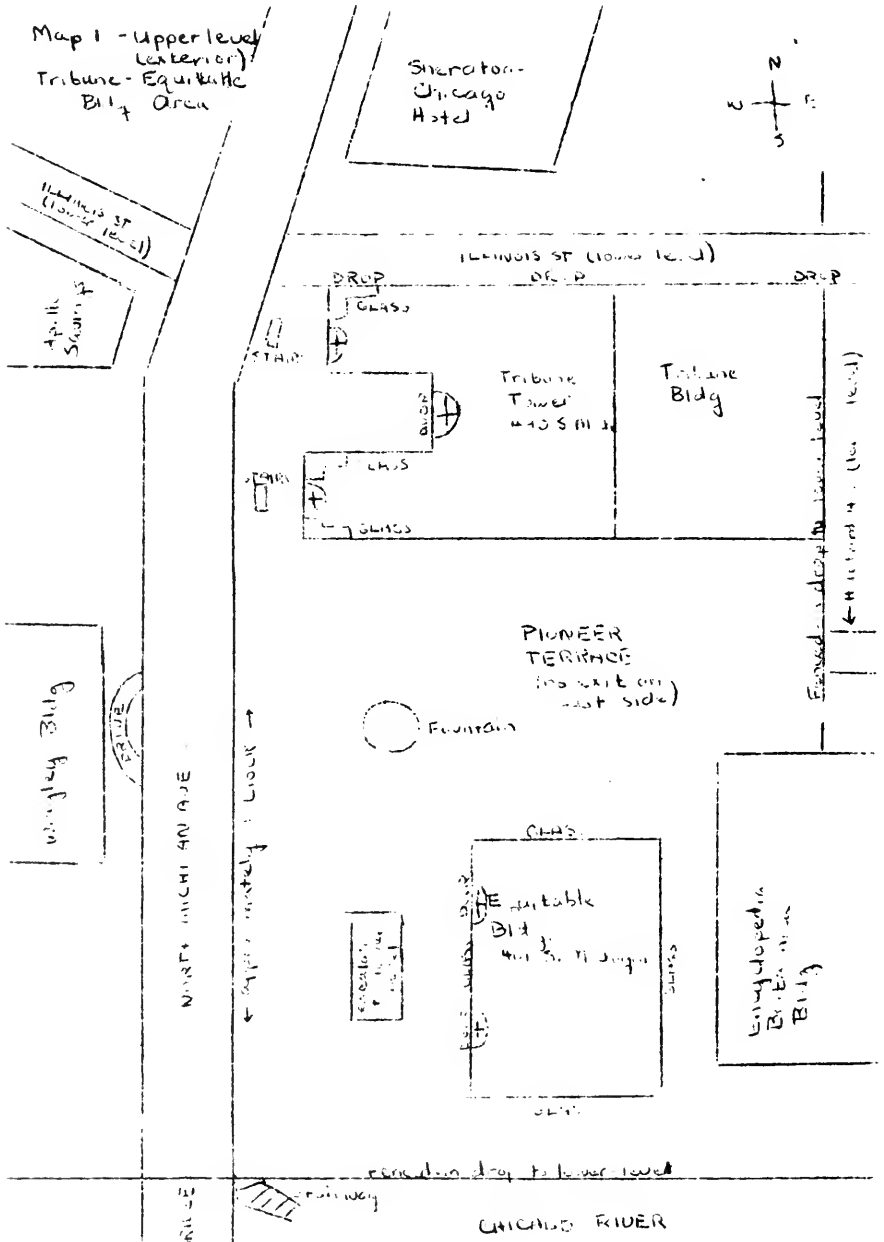
Map 4 - is an interior view of the lobby of the Equitable Building. (which houses Time magazine offices on the 30th floor.). Note the escalator to the lower level.

Map 5 - is an interior view of the lower level of the Equitable Building. Due to limited egress, congregation of demonstrators in this area is not recommended.

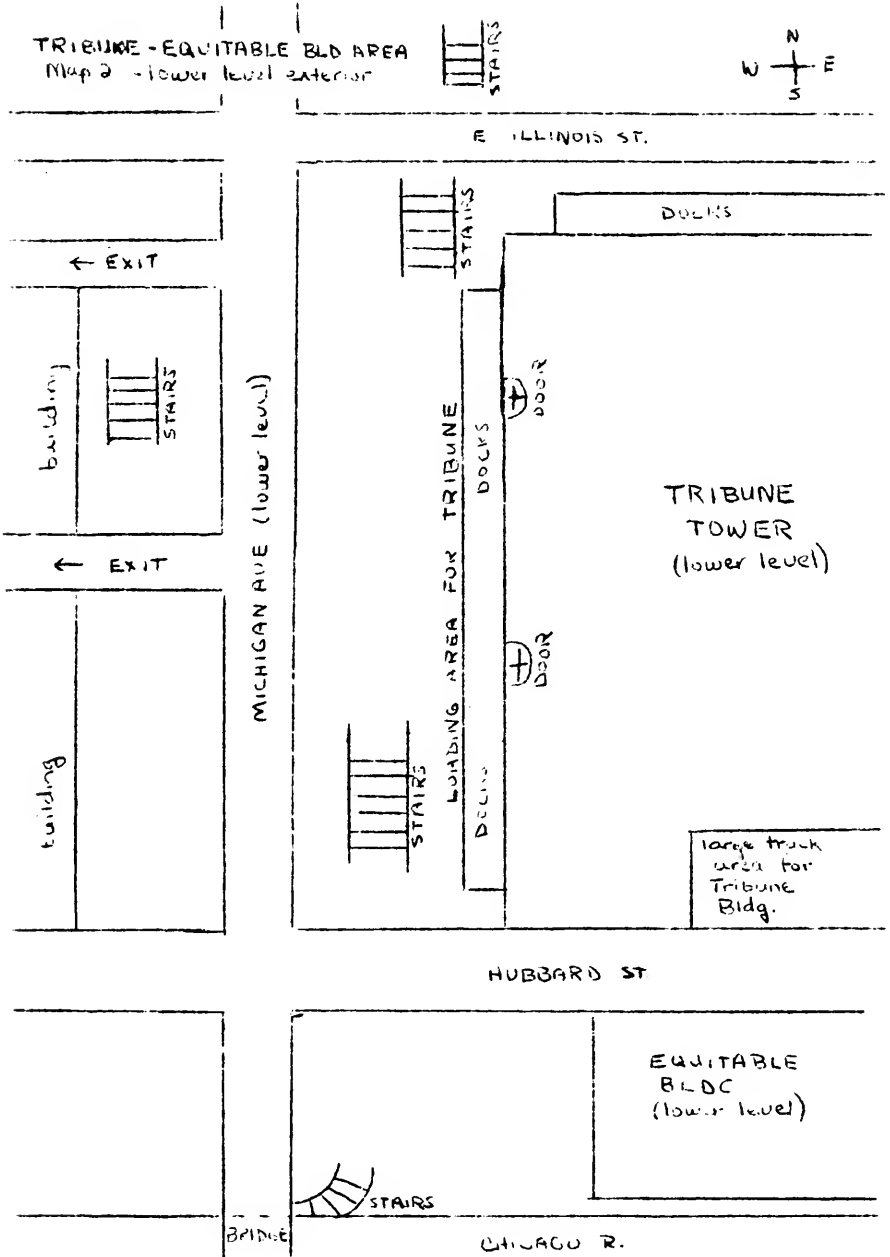
Map 5 - Equitable Bldg - lower level (interior)



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued



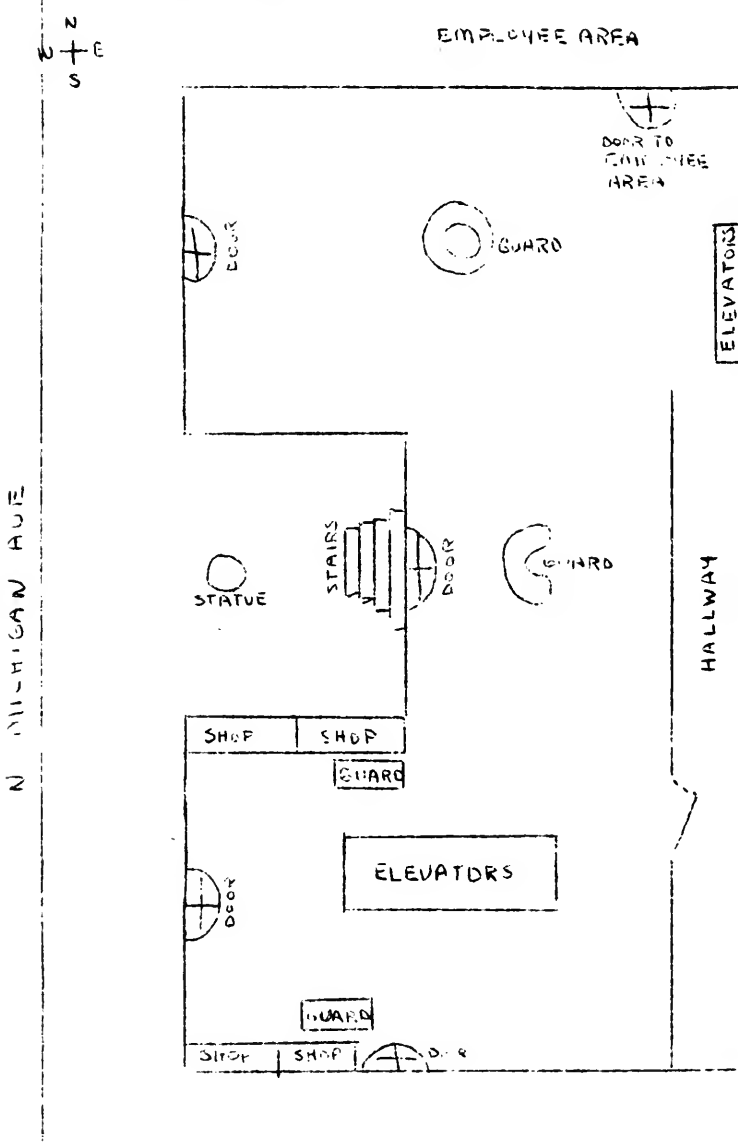
GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued

TRIBUNE-EQUITABLE BLDG. AREA

Map 3- Interior lobby area of  
Tribune Tower

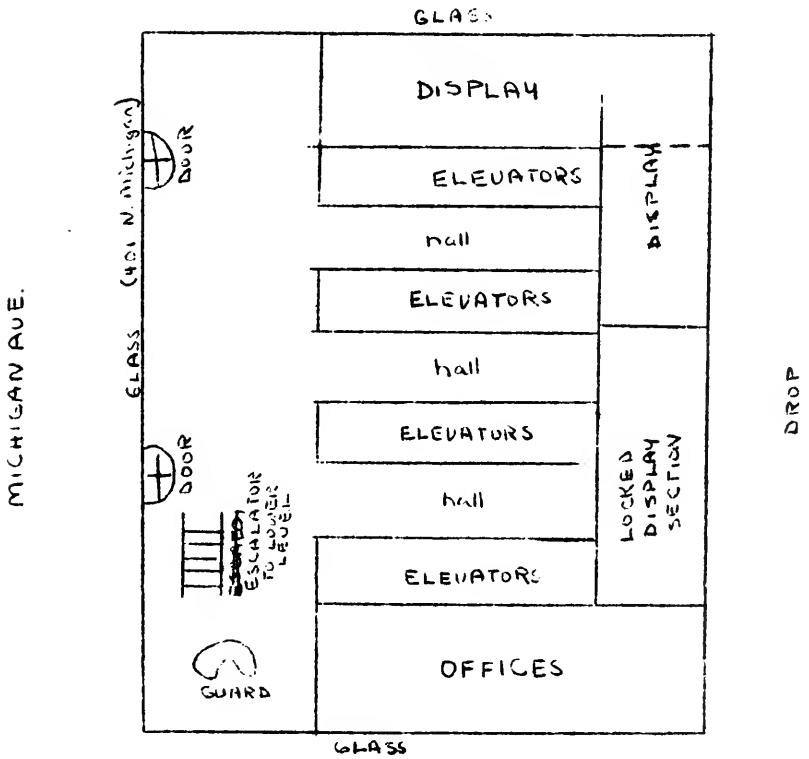


GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued

TRIBUNE BLDG  
TRIBUNE-EQUITABLE BLDG. AREA  
Map 4 - Equitable Bldg, Interior lobby



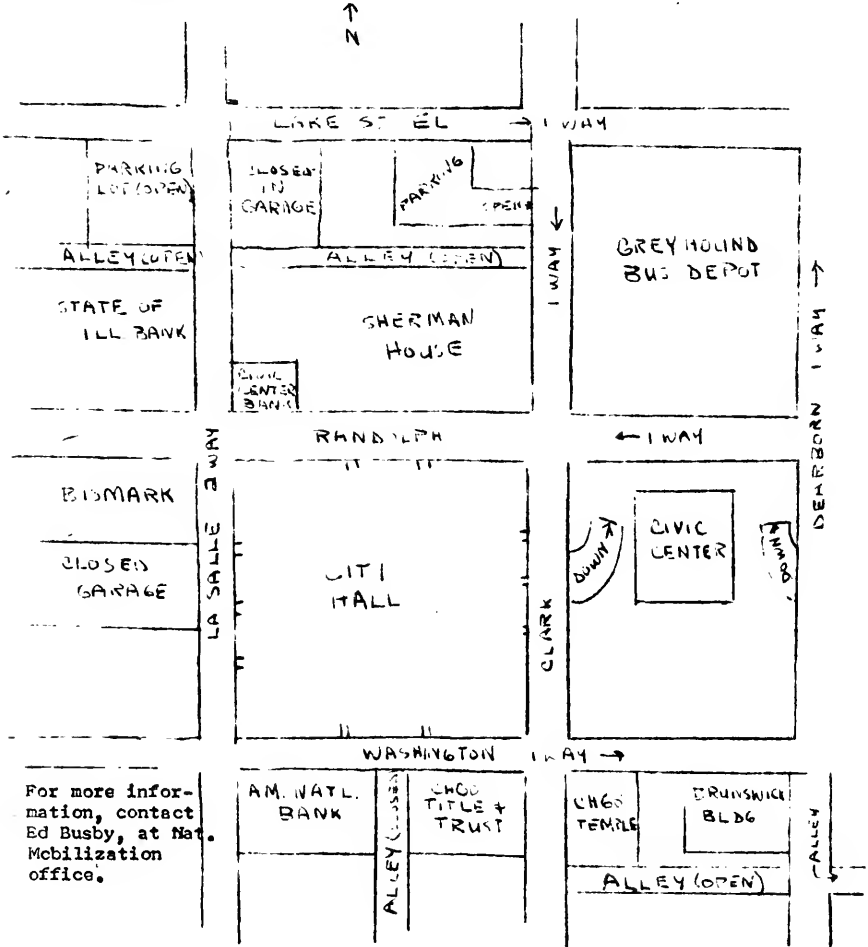
TERRACE



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued

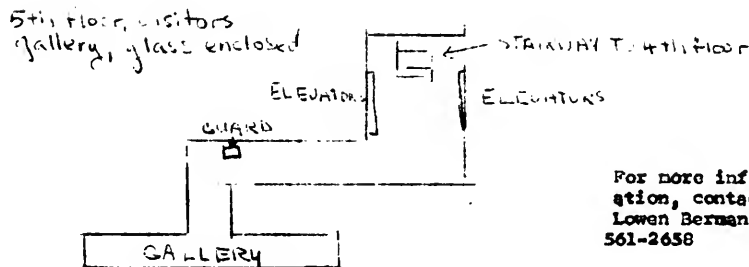
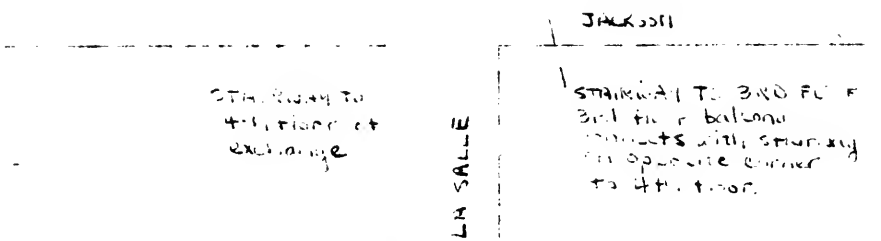
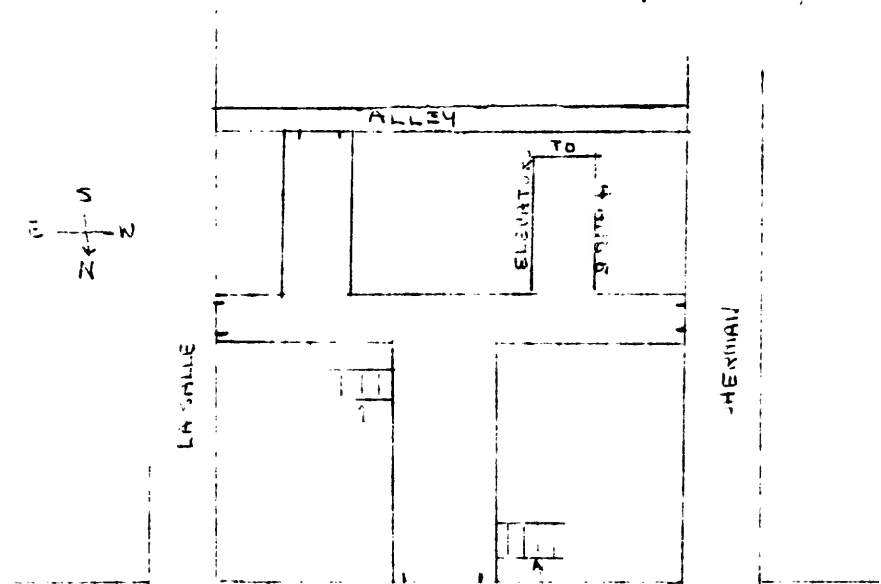
SHERMAN HOUSE HOTEL

1. Fronts on Randolph
2. Sides on Clark, alley and Dearborn
3. Front contains numerous small shops
4. Dearborn side across from Greyhound station
5. Randolph separates Sherman House from City Mall.
6. Civic Center on a diagonal from Sherman House across Randolph-Clark
7. Access easy to Lobby, 1st and 2nd floors.



GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 23—Continued

CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE (buys + sells much of world's grain)  
 Very good demonstration target politically + tactically.



For more information, contact  
 Lowen Berman  
 561-2658

Mr. GRUBISIC. I also would like to submit the August 17, 1968, issue of the *Guardian*, which also has a map of the Chicago Loop area.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this exhibit be received for the record and marked Exhibit 24.

Mr. ICHORD. This is an issue dated August 17, 1968, of the *Guardian*?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Showing a map of parts of the city of Chicago.

There being no objection, it will be accepted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 24" appears opposite this page)

Mr. HEALY. Also, I would like to add something to Sergeant Grubisic.)

We came into custody of a book from a person in the park. There are hand drawings in this book, which apparently were taken from this book and transposed on this copy of maps. It is a very extensive and lengthy booklet, containing a lot of information. If it is necessary for the committee to see this book, there are names on here which we hope they would keep confidential.

Mr. SMITH. Are you offering it as an exhibit?

Mr. HEALY. No.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have intelligence information here?

Mr. HEALY. We have a good deal of information in this booklet which at the present time we would not want to read.

Mr. ICHORD. At this time, the Chair will not ask that the book be entered into the record, but this will be available to the staff of the committee for examination?

Mr. HEALY. Yes, sir, it will be.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may we ask the lieutenant a question or two about these maps that I am looking at?

I notice some notations on them about very good demonstration target, politically, and so forth.

What does your investigation conclude is the meaning of that notation?

Mr. HEALY. There were a great number of sites which were planned for demonstration, the Tribune Tower, the other buildings, the armories, all were mentioned as possible demonstration sites.

Each one of these maps and graphs that we showed you, maps and overlooks of buildings, were all areas where demonstrations had been planned. Fortunately, the demonstrations did not take place.

Mr. WATSON. One is of the Tribune-Equitable Building area. There are some very interesting notes made on this. I wonder whether, perchance, we might conclude that something other than a demonstration was planned.

I see a notation here, "Security is light," and another one, "Escape routes are marked."

Mr. HEALY. That is correct.

We received information regarding the Tribune Building that there might be an attempt to cause damage at that location.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, you concluded that perhaps more than a demonstration was planned, at least at this particular site?

Mr. HEALY. That is correct, as well as at the armory.

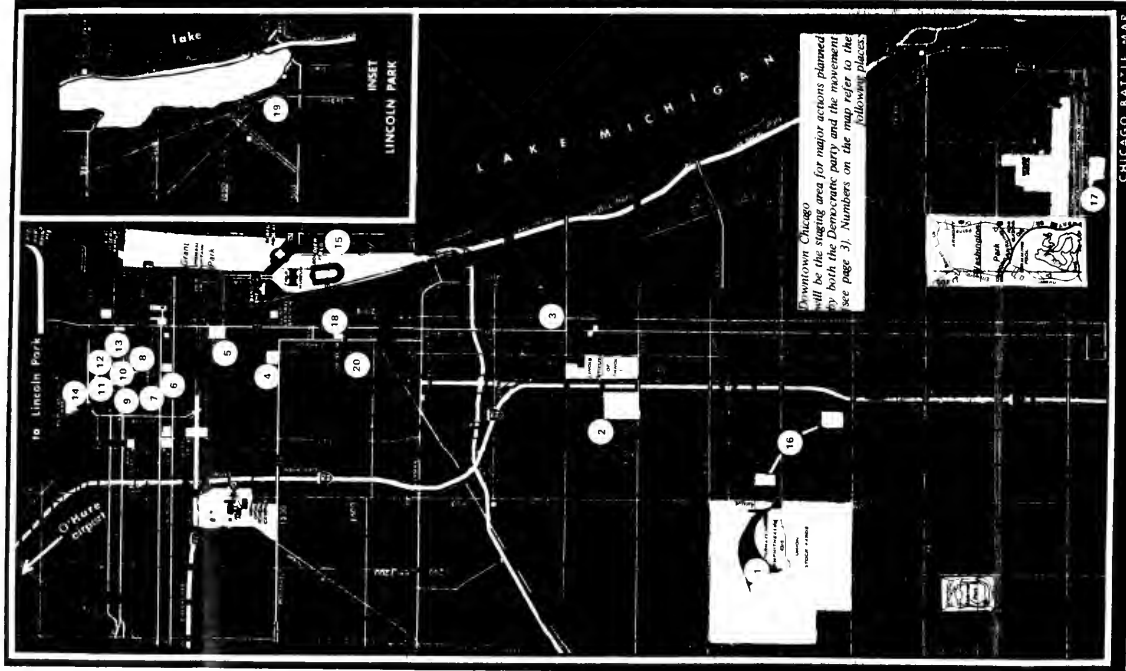
Sergeant Grubisic read that there were plans to tie up the armory and to cause physical damage to the exterior of the armory.







# Guardian



CHICAGO BATTLE MAP

- MAP KEY**
- 1—International Amphitheatre (convention site)
  - 2—Illinois Institute of Technology (largest U.S. center of chemical-bio-technological warfare research)
  - 3—Chez Roger Hauger
  - 4—City Jail and Police Headquarters
  - 5—Conrad Hilton Hotel (Texas and Minnesota delegations)
  - 6—Federal Building (federal court)
  - 7—Booz, Allen and Hamilton (CBW research)
  - 8—First National City Bank of Chicago (member of South African consortium)
  - 9—Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company (member of South African consortium)
  - 10—City Hall
  - 11—Maremont Corporation (manufacturers of M-60 machine guns)
  - 12—Greyhound Bus Station
  - 13—Trainway bus station
  - 14—Midwest Peace Corps recruiting office
  - 15—Soldier Field (site of L.B.'s birthday party)
  - 16—Fuller Park, Boyce Playground Park (National Guard station for convention)
  - 17—Midway
  - 18—Columbus
  - 19—Lincoln Park
  - 20—16th and State Sts. (Aug. 28 mass march on Amphitheatre begins here)



Mr. WATSON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, do you have anything further to add in connection with the attempt to enlist the Negroes in this disruptive action?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, I have.

This is a copy of the minutes of the National Mobilization Committee, I should say their own minutes, of the National Mobilization administrative meeting held in Chicago—of the administrative meeting of the National Mobilization Committee, held in the Chicago area on August 4 and chaired by Dave Dellinger.

I would like to quote from these minutes:

As to the attitude of the black community to the demonstration Dave [Dellinger] pointed out that the opinions of Lincoln Lynch, Cleveland Robinson, John Wilson, and Ralph Abernathy have been solicited and informal contact with MFDP [Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party] and other groups has been maintained. He felt the Chicago office must make greater effort to keep lines of communication open with Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago blacks.

I would like to submit to this committee the National Mobilization minutes of this meeting.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received for the record and marked Exhibit 25.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I assume from what you were saying there was an effort to enlist some support of the so-called black community. On the basis of your observation, they were very unsuccessful in doing it?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, they were very unsuccessful.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection, this document will be admitted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 25" follows:)

## 2348 DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 25

## SUMMARY OF ADMINISTRATIVE MEETING HELD IN CHICAGO ON AUG 11, CHAIRED BY DAVE DELLINGER

IN ATTENDANCE: Huntley Barad; 541 W Main; Madison Wisc.; Wisc. Draft Resistance Union  
 Tom Bickler; 9460 Potter; Des Plaines Ill.; R O C  
 Irving Beinin; 170 E 3rd St; NYC  
 Betty Boardman; 5742 Dogwood Pl.; Madison Wisc.  
 Irwin A. Bock; 414 N Oakley; Chicago Ill; Vets for Peace , Chicago  
 Mary Boyer; 1096Oak; Winnetka Ill; North Shore Women for Peace  
 Joyce Braun; 5328 S HydePk. Blvd; Chicago Ill; W F P  
 Barbara Britts; 2238 N. Geneva Terrace; Chicago Ill; SHO, MCHR  
 Richard D. Conrad; 7053 McCallum St; Chicago Ill.; ROC  
 Grace Dammann; 5845 Blackstone; Chicago Ill; Student Health Organ.  
 Rennie Davis; Rm 315; 407 S. Dearborn; Chicago Ill; Natl. Mob. Comm.  
 Dave Dellinger; 5 Beekman St; NYC; Natl. Mob. Comm.  
 Ted Dostal; Box 2598; E. Cleveland Ohio; Workers World Party  
 Eddie Edmonds; 6959 S. Emerald; Chicago Ill;  
 Helen Gurewitz; 1112 Quebec St; Chicago Ill; Wash. Mobil. for Peace  
 Richard Hill; 3039 Walton; Chicago Ill; SMC  
 Ed Greenblatt; 5 Beekman St; NYC; Natl. Mob. Comm.  
 Tom Hayden; Natl. Mobil. Comm. 5 Beekman St; NYC  
 Betty Hellman; 49 W 12th St; NYC; Natl Mob. Comm.  
 Wayne Heimbach; 1608 W. Mad; Chicago Ill; SDS  
 Herb Hoover; R2; Oskaloosa Iowa; Natl. Unity for Peace  
 Donald Kalish; 15142 Mulholland Dr; Los Angeles Calif; NMC  
 Klonsky; 1608 W. Madison; Chicago Ill; SDS  
 Sylvia Kushner; 4911 N. Glen; Chicago Ill; Chicago Peace Council  
 Marilyn Lerch; 461 H St. N.W.; Washington D.C.; Wash. Mobilization  
 Barbara Likan; 144 E. Ontario St; Chicago Ill; Womens Co-ord. Comm; SOS  
 Otto Liljanstople; 1608 W. Madison; Chicago Ill; FCR; Chicago Peace Council  
 Lowell Livezey; 1213 E. 54th St; Chicago Ill; Clergy & Laymen Concerned  
 John McAuliff; Box 380, Cooper Sta; NYC; Comm of Returned Volunteers  
 Rose McKiernan; 6335 N. Winthrop; Chicago Ill; SDS  
 F. J. Montgomery; 1000 N. Lake Shore Plaza; Chicago Ill; Coalition for an Open Con-  
 vention; Women Mobilized for Charge  
 Mrs. Philip W. Moore Jr; 100 Green Bay Rd; Hubbard Woods Ill; Women Mobilized for  
 Change  
 Lesley Moore; 5845 Blackstone; Chicago Ill; National Mobilization  
 Sidney Peck; 3429 Milverton; ClevelandOhio; Ohio Peace Action  
 Meg Plaxton; 3600 Pine Grove; Chicago Ill; CRV Chicago  
 Ruth Pierce; 540 Miltou; Glencoe Ill; Ill N. Shore Women for Peace  
 Maxwell Primack; 4800 S. Dordhester; Chicago Ill; Chicago Peace Council  
 Ben Radford; 850 S. Loomig; Chicago Ill; Catholic Peace Fellowship  
 Rod Robinson; 5 Beekman St; NYC; Resistance  
 Don Rose; 1340 Madison Park; Chicago Ill; Natl. Mob. Comm.  
 Ruth Samuels; Fairlawn Ave; Dobbs Ferry NY; ROC  
 Jay Schaffner; 9515 Leamington; Skokie Ill; WEB DuBois Clubs  
 Ruth Shriman; 421 W. Melrose; Chicago Ill; Teachers for Peace in Viet Nam  
 Hamish Sinclair; 1608 Madison; Chicago Ill; SDS  
 Joan Spiegel; 647 Buckingham Pl; Chicago Ill; Chicago Peace Council  
 Syd Stapleton; 9 S. Thinton St; Chicago Ill; SMC

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

Albert Stergar; 4666 N. Sherman; Milwaukee Wisc; Workers World  
 Eric Weisberger; 600 Parade Comm; 17 E 17th St; NYC; 5th Ave Vietnam Peace Parade Comm  
 Liz Yeats; 317 N Dooks; Madison Wisc.

Preferring to go through the inter-related events of the proposed demonstration, setting up a framework, Dave suggested we abandon a formal agenda for a general one.

GENERAL AGENDA: Summary of plans to date by Dave Dellinger  
 Series of proposals fleshing out the ideas formulated at  
 Cleveland by Rennie Davis with additions from his Chicago staff  
 Implementation

WHERE WE ARE BY DAVE: According to decisions of previous meetings, the most recent being held July 20 in Cleveland, Mob is planning a 6 day program at the Chicago convention. Instead of focusing on particular candidates, the activities will be issue-oriented, centering around the twin demands: IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM VIETNAM AND AN END TO THE OPPRESSION OF BLACK AND POOR PEOPLE AT HOME. The broad outline of the plan specifies: several days of diversified activities emanating from about 40 movement centers around Chicago and a massive action at the time of the nomination. Dave emphasized two points;

1. Our purpose is not to disrupt the convention, but to demonstrate on behalf of the central issues.

2. Though we do not focus on any of the candidates we wish to have a positive relationship with the mass of their supporters on the issues around which we agree, namely, the ending of aggression in Vietnam and in the black communities.

PROPOSED SCENARIO AS RECOMMENDED BY THE STEERING COMMITTEE, PRESENTED BY RENNIE DAVIS After a week of hearings of permanent, platform and credentials committees, the convention will open on the 26th of August.

On Saturday, the 24th the People's Assembly, a unifying term for the movement centers and workshops across the city, will begin. The projected number of centers is 40 with 25 now available, and 40 more prospective institutions weighing the possibilities of opening their facilities. The 24th will also mark the debut of the Ramparts Daily, edited by Fred Gardiner and staffed by representatives of the movement centers. The first issue will contain lists of movement centers, housing facilities, delegates' hotels, schedules etc.

Sunday, the 25th, will mark the continuance of the workshops, since the majority of supporters probably will not have arrived and indoor meetings will continue to be feasible. On the 25th as the majority of delegates arrives, however, a greeting is proposed for them in the form of a gigantic picket line along Michigan Avenue. It is thought this action will test the rigidity under which the police will operate and the extent to which the National Guard will be employed.

When the convention opens on Monday the 26th, a rally is scheduled by the Coalition for an Open Convention. Mob will not sponsor the rally or collaborate politically, but will accept an invitation from the Coalition to use the Mob's marshals to help protect the civil rights of those attending. Though Mob will not plan any competing activity, it is expected that, with the arrival of more demonstrators, the movement centers will become administrative units and some meetings of the movement centers will move out to Lincoln Park, Grant Park or the midway (Hyde Park) area.

Tuesday, the 27th, while the media will be focusing on LBJ's birthday,

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

tentatively designated for Soldiers Field, a multiplicity of activities will occur to counter the party. A Yippie festival, an amnesty meeting called by the clergy and draft resisters, and decentralized actions at war research centers, draft boards, and police stations will materialize. At Strawberry Fields Mobilization will sponsor, for that day and the entire week, a mixed media of theatre, film, and sculpture in an artistic statement on the plight of the country. A large indoor show, focused on the issues and highlighted by birthday greetings from a well known writer and a performance of MACBIRD, will serve as a fund raising event and a cap for the 27th.

The day of the nomination, Wednesday, the 28th, will see the massive march. At about 3 PM, marchers will gather north of the Loop, proceed through the central downtown business area to the Amphitheatre. In a specified one-mile area along Halstead neighboring to the Amphitheatre, the demonstrators can hold a vigil, picket, create theatre or rally for as long as the convention lasts; and when it concludes the marchers will leave as a unit to the Grant Park bandshell where they will disperse. This event, which will be aided by experienced marshals, will include a teach-in for the troops stressing our differences are not with them.

On Thursday the 29th decentralized actions aimed at institutions representing militarism, exploitation, and racism are scheduled. (e.g. Illinois Institute of Technology, induction centers, urban renewal centers, police stations) From those sites a sidewalk march to Grant Park will be held where the aims of the election year will be enunciated.

There was a long discussion opened by John McAuliff on the possibility of placing a speaker from Mob at the Coalition rally in addition to using our marshals there. It was finally agreed that we have cooperated with the Coalition on such technical matters as finding facilities and scheduling, but we should not exchange speakers to avoid confusing our political stand which focuses not on candidates but issues. Dave summed up the consensus that we should play a peace-keeping role which should be extended impartially but without compromising ourselves politically.

In answer to questions about movement centers, Tom Hayden explained they will be contacts for information, workshops for discussion and planning areas for action. The informative function will continue for the entire period while the second and third activities will expand into the parks as the numbers of people increase. Some questions were raised about the feasibility of moving to the parks and the matter was referred to the steering committee. It was announced that Paul Potter will be coordinator for the centers, that Rennie, Tom, or Agnes Winkler, all in Chicago, can be contacted for information, and also that 100,000 copies of a special issue of RAT (the Demonstrator's Guide) will be available by the 20th to reveal movement center information, political information, and telephone numbers.

The discussion moved to the massive march proposal, analyzing the various routes to the Amphitheatre and the length of the different routes. Dave pointed out that calling for an action not relating to the Amphitheatre on the 28th was ignoring the natural magnetism of the place, that the media would be at the Amphitheatre, and that the necessity of having the military surround masses of people at a democratic convention would lend political content to the action. There was a discussion on the possibility of proceeding in the face of a curfew threat or denial of a permit. It was pointed out that Mob has rallied people before without a permit, and that



## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 25—Continued

insistence on fulfilling an announced aim made a strong bargaining position in negotiating a permit. A curfew according to Bob Greenblatt, would be clearly an oppressive measure to be disobeyed. If a curfew is imposed, Otto Liljenstolpe suggested volunteers be urged to disobey in order to force the city into the predicament of mass arrests.

Mark Simon, at this point, interwove his report on negotiations with the city, saying the city had shown a positive attitude and had hinted no curfew would be imposed. Irv Beinen suggested a title with political content be given the march to help unify the divergent composition of the demonstration. Dave mentioned that Mob could only provide a framework under which people could interact, and that hopefully the movement centers would build up organic nuclei to set the tone of the march.

The administrative committee informally voted to approve the action of the 28th.

To elaborate on the People's assembly on the 29th, Dave explained it as a grand finale, giving an opportunity to evaluate what has happened and to present an agenda for the coming period. It would be preceded from 10-12 in the morning by actions at draft boards and police stations, etc. using methods from picketing to mobile tactics depending on the realities of Chicago. Rennie felt that an attempt to effectively close the focal institutions should be made by the sheer numbers of people converging on them. Since the outcome of the massive march the preceding night, and the mood and physical condition of its participants will remain uncertain, it was decided to take a middle course between spontaneous and rigid plans for this day: to set a framework, to define specific targets, but to allow the participants to decide the nature of the action.

STAFF REPORTS WERE BEGUN BY GENE CERUTTI ON LEGAL DEFENSE. He described recruiting law students who were doing legal preparatory memos and finding politically responsive lawyers who could function in mass arrests. He announced a Chicago based central legal office, permanent legal apparatus for the movement, and also the funnelling of bail through the legal office. He mentioned prepublicity aspects of orienting the political awareness of the lawyers and of educating prospective defendants in their legal rights.

It was decided to discuss the question of accepting or refusing bail in workshops.

CONCERNING MEDICAL MATTERS, Barbara Britts said she was working with SHO, arranging for mobile teams plus four permanent stations in Grant Park, Lincoln Park, Hyde Park and the amphitheatre area. She is trying to establish a hospital neutrality policy and announced she needs first aid and medical supplies, nurses, doctors, and private cars for ambulances.

Donna Gripe, in charge of HOUSING, said that cooperation with the Coalition, large mailings, posters, and rallies were being used to locate housing. Various administrative committee members suggested demonstrators try to arrange housing from their personal contacts, and that national organizations with local offices in Chicago take responsibility for housing their members.

On PUBLICITY Don Rose said his prepublicity tried to distinguish National Mobilization from the pro-McCarthy organizers and emphasized a non-violent policy. He described a central press room during the demonstrations where leaders would communicate their agendas and participate in press conferences to create a broad base image.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 25—Continued

When the nonviolent line was questioned, Dave explained that Mob included groups whose beliefs ranged from pacifism to militant self defense. While our aim is not to physically disrupt the convention nor to advocate violence, Mob has never repudiated the actions of its constituents. It will be stressed, in addition, that it is well known that Chicago police are responsible for violence. Rennie said that at the next day's press conference we would make public a request that had been made to the Justice Department to investigate the Chicago police, a request based on a newly-released citizens report identifying police responsibility for the violence at an April 27 demonstration in Chicago. Tom expressed his concern over the sensitive area of press relations, describing the difficulties of speaking for such a divergent group as Mobilization.

ON STRUCTURE: As at the Cleveland meeting, Rennie proposed the steering Committee, which will meet daily during the convention, consist of officers of National Mobilization, the National Coordinator, the two Project Directors, a representative of the Chicago Peace Council plus five project area directors. For the latter he proposed:

1. Paul Potter for movement centers.
2. Fred Gardiner to edit the Ramparts Daily aided by all groups.
3. Mark Simmon for city, state, and federal negotiations with assistance from Dennis Cunningham, Gene Cerutti, Rennie Davis, Otto Liljenhopie, and the officers.
4. Gene Cerutti for legal and medical concerns.
5. Vernon Grizzard for marshals.

In a discussion of the possibility of movement centers being represented on the steering committee, it was feared that selection of leaders would divide the centers into competing factions. It was felt that movement centers could, instead, contribute to the marshals, and that as we got closer to the convention a method could be worked out for adding to the steering committee.

As to the attitude of the black community to the demonstration Dave pointed out that the opinions of Lincoln Lynch, Cleveland Robinson, John Wilson, and Ralph Abernathy have been solicited and informal contact with MFDP and other groups has been maintained. He felt the Chicago office must make greater effort to keep lines of communication open with Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago blacks.

Regarding pre-organization in the surrounding amphitheatre community Rennie described some preliminary work with a local association of community leaders.

In the marshals department Rennie told of a 30-40 man Chicago committee making concrete proposals and conducting training sessions. Eric suggested local organizations designate their own marshals and bring their own sound equipment.

In the funding department to keep the Chicago office operating Rennie outlined plans for parties and mailings. But \$10,000 must be raised immediately for sound and communication equipment. A total of about \$24,000 must be raised in loans and contributions by August 18. When sources of loans were discussed it was announced that the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council had pledged a \$1,000 loan. Rorry Darrah is in charge of this department.

The next administrative meeting was set for August 18.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant Grubisic, who was the person in charge of communications?

Mr. GRUBISIC. In charge of communications was a Carol Glassman, G-l-a-s-s-m-a-n.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I should like to draw the committee's attention to the fact that Carol Glassman is known to the committee as having attended the Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, conference of September 1967, meeting there with the Viet Cong. I pointed out previously that this group was organized by David Dellinger.

Please summarize the role of the Communist Party and other supporters of the Viet Cong in these demonstrations.

Mr. GRUBISIC. At almost every stage of the planning, members of the Communist Party participated in organizing funds, legal services, and medical services. Persons who have publicly urged victory for the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese constituted all of the prime movers and organizers.

Mr. ICHORD. Going back for a moment to the communications area and Carol Glassman's duties, what sort of communications were these? Did they have walkie-talkies?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, they had walkie-talkies.

Mr. SMITH. Did they have a central headquarters?

Mr. GRUBISIC. They had a daily paper, called *The Ramparts*.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ASHBROOK. Sergeant, that was from the magazine *Ramparts*, was it not? Their own publication?

Mr. GRUBISIC. This is the name that they gave to their daily newspaper, *The Ramparts*.

Now, I believe a Fred Gardner was mentioned as being an editor of this publication. Now, whether or not he has any connection with the magazine *Ramparts*, I am not sure at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the magazine *Ramparts* published this particular newspaper item during the convention in Chicago for the purposes of communicating with the people they had assembled.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It was a special issue?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRUBISIC. In addition to communications, these people had loudspeakers, walkie-talkies, and of course bull horns and verbal communications.

Mr. SMITH. Please continue with your summarizing of the Communist Party activities in this disruptive action. Do you have anything further to add to that, other than what you have already stated in regard to the Communist Party?

Mr. HEALY. Could we have a consultation first?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentlemen have requested consultation with the counsel. There will be a brief recess.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. ICHORD. Are you ready to proceed, Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will again be in order.

Mr. GRUBISIC. One point I would like to bring out, and not related to the Communist Party, was on August 1 at a Chicago Peace Council

<sup>1</sup> Full title of paper: *The Ramparts Wall Poster*.

meeting, Rennie Davis displayed two large maps of the Chicago area. On the maps he showed the routes that the delegates would take to the Amphitheatre. Also on the maps were shaded portions which indicated the positions of the police and National Guard.

Rennie Davis stated that he expected this disorder to occur when McCarthy loses the nomination. His very words were, "The Loop will go up."

Davis went on to say he expects 100,000 to participate in the protest demonstrations and some might be hurt, and even killed. He also stated that he didn't know what role Jerry Rubin was planning, and laughed.

Also, on August 2, Rennie Davis stated that Tom Hayden will be criticized greatly by members of the National Mobilization Committee, especially some administrative officers from New York, because of his plans to burn down the city and to forcefully enter the convention with mass marches, open bloodshed.

Mr. SMITH. What did you understand to be meant by, "The Loop will go up"?

Mr. GRUBISIC. That it will be demolished.

I think what Rennie Davis meant here, that if his demands aren't met, that the Loop will be demolished.

Mr. SMITH. Have you completed your presentation?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, I have completed my presentation on that point.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, who was in charge of organizing the printing of the special issue of *The Ramparts* newspaper?

Mr. GRUBISIC. David Canter.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, you will note that I have previously entered into the record information about David Canter.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Are there any other incidents of significance which you would like to bring out at this time?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes.

On August 29, in the Grant Park area, John Connis, Wolfe Lowenthal, Lee Weiner, and Kreg Shimabukuro stated that at 7:30 the same evening, the 29th, they intended to firebomb the middle level of the Grant Park underground garage. There are three levels to the Grant Park underground garage.

We received this information from a confidential source at approximately 6:30 p.m. on the 29th. We were immediately dispatched to the scene and conducted a surveillance, Lieutenant Healy, myself, and other members of the intelligence division.

At approximately 7:30 on the 29th, while in the middle level of the Grant Park underground garage, Kreg Shimabukuro entered the garage. He immediately started looking into a number of cars that were parked.

Lieutenant Healy and other members of the intelligence division were crouched down in an unmarked squad, and Kreg Shimabukuro observed them, which I believe prevented him from doing what he wanted to do.

We detained Kreg for a short while.

About 10 minutes later, which made it about quarter to 8, Lee Weiner was observed by Lieutenant Healy and other members of the intelligence division entering the middle level of the Grant Park un-

derground garage. He was with two or three other persons that we could not identify. He went to a car and drove out.

On August 30, on a farm just outside of the city of Chicago, John Connis, Lee Weiner, and others discussed the planned guerrilla sabotage that was to have taken place on the Grant Park garage on the 29th.

It was mentioned that Kreg Shimabukuro was the first to enter the garage on the evening the incident was to have taken place, but was confronted by several police officers secreted there who detained him for a short time.

Lee Weiner said, "If it wasn't for the fact that he wasn't able to arrive there until later, he might have been caught right in the act."

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned fire bombs a while ago. Were there any other types of weapons used against the police?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. And do you have samples of them?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes. Thrown at the police were assorted bricks, stones, especially what we call here a whiffle ball, a type of golf ball with nails driven through it.

Also thrown at police during the convention were tiles that the demonstrators had taken from the washrooms, the public washrooms in Lincoln Park, and these tiles were sailed at the police. They also threw balloons filled with urine and human excreta at members of the police department. On occasion, they ripped or tore part of the park benches situated in Lincoln and Grant Parks and used this to throw at the policemen.

We have photographs of all the missiles and other assorted weapons that were thrown at the police, but unfortunately, they have not arrived. They will be made available to this committee.

Mr. HEALY. In our files we have a great deal of information which we will make available to the committee, if they would like it; at any time you would like to look at them, as long as they are not made public. These are a type of reports that we will need in the future. We don't want to expose them.

So any time that the committee would like to look at our files, and the whole planning of some of the things we have not brought out here for a lot of reasons, will be made available to you.

Mr. ICHORD. I would like to say, Lieutenant, one person who was present in Chicago has described to me incidents of public collection of urine to throw on police. Did you yourself personally observe any public collection of urine?

Mr. HEALY. I was in Grant Park on the 28th of August, when the American flag was pulled down from the pole in Grant Park. A number of policemen went over to make the arrest. The demonstrators at that time began throwing rocks, bricks, stones, sticks, bottles, tiles, that he mentioned before, and balloons filled with human waste.

I myself was struck twice, once on the right leg and once on the left leg, by these objects.

This ball that you have in front of you—I was in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel the night of the 28th or 29th, when approximately 20 to 25, I would judge, I am not sure how many, were thrown, but this one landed at my feet.

Mr. ICHORD. Were any of the policemen who were injured, injured by these balls, to your knowledge?

Mr. HEALY. I am not certain.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, it was mentioned some time ago that some 60 persons were injured in the confrontations with the police from the side of the National Mobilization personnel. Is that correct? Is that correct, or was that 60 policemen that were injured?

How many police were injured?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Approximately 180 or so. I don't know the exact figure.

Mr. SMITH. Were any of them injured very severely?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, one was. He was hospitalized a week or so. I don't know his name, offhand, but he was hit in the face with a brick which had a steel rod protruding from it. I believe if the missile would have gone an inch or so to the left, it would have probably ruined his eyesight.

Mr. SMITH. Since the end of the convention, have you obtained any information as to future plans of the National Mobilization Committee?

Mr. HEALY. I have in front of me a pamphlet issued by the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. On the top of it is wording, "CONFRONT THE WARMAKERS."

This is from 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York, 10038. It is dated September 1968, but underneath the peace symbol it says, "Chicago, August 1968."

This is signed by Dave Dellinger.

It goes on, giving the future plans of the groups of the National Mobilization.

If you will give me a minute, I will read them:

Confront the candidates: When the presidential candidates speak this fall, demonstrators should confront them with the issues of Vietnam \* \* \* to remind people that the election is a contemptible mockery without any meaningful choice on Vietnam. Schedules of appearances of the candidates will be printed weekly in the Guardian, and are available through this office.

One point, No. 3 on page 3 of the pamphlet, is:

Mob would encourage the American peace vote to refuse to give legitimacy to the three major candidates and instead "strike the election" through a series of actions on Nov. 5. Proposed actions include:

\* \* \* \* \*

c. Sit-ins at polling booths until meaningful choices are presented

d. National demonstrations and draft card turn-ins at the sites where the candidates themselves vote

\* \* \* \* \*

f. Rallies in major cities the night of the elections where people can demonstrate their repudiation of the election farce

Rennie Davis concluded:

if the elections were thrown into the House of Representatives we should converge on Washington for that event in a manner similar to Chicago.

On page 4:

\* \* \* Tim McCarthy said that no candidate should speak unencumbered [sic] by demonstrations and suggested the Guardian publish the schedules of the candidates \* \* \*. Irving Beinen called for militant demonstrations to challenge the rigged elections by recreating Chicagos all over the country. \* \* \*

These are just small sections that we picked out here.

Included in here is a summary of the committee meetings held in Washington, chaired by Dave Dellinger.

Mr. SMITH. Who were present at the meetings?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Fifty or sixty people.

Mr. HEALY. If you would like, we will submit this as an exhibit.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, please.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel and Lieutenant Healy, the Chair has been advised that this group has announced that they would attempt to disrupt the inauguration of the next President of the United States.

Is there anything contained in this document in that regard?

Mr. HEALY. I am not certain if it is contained in that document. We have received information concerning this ourselves in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. Can you tell the committee the nature of that information?

Mr. HEALY. I would have to do some research first for a minute.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I might make the point at this stage that Arnold Johnson, legislative representative of the Communist Party, was present at this meeting.

Mr. ICHORD. At this point, Mr. Counsel, you mentioned several times, marshals.

I am sure it has been clear to the Chair, but it may be thought that these could be U.S. marshals.

What do you mean by the term "marshal," when you use that term, Sergeant? You used the term "marshal" quite often in your testimony.

Mr. HEALY. That was an organization formed to lead the demonstrations, walk on the sides of all marches and demonstrations, and supposedly keep their people in the line of march. These were not Federal marshals.

Mr. ICHORD. They were members of the organizations that were causing disturbances?

Mr. HEALY. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document concerning a meeting in Washington of the National Mobilization Committee personnel be accepted for the record and marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 26."

Mr. ICHORD. Hearing no objection to that request, the document will be admitted.

(Document marked "Grubisic Exhibit No. 26" follows:)

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 26

CONFRONT THE WARMAKERS



## NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038  
(212) 964-6436

CHICAGO • AUGUST 1968

September, 1968

Dear Friend,

As we lick our wounds and analyze the political lessons of the battle of Chicago, we must not lose sight of the urgency of a continuing, many-faceted program to challenge the status-quo of war and racism with decent, viable, human relationships. Hundreds of Americans and thousands of Vietnamese are being killed every week that the war is allowed to continue. The victims of repression and poverty continue to suffer in the ghettos and in large sections of the white non-community. Young people are still being brought up in a society which stresses the false values and assumes the ultimate righteousness of the American Empire.

Our presence in Chicago caused the guilt-ridden Johnson-Humphrey-Daley administration to bring out into the open the forces of intimidation and political suppression which are used far more brutally and regularly in the ghetto and in Vietnam. Despite the fact that Chicago ripped to shreds the Democratic facade, the Democratic administration and its Republican and Wallaceite alter-egos are pressing their fraudulent election campaigns in a desperate attempt to pacify the American people. First the stick, and now the meaningless carrot. After the rigged conventions and the clubs, the polling booths.

Chicago was strong in the militance and courage of the demonstrators and weak in over-all participation at the broad range of forces that make up our total movement. It's not surprising that millions decided, hope against hope, to play the McCarthy game as long as it seemed to offer a viable alternative (or supplement) to active resistance. In the end, hundreds of them joined us in the streets or learned that the police state could find them out even in their hotels. It is not surprising that many others stayed away from Chicago because of uncertainty as to the nature of the confrontation that would take place or out of reluctance to face police state tactics of Humphrey-Daley head on. But Chicago revealed that it is possible to stand up to such tactics to win politically.

Now we must reunite our forces and proceed to the tasks ahead. In this spirit the administrative committee adopted the following program at its meeting in Washington D.C. on September 14. It provides a framework within which a wide variety of activities can take place and in which we can reintroduce some of its political content that was partially obscured in the fury of the Chicago street scenes. You will see that the stress for the coming weeks is on the local actions and local initiatives without which periodic national mobilization would have little meaning. But together these local initiatives will form a national pattern whose impact will be unmistakable.

Let us hear from you, your reactions, plans and reports.

Sincerely,

*Dave Dellinger*  
Dave Dellinger  
Chairman of the National Mobilization



## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

## PROGRAM

1. Confront the candidates: When the presidential candidates speak this fall, demonstrators should confront them with the issues of Vietnam and Black Liberation. Public gatherings for the candidates should be leafleted to remind people that the election is a contemptible mockery without any meaningful choice on Vietnam. Schedules of appearances of the candidates will be printed weekly in the Guardian, and are available through this office.
2. National GI Week: November 1-5 will underscore American support for the right of soldiers to return to civilian life. Observing National GI Week is a way to vote for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, oppose U.S. imperialism and militarism, and express kinship and concern for the men who face orders to fight and die in an immoral and illegal war. Delegations should visit army bases and army towns throughout the country to talk with soldiers and report their grievances. On November 2 and 3, Vietnam Sabbath, churches and synagogues will hold special services for American servicemen, calling for their withdrawal from Vietnam and demanding amnesty for deserters, court-martialed prisoners, draft resisters, and other political opponents of the war. Throughout the week, public hearings in many communities should bring out the extent to which Vietnam veterans reject the government's war. Airports, bus and train stations, and USO centers should be blanketed with leaflets of support from the peace movement.
3. Anti-war Rallies: Country-wide public rallies on the eve of the election, Monday evening, November 4 (in some cases during the preceding weekend) will bring out movement together to insure that this election will not be seen at home or abroad, as a fair expression of American public opinion. These rallies will give us an opportunity to present a range of programs and policies that are frozen out of the election.
4. Election Strike: On Election Day, we vote "no" to Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace, not with a "stay at home" boycott, but with an active campaign to raise the relevant political issues in the streets. While boycotting the major presidential candidates, we vote with picket signs, flaming draft cards and discharge papers, and our feet and bodies. While focusing on November 5, we talked with hundreds of people about creating the machinery necessary to continue and broaden the movement after the elections. While descending by the thousands on the "home towns" of the major candidates as they vote, we announce our determination to place the next president in the same crush of public pressure that became too much for '67 last March. We propose a student strike to close down American universities and high schools on election day. Many people will vote for opposition candidates or for local peace candidates, but Tweedle-de-de, Tweedle-de-dum, and Tweedle-de-dumber will not receive our votes. We make it clear that the war and racial oppression must be ended no matter who is elected.
5. On to Washington: Finally we look to the new year as a time to assert our determination to resist another four years of war, political repressions, poverty and racism. National action could focus on the House of Reps. on January 3, if the electoral college fails to give a majority to any candidate, or on the inauguration of January 20, or both.

## 2360 DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

### GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

SUMMARY OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 14  
CHAIRIED BY DAVE DELLINGER

Gerald Schwinn; box 380, Cooper Station, NYC, Comm. of Returned Volunteers  
Tim McCarthy; 1779 Lanier Place, NW, Washington, DC, Washington SDS  
Richard Ochs; 3 Thomas Circle, Washington, DC  
Rod Robinson; 5 Beekman Street, NYC, Resistance  
Ken Katz; 199 Church Street, New Haven, Conn., Conn. Peace Coalition  
Irving Beinin; 170 E 3rd Street, NYC, The Guardian  
Emily Sack; 312 E 84th Street, NYC  
Lenny Brody; 5 Beekman Street, NYC, Resistance  
Karl Baker; box 6252, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, NY, SDS  
Tom Hayden; 6468 Benvenue, Oakland, Ca., National Mobilization  
Alan Gross; 336 E 6th Street, NYC, ROC  
Bob Kowollik; 5 Beekman Street, NYC, Resistance  
Judith Simmons; 906 Maple Ave., Rockville, Md. SANE, Washington Mobilization  
Dave Dellinger; 5 Beekman St. NYC; National Mobilization  
Rennie Davis; 5 Beekman St. NYC; National Mobilization  
Betty Hellman; 5 Beekman St. NYC; National Mobilization  
Harry Ring; NYC; SWP  
Lew Jones; 41 Union Square West; NYC; YSA  
Susan La Mont; 305 E. 21st St. NYC; NYSMC  
Mike Maggi; SMC National staff; 9 S. Clinton St.; Chicago, Illinois  
Larry Seigle; YSA  
Pat Grogan; YSA  
John Tillman; NYC; NBAWADU  
Walter Reeves; NBAWADU  
John Wilson; 100 Fifth Ave., NYC, SNCC  
Willy Louvallen; 100 Fifth Ave., NYC, SNCC  
Irwin Gladstone; 135 W 4th Street, NYC, National ROC  
Josh Brown; 135 W 4th Street, NYC, NYROC  
Marcia Kallen; Washington, DC  
Abe Bloom; 3313 Hardell Street, Wheaton, Md., Washington Mobilization  
John Benson; 312 N 37th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., Philadelphia Mobilization  
Leland Sommers; 1717 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC., Washington Mobilization  
Thomas L. Hayes; 300 Ninth Ave., NYC, Episcopal Peace Fellowship  
Gabrielle Edgcomb; 3515 Idaho Avenue, NW, Washington, DC,  
Walter Schneur; 42-34 Elbertson, Wilmhurst, NY  
Arnold Johnson; 23 W 26th Street, NYC, Communist Party, USA  
Marc Bedner; 1101A Hellerman Street, Philadelphia, Pa., Univ. of Pa. Vietnam Week  
Richie Lesnik; 312 N 37th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., Univ. of Pa. Vietnam Week  
Eric Weinberger; 17 E 17th Street, NYC, Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee  
Bill Ayers; 616 Felch, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Ohio-Michigan SDS  
Terry Robbins; 3118 Lorain #4, Cleveland, Ohio, Ohio-Michigan SDS  
Joan Campbell; 3030 Eaton Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio, CAPAC  
Marilyn Lerch; 461 H Street, NW, #409, Washington, DC,  
Barbara Deming; Wellfleet, Massachusetts, Liberation  
Sidney Lens; 5436 Hyde Park, Chicago, Illinois  
Bradford Lyttle; 217 Mott Street, apt 2R. NYC, NECNVA  
Louis Kampf; 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass., RESIST  
Allan Brick; box 271, Nyack, NY, Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Trudi Schutz; 2016 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Ron Young; box 271, Nyack, NY, Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Marty Teitel; 4630 Newhall Street, Philadelphia, Pa  
Josie Teitel; 4630 Newhall Street, Philadelphia, Pa

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT NO. 26—Continued

Sandy Lutz; 5 Beekman Street, NYC, National Mobilization  
 Arthur Waskow; 1808 Wyoming, Washington, DC,  
 Donna Gripe;  
 Lee Webb; 1945 Calvert Street, NW, Washington, Ramparts  
 Jim Estes; 160 N 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., AFSC  
 Bernice Smith; 112 Calvert Road, Rockville, Md.,  
 Barbara Bick; 2231 Bancroft Place, NW, #1; Washington, DC  
 Tibi Textler; 20-25 Seagirt Blvd., Far Rockaway, NY, SCEP  
 Nona Stanton; 643 N 33rd Street, Philadelphia, Univ. of Temple Vietnam Committee  
 Greg Sandow; 27 Stanhope Street, Boston, Mass., New England Resistance  
 Terry Gross; 36-11 217th Street, NYC, Rhode Island Resistance  
 Ted Yarow; 531 W 122nd Street, NYC, IWMRDC  
 Helen Gurewitz; 1112 Quebec Street, Silver Springs, Md., Washington Mobilization  
 Richard M. Gold; 4939 Wayne Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Edward Henderson; 5509 4th Street, NE, Washington, DC

Agenda: Brief reports  
 Concerns relating to press, Daley TV programs and possibility of response  
 Program suggestions and prospective for future

Sidney Lens opened the meeting with an 8 point report.

1. Chicago still feels like a police state with hysteria running strong. There were 660 odd arrests during the week of the convention and 51 other arrests since September 1. 100 stranded people need travel money. Bail has been running high and is still needed, and there are \$8900 in loans to be repaid.
2. There is a move by Judge Campbell to indict five leaders, Dellinger, Hayden, Davis, Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman.
3. A follow-up demonstration is planned for September 28 by the Chicago Peace Council and Women Mobilized for Change.
4. A press conference was held announcing the Chicago Rebuttal Paper with fair coverage.
5. The National Council of Churches has refused to hold conferences in Chicago. Much mileage was obtained from the report of Dr. Quentin Young of the Medical Committee on Human Rights.
6. One hundred newsmen have banded together to follow through with reports to counter attacks by Chicago authorities.
7. A "Don't Forget Chicago" ad has been placed in the Nation and New Republic.
8. Donna Gripe of Legal Defense requests statements from brutalized participants or witnesses be sent to 127 North Dearborn, 6th floor, Chicago, Illinois.

Dave Dellinger reported that when he and Keith Lampe had sent a telegram to Metromedia requesting equal time a response was received indicating it would be granted if the program appeared. News media people in cooperation with American Documentaries have worked out a possible format including interviews in rebuttal.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

Rennie Davis was asked to make a proposal for a fall program, "election offensive". In introducing two dove-tailing projects, Rennie summarized proposals, stemming from meetings he had held after Chicago on both coasts. One proposal outlined plans related to the election period for decentralized actions focusing on the illegitimacy of the three major Presidential candidates and injecting the issue of Vietnam into the election. The other idea dealt with building a viable anti-war coalition representing active forces in motion, and encouraging broader participation in the National Mobilization. The specific decentralized actions revolving around the election period (the first idea) would corroborate the attempts to strengthen the organizational framework, (the second idea). Specific proposals for action include:

1. The Mobilization staff, would publicize the itineraries of Humphrey, Muskie, Nixon, Agnew and Wallace and help coordinate continual confrontations of mass demonstrations wherever they speak or travel.

2. The anti-war movement would focus on the plight of the soldier which is ignored by Presidential aspirants, and dramatize support of the right of the soldier to come home. Rennie outlined a "National-GI Week" to be held during the election period (Nov. 1-5). Mob would encourage sympathetic church services on Nov. 3, send delegations to forts, investigate stockade conditions, hold press conferences, leaflet, promote amnesty for deserters and organize public hearings featuring returning GIs.

3. Mob would encourage the American peace vote to refuse to give legitimacy to the three major candidates and instead "strike the election" through a series of actions on Nov. 5. Proposed actions include:

- a. A national student strike on November 5
- b. Picketing and leafleting at polling places
- c. Sit-ins at polling booths until meaningful choices are presented
- d. National demonstrations and draft card turn-ins at the sites where the candidates themselves vote
- e. Actions at Humphrey & Nixon campaign headquarters, the evening of Nov. 5
- f. P rallies in major cities the night of the elections where people can demonstrate their repudiation of the election farce

Rennie concluded that if the elections were thrown into the House of Representatives we should converge on Washington for that event in a manner similar to Chicago.

Dave interjected reports from two absent Mob coordinators, Donald Kalish and Sidney Peck. Kalish endorsed GI week, and stressed continuing pressure be exerted against draft boards and concerns like Dow Chemical in an effort to apply the diversity of the movement and enunciate specific political content. On structure, he emphasized the participation of new geographical areas and a larger role for women in the Mobilization. Peck wrote that he was willing to focus on the illegitimacy of the Presidential candidates, but didn't want to rule out support of local candidates or other Presidential candidates like Halstead and Cleaver.

## GRUBSIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

A long discussion followed with sentiments expressed that emphasis in the fall should not be on the Presidential candidates, but on the issue of the war which has been blurred by the resignation of Johnson and the Paris peace talks. Others felt we should focus not only on the candidates and the disintegration of the Democratic Party, but the rise of the fascist dangers of a police state. Lee Webb and Arthur Waszkow advised we lucidly present ourselves as the alternative to the electoral system, united as an extra-parliamentary power in the streets to express the opposition denied by the ballot box. To dramatize the central issue of the Vietnam war, Lee suggested the anti-war rallies be planned for the Saturday prior to election day, to use a weekend date and avoid competition of work schedules and election returns. He advised no disruption to the voting be planned in order not to conflict with the ordinary voter's pride in his voting privilege. Several people argued that our program must appeal not only to radicals but to a broader constituency by soliciting the lower middle class, the working class, and the dissident liberals. Tom Hayes warned not to alienate voters by attempting to tamper with their belief in the electoral system. Sidney Lens joined with Tom and Brad Lyttle in exhorting the Mobilization to assume a non-violent stance.

Tom Hayden explained that the removal of Johnson to silence the anti-war sentiment underscores the strategic relationship of the war to the election and the candidates. He felt the outlined Davis proposal would successfully surface anti-war, anti-racist sentiment, would allow moderates to participate in the rallies and permit more militant action for the youth. He explained that working classes wouldn't be changed by "cooling it" or by educational statements, but that the work with the armed forces during GI week would prepare new ground. He argued against the conservative tone being injected into the meeting.

When discussion was channeled to the particular plan to follow the candidates, Tim McCarthy said that no candidate should speak unencumbered by demonstrations and suggested the Guardian publish the schedules of the candidates to facilitate organization. Irving Beinen called for militant demonstrations to challenge the rigged elections by recreating Chicagos all over the country. Dave explained that a post-Chicago demonstration in Flint Michigan had used picketing and leafleting and had created an organized mass walk-out during a candidate's speech. Dave said that while the Mob could disseminate information, it could not resolve on exclusive patterns for the local demonstrations. In contrast, Brad Lyttle felt Mobilization could make recommendations on the tone and spirit of the demonstrations which should be non-violent and finally, Sid Lens warned if we prevented speeches from being heard, we would appear to represent the voice of fascism and not of democracy.

In exploring the ideas for a GI Week, John Tillman reported he had been working on a Vietnam Sunday in which ministers across the country would speak out against the war. It was also suggested the plans emphasize the plight of the black GIs, that we defend the right of the GIs to demonstrate, and coordinate our efforts with a Japanese protest strike beginning October 21. When some speakers felt that GI Week would deflect from other issues, Lee Webb suggested that it should be placed after elections to facilitate lengthier planning and to project our focus beyond the specific election period. A vote recommended the choice of a date for GI Week be sent to the Steering Committee.

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

Concerning the date for the proposed election rally it was voted that the Steering Committee set a date during the election week but not on Tuesday itself. The suggestion to encourage people at polling places to organize counter polling booths to vote on other candidates or issues was defeated.

Discussion then focused on the idea to demonstrate at the sites where the major candidates would vote. Speakers felt it was better to stay and sink roots in local communities by picketing and distributing five million leaflets against the war. A vote recommended we supplement local actions and leaflets with an attempt to dramatize the issues (particularly the draft) at areas where candidates cast votes. (Minnesota, New York and Maryland would be emphasized). Another vote expressed opposition to civil disobedience or disruption inside the polling places.

Concerning structure revisions in the National Mobilization Rennie Davis proposed the present Steering Committee be abolished and that after regional discussions, regional representatives be elected to the Committee. He suggested a more aggressive, organized staff, capable of developing long range organizing projects in addition to single national actions he supported. He recommended regional staffs with strong communication ties with the national staff.

Dave explained that the steering committee, which has been composed of officers and committee chairman, was intended to be small and capable of day to day decisions. He thought it must jump the generation gap and open itself to young representation, not only on a regional but functional basis. Strong opposition was expressed by Harry Ring who said that structural proposals were actually designed to build an organization to supplant the present broad coalition, and that people who would be eliminated would not necessarily be fractive, but simply be left out.

A committee was set up to discuss these proposals, composed of Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Irving Beinen, Barbara Bick, John Wilson, Greg Sandow, Steve Halliwell, and Harry Ring.

The next meeting was set for October 12, and structural revision discussions were postponed to the meeting to be held after the 12th.

DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION 2365

GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 26—Continued

LET US HEAR FROM YOU

name \_\_\_\_\_

address \_\_\_\_\_

phone \_\_\_\_\_

organization \_\_\_\_\_

what are you planning? \_\_\_\_\_

MOBILIZATION LITERATURE FOR ELECTION WEEK

(indicate quantity needed)

. leaflet for GIs (single sheet) \_\_\_\_\_

Vietnam GI (newspaper) \_\_\_\_\_

"National GI Week" posters \_\_\_\_\_

GI Week bumper stickers \_\_\_\_\_

election buttons \_\_\_\_\_

please enclose a donation to cover expenses



proposed  
button

return to: National Mobilization Committee  
5 Beekman Street  
NYC 10038  
phone: 964-6436

Mr. SMITH. Sergeant, do you have anything further to add?

Mr. GRUBISIC. No, not at this point.

Mr. ICHORD. Lieutenant Healy, do you have anything further to add?

Mr. HEALY. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this completes the interrogation of these witnesses.

Mr. ICHORD. Are there any questions by members of the committee?

Mr. ASHBROOK. First of all, I would like to commend both Lieutenant Healy and Sergeant Grubisic for this testimony.

As you know, this was called, as you heard the opening statement of our chairman, to determine whether or not there was planned and organized subversive effort.

While the question may sound trite, is there any doubt in your mind but what there was planned and organized subversive effort to bring about a disruption of the Democratic National Convention?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Very definitely. I think our testimony has indicated that there were these unwholesome forces present and actively working to disrupt the convention.

This information was available to us prior to the convention, as I previously stated, in the latter part of 1967 and 1968, and this information was disseminated through the city officials.

If I may add my personal comment, this is one of the reasons that the city of Chicago, Mayor Daley, and Superintendent Collins went to the elaborate security measures, or had taken the elaborate security measures.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Also, I would add, as a part of your testimony, you have made reference to not only those documents and matters of information which have come about through your intelligence unit, but also to those matters that have been in the public record that have been printed openly by the people who attempted to disrupt.

It is not just a question of your intelligence unit uncovering these. These are for everybody to see.

This is one of the amazing things about it. This is not all undercover, but an open cover.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Definitely, by the minutes of the meeting that were taken and distributed to people who attended the meetings and others.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You are like us, you work with it every day, so it does not surprise you. Sometimes it surprises me, where so much publicly can be read and understood.

As you point out, the effort to firebomb, we have seen time and time again on this committee that the basic element that is necessary is the intent to do it.

There were not many people involved in blowing up the Statue of Liberty. The thing we found was that they had the intent, they had the dynamite, they would have been on their way to do it, and it would have been accomplished, except for the intelligence, such as yours, in New York.

There was intent to have an act of destruction, including firebombing. Except for your efforts, it might have happened. If nothing else, you have certainly indicated the clear intent of these people.



Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes. Just last week we made an arrest—you probably read it in the paper—of four individuals who were planning and had the ingredients to make bombs. They intended to blow up Carson Pirie Scott, a large department store in the Chicago Loop, and Goldblatt, which is another department store in the Loop, on the 28th of September, during the antiwar and police brutality demonstration.

It was through our efforts that we were able to prevent these people. This case is pending.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I recognize it is better not to comment too much on a pending case, but it certainly indicates what we have said right along, there is the intent on the part of people to either disrupt or engage in acts of violence.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I merely want the record to show that they have done a wonderful job in presenting this information to our committee.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I likewise would like to commend the lieutenant and sergeant for what I consider a well-documented case, here.

I don't believe we have had any figures mentioned here as to how many were involved in the activity out there. Not the leaders; we have had a discussion of the leaders.

How many were involved as demonstrators?

Mr. GRUBISIC. It varied from day to day. At some points it was up to seven or eight thousand people.

Mr. WATSON. Seven to eight thousand?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Were you able to ascertain whether they were local, or were most of them outside of Chicago?

Mr. GRUBISIC. Our observations, and I think the lieutenant will bear me out on this, were that very many of them were out-of-towners, the majority.

Mr. WATSON. Apparently it is rather widespread, the communications system that they have and the following that they have throughout this Nation.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes, definitely.

Mr. WATSON. You are no sociologist, but let me ask this question anyway, since we are trying to elicit all types of information, for whatever it is worth, as the chairman often says.

We have seen Rubin and Hoffman and some of these, whatever they are, here. How would you account for anyone following such people as that?

I mean through the human senses, they would invoke anything but a following. They are truly repulsive in every shape, form, and description. Yet, apparently, the young people out there were following them right down the line.

I wonder what accounts for it, other than they are different. Do you have any ideas, personally?

Mr. GRUBISIC. I think I had better not comment on that.

Mr. WATSON. I can be a little more open than you, Sergeant, so you needn't comment.

Mr. GRUBISIC. Yes. I must recognize my position as a police officer.

Mr. WATSON. I appreciate you have a lot of problems.

I tell you, down our way, if some people had come in like that, we would have scrubbed them up in a hurry. The police would not have to do it.

Mr. ICHORD. I imagine the sergeant does have difficulty in finding out how so-called idealistic youth follow such gentlemen.

Have you concluded, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no further questions, the Chair, too, wants to join in the commendation of the witnesses.

I know you are not accustomed to testifying before a legislative committee, but you have done a very excellent job.

The gentleman from South Carolina has mentioned the march-out, the leaving of the room by counsel and witnesses and some of the entourage. Let the Chair observe that I believe that they were no doubt trying to seek a confrontation with the committee and with the police. It appeared to me that there was an attempt to goad the Chair into precipitous action. That did not occur.

I highly doubt if they are going to muster any sympathy, from the objective press, anyway, or the American public, because the testimony has revealed here today that some of the witnesses who marched out were the very ones involved in the planning and the organization of the Chicago disturbance.

This committee has a very difficult job, and as most of the people know, I have repeatedly said that I thought the mandate of the committee was ambiguous and needed clarification.

It is true that the court decisions surrounding the work of the committee have made the mandate of the committee clear. We do have authority to investigate Communist activity. We do have authority to investigate subversive activity.

Of course, here we are dealing with some very emotional matters, probably one of the most difficult problems the American people have ever faced—that is, how to protect ourselves from subversion and still retain the constitutional liberties which we all cherish so much.

Where does legitimate dissent end, and where does criminal disobedience begin?

I point out to the gentleman from South Carolina, I said criminal disobedience, and not civil disobedience.

This is a problem which is going to require responsible action, not only from the Congress, the duly elected legislators in our democracy, but from the policy and all responsible citizens. We must be careful not to overreact and thereby destroy these constitutional liberties which we have.

I will adjourn the committee until 8 o'clock Thursday morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p.m., Tuesday, October 1, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 8 a.m., Thursday, October 3, 1968.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

(Grubisic Exhibit No. 7, introduced on page 2306, follows:)

## GRUBISIC EXHIBIT No. 7

*Invitational List*NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN  
VIETNAM

(The following persons have been formally invited to attend meetings of the  
*Administrative Committee*)

Rev. Ralph Abernathy  
690 Laverne Drive  
Atlanta, Ga.  
H : 404-524-1464  
O : 404-794-6580

John Anderson  
22327 Cleveland  
Dearborn, Mich. 48124  
(313) LO 1-8856

Dixie Bayo  
% MPI  
PO Box 241  
Stuyvesant Station  
New York, N.Y. 10009  
OR 5-7443 (Dixie Bayo)  
TR 7-0700 (Pedro Rua)

Irving Beinin  
170 E. 3d Street  
New York, N.Y. 10009

Karl Bernhard  
14 Scholar Lane  
Levittown, N. Y. 11756  
(516) MU 8-0928 (o)

Fr. Philip Berrigan  
St. Peter Claver R.C. Church  
The Josephite Fathers  
Fremont at Penn. Ave.  
Baltimore, Md. 21217  
(301) 669-0512

Rev. James Bevel  
% Washington Mobilization  
St. Stephen & Incarnation Church  
16th & Newton Sts. NW  
Washington, D.C. 20010  
(202) 387-7374 (o)

Barbara Bick  
% Women Strike for Peace  
2016 P Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
(202) 232-0803 (o)  
(202) EM 2-0602 (h)

Karl Bissinger  
Support-In-Action  
252 W. 91st St.  
New York City  
PL 8-2651

Nelson Blackstock  
Box 6262  
Atlanta, Ga. 30308  
(404) 874-4942

Greater Boston Coord. Com.  
% Linda Sheppard  
14 Howard Street  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139  
(617) 864-4661

Herb Bleich  
% PLP  
132 Nassau Street  
New York City  
Thompson Bradley  
240 Ridley Creek Road  
Moylan, Pa.  
(215) LO 6-2499 (h)  
(215) KI 3-0200 (o)

Jim Bristol  
160 N. 15th St.  
Phila, Pa. 19102  
(215) LO 3-9372

Prof. Robt. McAfee Brown  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, Calif.

Robert S. Browne  
214 Tryon Ave.  
Teaneck, N.J. 07666  
(201) 833-1718

Greg Calvert  
% SDS  
1608 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
(312) 666-3874

Stokely Carmichael  
% SNCC  
360 Nelson St. SW  
Atlanta, Ga. 30313  
(404) 688-0331

Pearl Chertov  
2708 W. Sterner St.  
Phila., Pa.  
(215) BA 9-2426

Prof. Noam Chomsky  
15 Suzanne Road  
Lexington, Mass. 02173

Ron Clark  
National CORE  
200 W. 135th Street  
New York, N. Y.  
O : 281-9650  
H : SW 5-5466

William Sloan Coffin  
Yale University Station  
New Haven, Conn.

Tom Cornell  
Catholic Peace Fellowship  
5 Beekman Street  
NYC 10038  
964-8367

Sue Craig  
3432 Harvest  
Indianapolis, Ind.  
(317) 898-7099

## 2370 DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

- Kipp Dawson  
316 E. 11th St.—Apt. 4A  
New York City 10003  
H : 477-7353  
O : 255-1075
- Dave Dellinger  
LIBERATION  
5 Beekman St.—10th Floor  
NYC 10038  
CO 7 1468
- Barbara Deming  
Wellfleet  
Cape Cod, Mass.
- Ivanhoe Donaldson  
Inst. for Policy Studies  
1900 Florida Ave. NW  
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# SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION

## Part 1

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1968

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:25 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri, chairman; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman of the full committee; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and William J. McMahon and Herbert Romerstein, investigators.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order. Will the guests please be seated?

The committee will be in order, a quorum being present.

On Tuesday, the first day of the meeting, the Chair did make an erroneous statement, which I want to correct. My memory is that the Chair stated that there had been more than one rule 26(m) letter sent by the committee. The correct number is only one—one rule 26(m) letter sent by the committee.

On Tuesday, October 1, at the commencement of these hearings—let there be order in the committee room until I finish this statement.

Mr. Director, are the attorneys for the witnesses in the room?

Mr. McNAMARA. They are coming in now, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. What I have to say concerns the attorneys for their clients. I think they will be very interested in the ruling I am about to make.

The Chair observes that Mr. Michael Kennedy, representing Greenblatt and Davis, is present.

Mr. Henry di Suvero.

Are you present, Mr. di Suvero?

MR. DI SUVERO. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I am.

MR. ICHORD. Thank you.

Mr. Mel Wulf?

MR. WULF. Yes, sir.

MR. ICHORD. Thank you, sir.

Miss Nancy Stearns, representing Mr. Dellinger.

MISS STEARNS. Yes, sir.

MR. ICHORD. Thank you.

Mr. William Cousins, representing Mr. Rubin.

MR. COUSINS. I am here, and Mr. Dellinger as well.

MR. ICHORD. And Miss Harriet Van Tassel.

And Mr. Gerald Lefcourt, representing Mr. Hoffman?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. He is not here, may the Chair please, because his client was arrested and assaulted when Mr. Lefcourt and his client tried to enter this hall.

MR. ICHORD. We will take the matter up later on, after I finish this ruling.

He has chosen not to be here. The Chair will proceed.

Gentlemen, let there be order in the hearing room until I finish this statement.

Will the gentleman please be seated?

COUNSEL FROM AUDIENCE. May I introduce one additional counsel, is all I want to do. There is an additional counsel.

MR. ICHORD. You have another counsel present?

Will you come forward, sir, and identify yourself?

MR. KATZ. My name is Sanford M. Katz. I represent the witness, Mr. Greenblatt.

MR. ICHORD. Mr. Greenblatt. Associated with Michael Kennedy?

MR. KATZ. Yes, sir.

MR. ICHORD. And how do you spell the last name?

MR. KATZ. K-a-t-z.

MR. ICHORD. The first name is?

MR. KATZ. Sanford, S-a-n-f-o-r-d.

MR. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Jeremiah S. Gutman.

MR. ICHORD. Mr. Gutman.

MR. GUTMAN. I represent Dr. Quentin Young and Mr. Dave Dellinger.

MR. ICHORD. Associated with Mr. Wulf?

MR. GUTMAN. Yes, sir. And my colleague from Chicago, Mr. William Cousins.

MR. ICHORD. William Cousins?

MR. COUSINS. William Cousins, Jr.

MR. ICHORD. You are also representing Mr. Dellinger and Mr. Young?

MR. COUSINS. No, I am cocounsel for Dr. Young.

MR. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

And you, sir?

MR. ADELMAN. I am an attorney associated with Mr. Sutro.

MR. ICHORD. Would you spell that?

MR. ADELMAN. A-d-e-l-m-a-n.

MR. ICHORD. And you are representing and associated with whom?

MR. ADELMAN. Mr. Sutro.

MR. ICHORD. Representing Mr. Hayden.

Mr. Katz, may I ask, you are a member of what bar?

Mr. KATZ. I am a member of the bar of the State of New York and the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and the Southern and Eastern Districts of New York.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Gutman, I believe you are a member——

Mr. GUTMAN. [Inaudible.]

Mr. ICHORD. Could you state that just a little slower?

Mr. GUTMAN. United States Supreme Court, the New York bar, Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, the Fifth Circuit, the Eighth Circuit, maybe some others.

United States District Courts, Southern District, Eastern District of New York, Northern District of Mississippi.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair observes that you are an attorney with considerable experience, sir. Thank you very much.

Mr. William Cousins, you are a member of what bar?

Mr. COUSINS. Illinois bar and the district court, sir. Northeastern District of the Illinois and Indiana area.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Adelman?

Mr. ADELMAN. New York bar.

Mr. ICHORD. New York bar?

Mr. ADELMAN. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Are there further attorneys present representing clients?

If not, the Chair will proceed.

On Tuesday, October 1, at the commencement of these hearings, I had advised counsel of the Rules of the House of Representatives and of this committee with respect to the participation of counsel.

I also accorded counsel the privilege of submitting, on behalf of their clients, written points, objections, and briefs on legal matters, provided they did so prior to 8 a.m. of today, that is, Thursday, October 3.

Shortly following, on October 1, there was submitted on behalf of all counsel for subpoenaed witnesses a statement titled "Jurisdictional Objections," containing three numbered objections; a statement titled "Procedural Demands," containing 15 numbered demands; and a copy of a complaint filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia titled "Complained for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief." Quote, "Complained for Injunctive and Declaratory Relief."

I don't know whether this is a typing error or not.

Mr. McNAMARA. It should be "Complaint."

Mr. ICHORD. Is that the exact wording on it?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. The latter complaint has been submitted evidently in support of paragraph 11 of the statement of Procedural Demands.

The subcommittee met this morning, prior to this meeting, to consider these objections and demands. The subcommittee rules as follows:

With respect to the statement of Jurisdictional Objections, these are general objections challenging the authority of the committee to conduct this investigation.

(The information follows:)

#### JURISDICTIONAL OBJECTIONS

1. Inasmuch as Congress can make no law abridging the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition, silence, privacy, asso-

ciation or the Fifth Amendment rights of due process of law or the Sixth Amendment rights of counsel, confrontation of witnesses, and fair, public trial and the Ninth Amendment rights reserved to the people, it follows that neither Congress nor any of its Committees can constitutionally derogate any of these sacred freedoms by investigating, intimidating or attempting to interfere with the exercise of these freedoms. Consequently, Congress and this Committee are without jurisdiction to hold these hearings for the purposes stated.

2. Even if Congress could legally make inquiry into constitutionally protected activities, the delegation of this authority to HUAC by Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is improper and void for vagueness and over breadth, in violation of the First, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the United States Constitution, in that said delegation of authority fails to meet the requirements of definiteness and certainty demanded of statutes which are enforced by criminal sanctions.

3. Even if Congress had authority to constitutionally make the inquiry herein sought, and even if Congress could and had properly delegated this authority to HUAC, this Committee's present exercise of that authority and this Committee's authorizing resolution of September 12, 1968 is unconstitutional for the same reasons set forth above.

#### PROCEDURAL DEMANDS

1. Right to cross-examine any and all persons who have given or may give, either in executive or public session or otherwise, any testimony or information regarding clients.

2. The right to inspect and photocopy the verbatim transcript and/or statement(s) of any and all persons who have given or may give in executive or public session or otherwise, any testimony or information regarding clients.

3. A verbatim transcript of any and all executive sessions or HUAC meetings wherein the matters and/or persons here under investigation were considered or discussed.

4. Complete copies of any and all statutory authority, House of Representatives authority and HUAC authorizing resolutions pertaining to these hearings and/or the matters and/or persons here under investigation.

5. The number, title, sponsor(s) and complete text of any and all proposed legislation relating to these hearings presently under consideration by HUAC or any of its sub-committees.

6. The right of each client to voir dire each congressional and staff committee member on his fairness, impartiality, lack of bias or prejudice towards each subpoenaed witness; his prior knowledge if any, of subpoenaed witness; his opinion, pre-disposition or pre-deliction [sic] towards the HUAC authorizing resolution herein and/or the legislative matters here under investigation.

7. A detailed statement by the Committee as to its definition of "Un-American", "subversive", "Communist", "world Communist movement", "propaganda", "subversive-front organization" as used in the House and HUAC rules and the authorizing resolution.

8. The right to inspect and photocopy any and all reports, documents, statements or written memoranda relating to the client(s) here under investigation.

9. The right to inspect the counsel table and witness area to insure the privacy of lawyer-client consultations. Plus the unequivocal assurance from HUAC that lawyer-client privacy has not been and will not be invaded in any way whatsoever.

10. The disqualification of HUAC members Willis (La.) and Watson (S.C.) because elected by electorates from which Negroes have been systematically excluded.

Auth: 1965 Voting Law defines La. and S.C. as such. Also authorizing resolution and subpoenas void because executed by Willis.

11. (file copies of HUAC and Chicago complaints). Take notice of Chicago Grand Jury and F.B.I. investigations into very matters under investigation here. Take notice of suits pending covering these matters. Take notice that criminal prosecutions are pending against several of the witnesses.

Therefore, the unequivocal assurance of the Committee that matters presently in litigation will not be inquired into because to do so would violate due process, separation of federal powers, and states' rights.

12. The "public" hearings be, in fact, public; that at least one-half of the visitor and spectator seats, exclusive of those reserved for the press, be reserved for and allocated to relatives, friends and supporters of the subpoenaed witnesses.

13. All marshalls [sic], policemen and agents be completely disarmed in and throughout the hearings, and that each and every such marshal [sic], policeman or agent conspicuously display his badge, identification and credentials in and throughout the hearings, and that the name, employer and duties of each such marshal [sic], policeman or agent be provided the subpoenaed witnesses and their lawyers immediately.

14. The Committee publicly apologize to Arthur Kinoy, eminent professor and lawyer, and to the bar in general for the indignities, abuses, brutalities and harassment perpetrated upon him by this Committee in August, 1966 when HUAC had Mr. Kinoy forcibly removed from the Committee room and arrested. Mr. Kinoy was fully exonerated by the Court of Appeals for Washington, D.C.

HUAC gives its complete and unequivocal assurance that no member of the committee will in any way attempt to harass, intimidate or interfere with the professional activities of counsel for any of the subpoenaed witnesses.

15. The right to a precise statement by the Committee to each subpoenaed witness as to why the witness was subpoenaed, the necessity for the witness' testimony, the source(s) of the Committee's information regarding the witness and the relevancy of the witness' expected testimony and the subject matter of investigation.

Mr. ICHORD. We overrule each of the three numbered objections, and I will direct the recorder to put these Jurisdictional Objections and Procedural Demands in the record immediately prior to my ruling here.

With respect to the statement of Procedural Demands, we disposed of each of these as follows:

The first, denied. The committee sees no reason to depart from normal and customary procedures in this respect.

Second procedural demand, denied. The Chair will announce that the committee has ruled that this is obviously excessive. Moreover, we have previously advised counsel of the availability of transcripts of public sessions for inspection or purchase.

The third procedural demand is denied. Demand, again, is obviously excessive.

The fourth is denied as moot.

Counsel have available the committee rules of procedure, the chairman's opening statement, and other references, including the House and committee authorizing resolutions.

Fifth procedural demand is denied. The legislative purposes adequately appear in the House and committee resolutions and the chairman's opening statement.

Six and seven are denied. We regard the demands to be frivolous as stated.

Eight is denied as excessive.

Nine is denied, and this demand is regarded as an impertinence and will be stricken.

Ten is denied. This demand is regarded also as an impertinence and will be stricken.

Eleven, we defer ruling on this demand, following rulings on other points.

Twelve is denied. We have previously adverted to this subject. This is a public hearing.

Thirteen is denied. Thirteen reads as follows:

All marshalls [sic], policemen and agents be completely disarmed in and throughout the hearings, and that each and every such marshal [sic], policeman or agent conspicuously display his badge, identification and credentials in and throughout the hearings, and that the name, employer and duties of each such marshal [sic], policeman or agent be provided the subpoenaed witnesses and their lawyers immediately.

This demand is denied, and the Chair in denying this demand might explain that it has been publicly stated by many persons that they would attempt to disrupt these hearings, despite what may have been printed in some newspapers, and I am particularly referring to one cartoon.

The Chair will not permit these hearings by a committee of Congress to develop into a circus. There will be all of the powers used by the Chair and statutes to maintain order, and the Chair will again request all of the guests, the witnesses, and all in this room to maintain order, and I appeal again to your sense of decorum and propriety.

Fourteen is denied. This demand is regarded as an impertinence and will also be stricken from the record.

Fourteen reads as follows: It is a demand that "The Committee publicly apologize to Arthur Kinoy," and so forth.

Let the Chair point out that this particular incident, and I make no regard to the merits of either side, occurred in 1966. Despite what may be in the minds of some members of the public and also despite the fact that it is sometimes distorted in the press, this committee is not a continuing committee.

This is a new committee every Congress, composed of individuals elected by the Members of the House who are duly elected to the House of Representatives. Nothing that occurred—even if the committee in 1966 were the party at fault, even if that were true—would be a reflection upon this committee.

Fifteen—all witnesses have been subpoenaed because the subcommittee has reason to believe that each has information or knowledge pertinent and material to the subject under inquiry set forth in the committee resolution and the chairman's opening statement.

The demand is denied at this stage.

The witnesses shall not be denied any right to make appropriate objections to pertinency or relevancy or other proper objection after he is qualified as a witness.

Now with respect to demand No. 11, it is necessary that the Chair, in order to be able to rule, obtain further information from counsel and the witnesses.

Mr. Kunstler, you represent Mr. Rubin. The Chair certainly has knowledge of the fact that you are an attorney of considerable experience. I think I will start with you. Would you come forward, please? I would like to ask you some questions in regard to this procedural demand.

There is some information which the Chair does not have in order to be able to dispose of No. 11.

This states:

(file copies of HUAC and Chicago complaints). Take notice of Chicago Grand Jury and F.B.I. investigations into very matters under investigation here. Take notice of suits pending covering these matters. Take notice that criminal prosecutions are pending against several of the witnesses.

Therefore, the unequivocal assurance of the Committee that matters presently in litigation will not be inquired into because to do so would violate due process, separation of federal powers, and states' rights.

I think we should make this a matter of record, Mr. Kunstler.

Would you advise the Chair what prosecutions are now pending against Mr. Rubin?

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Rubin has several criminal prosecutions pending in Chicago with reference to the events of the week of August 25. They are pending in the State courts in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. Only in the State courts?

Mr. KUNSTLER. In the State courts in Chicago.

There is, of course, a Federal grand jury, which has been convened in Chicago by Federal judge, which is at this moment sitting to consider the events of the week of August 25.

Our claim with Mr. Rubin was, since he was, one, under the State charges and, two, there may be criminal charges preferred out of the grand jury action on the Federal side of the ledger, we feel very strongly that it would violate most of his fundamental rights to be questioned in this forum with respect to any matters which are or may be taken up by these courts and grand juries, which were seated prior to this hearing.

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Well, let me ask this, now, I have to know, what are the specific charges?

Mr. KUNSTLER. I have Mr. Rubin here, and if I could have him step forward, he can indicate more expressly than I can.

Mr. ICHORD. Could you ascertain that from your client and then relate it to me?

Mr. RUBIN. No, I will step forward.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I think it might be more convenient if he did come in.

Mr. RUBIN. Existing, living, disorderly conduct.

Mr. ICHORD. Disorderly?

Mr. RUBIN. For bringing a pig, our presidential candidate, into the Civic Center. I was arrested for disorderly conduct.

The first presidential candidate to be arrested in Chicago, or in the country. That was one charge. Another charge was disorderly conduct for walking down the street, looking for a restaurant.

These two gentlemen over here popped out of a car, and I said, "I am going home," and they said, "You are under arrest."

Mr. ICHORD. Now, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. RUBIN. Also resisting arrest. I am telling you the charges.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is not a lawyer.

Could you advise with him and relate it so that we can understand what the nature of the charges is?

Now disorderly conduct.

Mr. RUBIN. We have got two counts of disorderly conduct, the pig and walking home. Resisting arrest. And a sex offense, "solicitation to commit mob action."

"Solicitation"—I don't know. Strange word.

That is it.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Those are the charges.

Mr. ICHORD. There are four charges pending in State court.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Four charges, none of which have been disposed of.

Mr. ICHORD. Two disorderly conduct charges, one resisting arrest, and the fourth, "solicitation to commit mob action."

Mr. RUBIN. One solicitation.

Mr. ICHORD. Now at what stage is the prosecution?

You may retire, Mr. Rubin.

Mr. RUBIN. I can stay. Can I stay?

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead.

Mr. RUBIN. He doesn't know the answers to all these questions. I come up October 29.

Mr. ICHORD. On what charge?

Mr. RUBIN. On everything.

Mr. KUNSTLER. On all of them he has pleaded not guilty, as I understand. He is out on bond. He must return to Chicago on October 29.

Mr. ICHORD. And set for trial on October 29?

Mr. KUNSTLER. It is set for the next stage. It may be a trial, it may not be, depending on what moves we make in the interim, but it is set for a proceeding, for all purposes.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Ashbrook, do you have a question?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes, I particularly wanted to ask Mr. Kunstler, due to Mr. Rubin's professed desire to testify, that were we to acknowledge your request under point 11 and call off his subpoenaed testimony, is it his desire to specifically waive this right?

Mr. KUNSTLER. No, he has made no professed desire to testify. He takes the position, since he is a party in a Federal lawsuit, that the committee is unconstitutional. He has raised all sorts of constitutional objections, including the ones that are contained in point 11.

What he is saying, that if he is forced to testify, under penalty of contempt, that he might testify. He hasn't professed a desire.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Were we to rule that way, he would not waive?

Mr. KUNSTLER. That is right.

Mr. ICHORD. And then there is the grand jury, Federal grand jury.

Mr. KUNSTLER. That has been sitting, I think.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the status, 10 days?

Mr. KUNSTLER. I think for at least 10 days.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have any other information pertaining to the grand jury proceedings?

Mr. KUNSTLER. Yes; we know that Federal Bureau of Investigation investigators are now in the process of investigating many people in this room, as well as Mr. Rubin himself, and it is our supposition, what we have heard, that they are doing this in connection with the grand jury which is presently sitting in Chicago, and perhaps for this committee, but we have no definite way of knowing, except that they are investigating. That we do know.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you fear, Mr. Counsel, and perhaps I should direct it to you as the attorney, that the client's testimony may incriminate him with respect to the prosecution of the grand jury investigation?

Mr. KUNSTLER. Well, we fear this, essentially: that it would be unconstitutional to question him about matters from which he may be subject to criminal prosecution. And I could tell you, Mr. Chairman, that in many other areas, New York and elsewhere, where this has occurred, many of the legislative agencies—I am talking now about the board of education, of higher education, city of New York—have deferred questioning students who are under criminal charges for acts on school grounds, on the grounds that it might violate the constitutional rights.

Mr. ICHORD. You don't necessarily feel, then, that it might tend to incriminate him?



Mr. KUNSTLER. I think anything you say in any legislative hearings, because I know the state of the world today and the state of informers in general, might tend to incriminate any man that testifies.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you please be seated? And thank you very much, sir.

Is there any other information, Counsel? We would like to have it.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I call to your attention—

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Mr. Gutman, I am proceeding in an orderly manner here.

Mr. GUTMAN. I have these—

Mr. ICHORD. Will you please be seated, sir?

We have to have order in the hearing room.

Mr. di Suvero, will you please come forward? You represent Mr. Hayden?

Mr. DI SUVERO. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. ICHORD. Are there any prosecutions pending against Mr. Hayden?

Mr. DI SUVERO. Yes, there are.

Mr. ICHORD. What are they?

Mr. DI SUVERO. There are two counts of disorderly conduct, two counts of resisting arrest, one count of obstructing a police officer.

Mr. ICHORD. And where are they pending?

Mr. DI SUVERO. They are pending in Chicago, in the State courts. Also, as—

Mr. ICHORD. At what stage is the prosecution?

Mr. DI SUVERO. They are awaiting trial.

Mr. ICHORD. Hasn't been set for trial?

Mr. DI SUVERO. I think certain of them have been set for trial; yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you know whether or not he is involved in any grand jury proceedings?

Mr. DI SUVERO. Well, all that I can say is what has been stated by the Federal district judge, Judge Campbell, impaneling the grand jury. Judge Campbell instructed the grand jury to take into account and to investigate and to hear evidence on the question of any possible violation of the so-called antiriot provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

And the reason why we press this particular point is not—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair—I want to proceed with this.

The Chair will not entertain argument at this time.

Let me ask you this: Do you feel that your client may incriminate himself if he testifies in these proceedings with respect to the grand jury investigation?

Mr. DI SUVERO. I don't think it is a question of incrimination, sir. I think it is a question of separation of powers.

I think that there is a proper legislative function and a proper judicial function, and for the legislature to convene a hearing of this nature to inquire into matters that are now pending in the judicial branch is a violation of this doctrine of separation of powers, and I would contend that this is patently unconstitutional.

Mr. ICHORD. You may be seated, sir. Thank you very much.

Mr. Kennedy, are you the principal lawyer for Mr. Greenblatt and Mr. Davis?

Mr. KENNEDY. I certainly am for Mr. Davis, and I associate with Mr. Katz.

Mr. KATZ. I am here for Mr. Greenblatt.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you gentlemen please come forward?

I think we can speed the proceedings up. You know the questions that I am asking about your clients, so that we will be able to rule on it.

What prosecutions are pending against Mr. Davis?

Mr. KENNEDY. There are no criminal prosecutions presently pending against Mr. Davis. However, Mr. Davis is, as we plead on information in the brief based on Judge Campbell's statements at the time he impaneled the grand jury, one of the individuals who is the subject of that grand jury investigation.

Point No. 2 is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of course, an arm of the executive branch, has attempted to contact Mr. Davis repeatedly and has called me, as Mr. Davis' attorney, asking for interviews to determine whether or not there were any violations of the antiriot provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1967.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. ICHORD. It would appear some of his activities are being investigated, at least, by the —

Mr. KENNEDY. Oh, indeed.

Mr. ICHORD. But there are no criminal cases.

Mr. KENNEDY. No criminal prosecutions against Mr. Davis.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

One more question, Mr. Kennedy.

As the counsel, do you fear that the client's testimony may incriminate him with respect to any possible grand jury proceedings?

Mr. KENNEDY. No, I don't think that is the point at all. I don't think incrimination with reference to my client has anything to do with it. What I think is critical is that the Federal Government has distinct division of powers, and I think the executive branch and the judiciary branch, the judiciary as the grand jury impaneled by Judge Campbell, have moved into the field and presently occupy it; therefore, it would do violence to the separation of powers for these hearings to continue on the Chicago matters.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

Now Mr. Greenblatt. Attorney for Mr. Greenblatt.

Mr. KATZ. Right here, sir. Mr. Katz.

There are no criminal charges presently pending, growing out of the incident in Chicago.

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KATZ. However, I would reaffirm all the statements made by cocounsel and only add that it has been in the past a sad fact that many of the hearings, minutes, and reports, indeed, the investigative facilities of this committee, have found their way into files of other arms of the Government.

I think the separation of powers concept here is underscored by that fact.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me ask you this.

You say there are no specific charges pending against him?

Mr. KATZ. Not growing out of the incident in Chicago; no, sir.

But any grand jury investigating in this area obviously has great power in its investigation.

<sup>1</sup> The "Civil Rights Act" in question was passed in 1968.

Mr. ICHORD. Was he in Chicago?

Mr. KATZ. As far as I know, he was in Chicago; yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

Mr. KATZ, could I ask you one more question?

You say there are no criminal charges pending against him?

Mr. KATZ. Growing out of the Chicago incident.

Mr. ICHORD. Yes. And, of course, you brought up the grand jury proceedings.

Mr. KATZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you feel that your client's testimony may incriminate him with respect to the grand jury?

Mr. KATZ. Again, sir, I don't see that as the crucial issue. I see the crucial issue being one of separation of powers, and I think this committee should very well permit the grand jury to do its business first.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman.

I note that counsel has qualified his answer in response to your original question as to whether or not there were any criminal prosecutions pending against Mr. Greenblatt, and your answer, as I recall, was "Not arising out of the Chicago matters."

Mr. KATZ. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. Then I think it would likewise be important, so that we might protect all of his rights, are there any criminal prosecutions pending against him anywhere?

Mr. KATZ. Well, Congressman Watson, if that does come up and if the question is relevant or irrelevant, proper objections will be made, and I should think the Chair—

Mr. WATSON. You do not raise that objection now, in reference to the others.

Mr. KATZ. I can't anticipate any question now.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me say that I don't want counsel to think that, by asking these questions, I am denying any right that the witness will have to avail himself of the fifth amendment if the proper occasion arises.

Mr. KATZ. Again, sir, it is not a question of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

Now, Miss Stearns?

Miss STEARNS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. You are representing Mr. Dellinger.

Would you please come forward?

Are there any prosecutions pending against Mr. Dellinger?

Miss STEARNS. Not relating to the Chicago incidents, but he is a potential subject for grand jury investigation.

Mr. ICHORD. Why do you feel that he is a potential subject?

Miss STEARNS. Well, the grand jury is investigating what did go on in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. You indicated that there are other prosecutions?

Miss STEARNS. No, I did not. I just say that he was not presently under prosecution.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you feel that the client's testimony may incriminate him?

Miss STEARNS. It is not a question at all as to whether the testimony would incriminate him. It is not in any way concerned with that possible consideration.

He is very much concerned with the question of separation of powers and whether or not this hearing would interfere with any kind of judicial function that might be going on and has been advised by his attorney that this would be the case.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

Mr. Lefcourt is not present?

Mr. KUNSTLER. He is with his client at the jail.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Cousins, representing Mr. Young?

Mr. COUSINS. The Attorney Gutman.

Mr. ICHORD. And Mr. Gutman. I am sorry.

Mr. Gutman, are there any prosecutions pending against Mr. Young?

Mr. GUTMAN. As far as we know, sir, there are no prosecutions pending or contemplated against Dr. Young. However, there is a grand jury impaneled in the city of Chicago, Illinois, investigating the events in which the Medical Committee for Human Rights, with which Dr. Young is associated, took part.

There is a Federal Bureau of Investigation proceeding now going on into the police brutality and excesses in the city of Chicago, and Dr. Young and his committee are cooperating in that investigation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division.

Mr. ICHORD. You feel that your client's testimony may incriminate him with respect to prosecution?

Mr. GUTMAN. In no way, sir. None whatsoever. However, we do certainly feel that the legislative arm of Government, once the judiciary and the executive have set in motion the investigatory processes and grand jury processes which are now underway, should defer its activities in respect for due order, due process of law.

Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, there is now pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, civil action No. 2455, 1968, entitled, "Quentin Young against Edwin E. Willis" and others.

I believe the action entitled, "Renard G. Davis against Edwin E. Willis" and others is already, in the form of its complaint, a part of this record. And I would now tender to be marked in evidence the complaint in the Young action, in which Dr. Young—

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, now, the Chair is ruling on No. 11. I don't think that is material.

Mr. GUTMAN. Well, I think it is, sir, because in No. 11 one of the objections is that there are suits pending covering these matters, and this is one of those suits, and therefore I believe it is germane because it sets forth not only all the objections set forth in objection No. 11, but sets forth the basic unconstitutionality and raises an issue—

Mr. ICHORD. I will receive it into the record. Thank you very much.

(Document retained in committee files.)

Mr. GUTMAN. And it raises an additional issue, if I may, sir, which I think is most important, as set forth here, and that is this: Dr. Young and the Medical Committee for Human Rights are physicians and health professionals; their rights to be with their patients, treat their patients, and respect the confidence of their patients are pro-

tected by the ninth and first amendments to the Constitution, and this committee has no right to inquire.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. GUTMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Do we have any further witnesses? I believe that is all of the attorneys for the witnesses.

The committee will now retire to take point No. 11 under advisement.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, we have one more introduction of counsel.

I would like to introduce Mr. Arthur Kinoy as one of the counsel for Mr. Rubin, Mr. Dellinger, and Dr. Young. [Applause.]

Mr. ICHORD. Let the Chair remind you, the audience, that you are guests of the committee, and this hearing can't proceed with emotional outbursts and the committee will now declare a brief recess for the purpose of ruling on the motions.

Mr. Kinoy, from the New York bar.

Mr. KINROY. Yes, if, Mr. Chairman, you could ask the reporter to note that I am appearing of counsel for Mr. Dellinger, for Dr. Young, and for Mr. Rubin.

Mr. ICHORD. That will be done.

Mr. KINROY. Thank you.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, one brief point before you retire, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. We will now retire. We will bring that up later on.

Mr. KENNEDY. With reference to a—sir, may I be heard?

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman please be seated?

Now, gentlemen, I think at this time—will the gentleman please be seated? I think at this time that I again should read for the benefit of the audience, and also of the attorneys, the rules under which this committee is meeting.

Again, I remind you that this is not a court proceeding. No one is on trial. This is not an adversary proceeding, and the Rules of the House of Representatives prevail, not the rules of evidence in a court.

And I read again, for the information of the learned counsel from New York, Rule No. VII:

A—At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B—The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the Committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

And the Rules of the House of Representatives, ruling pronounced by the Speaker, presiding officer of the House, and I read from the *Congressional Record*, October 18, 1966:

The Chair will also point out, parenthetically, that subsection (k) of rule XI, provides that:

"Witnesses at investigative hearings may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights."

This privilege, unlike advocacy in a court, does not as a matter of right entitle the attorney to present argument, make motions, or make demands on the committee.

Now the Chair was quite lenient on Tuesday. Twenty-six times, according to a newspaper report, these committee hearings were in-

terrupted, but let not the lenience of the Chair be considered as acquiescence in violating the rules of the House.

My job carries the authority vested in me as chairman, and I intend to use that authority to enforce the rules of the House. Now I make no threats, but I do insist upon having order in these proceedings.

I have declared a recess.

Let me say, Mr. Kennedy, that I personally feel two times Tuesday the Chair was charged with "raping the Constitution." Now that is a conclusionary statement, which is not a proper argument in the Chair's opinion. I am not going to argue with counsel. I think there is just as much evidence that someone in this room might be trying to overthrow the Constitution of the United States, but I do not mean to argue with counsel or with anyone in this room.

I have announced what the rules of this committee are, and the Chair will enforce those rules, and I do not consider, when you, in violation of the rule, arise 26 times, such conduct to be ethical conduct. I consider it highly reprehensible, and not conduct becoming a member of the bar.

Now, the Chair declared a recess. There will be a recess while the committee considers these objections.

And I leave it to you and your sense of decorum to keep order while the committee is in recess, Mr. Kennedy.

(Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m. the subcommittee recessed and reconvened at 11:30 a.m. Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Willis, Ashbrook, and Watson and when hearings resumed: Representatives Ichord, Willis, and Watson.<sup>1</sup>)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Members of the audience will please be seated.

Mr. DI SUVERO. Mr. Chairman, I have an application—

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman please be seated?

Mr. DI SUVERO. I have an application unconnected with any matter now pending before the hearing; that is, that certain members of the press have been excluded from the hearing room.

I would like to make application on behalf of certain publications: namely, the Liberation News Service, *Ramparts*, the *Yale Daily News*, Newsreel, which is a documentary film company, and the *Evergreen Review*, to allow their representatives to be here and know what the subcommittee is doing, to report to their audiences.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman has been warned that he can participate only as counsel under the rules of the House.

The motion, I believe, was raised yesterday, if my memory is correct.

The Chair will reject the motion as frivolous. We do have limited space in this room. I have turned the matter of press entry over to the Press Gallery. In view of the circumstances surrounding this hearing, the Press Gallery will be upheld in their admissions to the hearing room.

Now, will the gentleman please be seated?

Mr. DI SUVERO. May the record reflect—

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman please be seated? Obviously, the gentleman is trying to goad the Chair.

<sup>1</sup> Representative Ashbrook entered after hearings had resumed.

Mr. DI SUVERO. No, I am not, not in the least.

Mr. ICHORD. There is a word, Mr. Counsel, for this, and that is "pettifoggery." I have explained the rulings to the gentleman.

Will you please be seated? I appeal to you as a member of the bar. Please be seated.

The Chair is about to rule. Will the gentleman please be seated?

The Chair and the committee have taken under advisement the points raised by counsel in point No. 11 of the Procedural Demands with respect to possible indictments by grand jury investigations. This is entirely too speculative.

Where is the list of the witnesses who do not have cases pending against them?

The CHAIRMAN. Will the chairman yield at this point?

Mr. ICHORD. Could I finish just a minute, Mr. Chairman?

There are four witnesses who do not have cases pending against them arising out of the incidents in Chicago. They are Mr. Davis, Mr. Greenblatt, Mr. Dellinger, and Mr. Young.

As to those witnesses, the Chair will rule that point 11 has no application.

Possible indictments are entirely too speculative. I cite the case of *Hutcheson versus United States*, a Supreme Court case decided May 14, 1962. I read from page 14 of that case as follows:

Nor can it be argued that the mere pendency of the state indictment *ipso facto* constitutionally closed this avenue of interrogation to the Committee. "It may be conceded that Congress is without authority to compel disclosures for the purpose of aiding the prosecution of pending suits; but the authority of that body, directly or through its committees, to require pertinent disclosures in aid of its own constitutional power is not abridged because the information sought to be elicited may also be of use in such suits." \* \* \*

This case definitely applies to the four witnesses that I have just named. It is not the purpose of these hearings to assist any State court in the prosecution of any case. The purpose of these hearings is to inquire into what happened in the city of Chicago and how it happened, as a basis of possible remedial legislation.

As to those witnesses who have prosecutions pending against them, the Chair will reserve a ruling at this time because it was not the intention of the Chair to call these witnesses today. The witnesses who will be called today are Mr. Pierson of the Chicago police force; it is the intention of the Chair to call Mr. Greenblatt and also Dr. Young.

I would also state, in regard to the petition that has been filed in the district court, the Chair would rule that a decision enjoining this committee in its present functions would be so speculative the Chair would not consider such a possibility. It would be so flagrantly and patently unconstitutional because of the matter of separation of powers.

I am sure that even those Members of the House of Representatives who might vote in favor of doing away with the House Committee on Un-American Activities certainly would rise up in arms against such a possible decision, because if it can be done against one committee, it could be done against all committees. A tyranny of power might exist in one of the three coequal branches of Government.

The Chair will rule against the point raised by the gentleman, the attorney from New York.

The counsel, in the inquiries that I directed to them, have stated that it is not a matter of incrimination, but a question of separation of powers.

If and when the question of the fifth amendment comes before this committee, the Chair will dispose of the point at that time.

With that ruling out of the way, Mr. Counsel, call your first witness for today.

Mr. KENNEDY. May I rise to a point of personal privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman please continue?

Mr. KENNEDY. I thought we were proceeding under the rules of parliamentary procedure.

Mr. ICHORD. I would direct the attorney that you are in violation of the rules of the House. I appeal to your ethics as a member of the New York bar to please be seated.

Mr. KENNEDY. I cannot do that. My partner is being excluded. She is Miss Dohrn, who has worked with me in preparation for my clients. She is standing outside and has been excluded from the hearing room.

Mr. ICHORD. Is she outside the hearing room, Mr. Kennedy?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will direct the police to escort Miss Dohrn in.

I am happy that was not an attempt to interrupt the proceedings. The Chair will apologize.

Call your witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. The witness is Mr. Robert Pierson.

Mr. ICHORD. Before the witness is sworn, the Chair will yield to the chairman of the full committee, Mr. Willis.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to add these additional reasons for the disposal of the matter just discussed by my friend from Missouri.

With reference to the possible indictments, the situation is this: If it be determined by the prosecuting attorney that these proceedings are considered to be prejudicial, the prosecuting attorney could, and no doubt would, continue them for a reasonable time, or even consent to a change of venue.

Then, too, Mr. Chairman, all of these objections addressed to this committee are not before the proper forum. We operate, as the Chair has said time and time again, under the rules of the House. This is not the forum to test these proceedings. If anyone is dissatisfied with what is going on, go to court. Test them there. It has already been done.

Mr. ICHORD. I thank the gentleman for his observation.

The witness will rise and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PIERSON. I do.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT L. PIERSON

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, will you give the committee your full name?

Mr. PIERSON. Robert L. Pierson.

Mr. SMITH. Would you give us some background information about yourself and your employment?



Mr. PIERSON. I am currently employed in the Cook County State's attorney's office as a civilian investigator. Previously, I have been employed with the Chicago Police Department, with the counterintelligence of the United States Army, and with the police departments of Fontana and Williams Bay, Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH. Have you had any training or educational courses in the investigative field?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir. While with the Fontana and Williams Bay Police Departments, I attended the FBI training school in Beloit, Wisconsin. I have attended the prosecuting attorney's course at Northwestern University. I have attended the Chicago Police Academy. I have attended and graduated from the Counterintelligence Academy at Fort Holabird, Maryland, and I have attended other short courses for police officers.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, as you have been informed, the committee is investigating the extent of subversive influences being involved in the attempt to disrupt the Democratic National Convention in the city of Chicago during the latter part of August of this year.

Several groups, such as the National Mobilization Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Yippies, or Youth International Party, the Black Panthers, and so forth, had publicly announced their intention some time before the convention to create general disruption in Chicago during and immediately preceding the convention.

Did you, Mr. Pierson, in the course of your official duties, come into direct contact with any of the known leaders of any of the organizations which I have just mentioned?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SMITH. Would you explain to the committee the circumstances under which you met these leaders and exactly what your involvement was?

Mr. PIERSON. On August 16, 1968, I discussed with Mr. William J. Martin, assistant State's attorney in charge, the feasibility and/or necessity of infiltrating the various groups of people who had specifically stated to the press and to reliable confidential informants of my office that they intended to completely disrupt the Democratic National Convention and to create grave problems for the city of Chicago.

Our information indicated the following-named persons to be the leaders of these contemplated activities: Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis of the National Mobilization Committee; Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and Wolfe—

Mr. KUNSTLER. You have ruled that you are deferring Mr. Rubin's case with reference to his pending prosecution. If he testifies here, he hopelessly prejudices Mr. Rubin's case in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. On what ground?

Mr. KUNSTLER. On the ground the whole country will read what this man says. It will hopelessly prejudice under Estes against Texas, under Ruby against the State, will hopelessly prejudice any chance of a fair trial in the city of Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will overrule the legal objection of the counsel. I will ask his indulgence in further objections because there is no intent on the part of this committee to aid any prosecution of the case against Mr. Rubin or any other witness.

Mr. KUNSTLER. But it will happen, Mr. Chairman. Irrespective of intent, it will happen if the papers in Chicago, and there are papers here from Chicago, cover this hearing.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has ruled as to the participation of Mr. Rubin. The Chair will reserve that ruling whether he will be called, since he is a witness himself. But the people of the United States of America have a great interest in what went on in Chicago, how it happened, and I think it is particularly important, when I read in the newspapers, Mr. Kunstler, that your client has boasted that he is going to disrupt the entire Federal election process.

I cannot possibly consider your objection to have any merit at this time. I would appeal to the ethics of the gentleman, to his sense of demeanor as a member of the bar, and permit this hearing to proceed. You can always challenge this proceeding in another forum.

The gentleman interprets the Constitution of the United States in one way, and I, also, as a lawyer and a member of the bar of the State of Missouri and a member of the United States Supreme Court bar, interpret the Constitution.

I am ruling at this time. It is my duty to carry out the authority vested in me as I see it. I have so ruled and I would ask the gentleman to please sit down and be in order so that the proceedings can continue.

Mr. KUNSTLER. You have already recognized that by deferring the ruling on our motion with reference to Mr. Rubin that there is a—

Mr. ICHORD. That was in regard to hearing testimony by Mr. Rubin, his personal testimony.

Will the gentleman please be seated? Will the gentleman please be seated?

Mr. RUBIN. I rise on a point of personal privilege.

Mr. ICHORD. I direct you to be seated, Mr. Rubin. Your presence is not required here.

Mr. RUBIN. One point must be made: that this lies on the basis of my arrest in Chicago. If he testifies here, he hopelessly prejudices the case.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has already ruled.

Proceed.

Mr. PIERSON. — Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and Wolfe Lowenthal of the Youth International Party; Tom Hayden of the Students for a Democratic Society; and Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers.

It was decided by my office an undercover effort was necessary and, further, that I would attempt to infiltrate through a motorcycle gang known as the Headhunters. It was determined that this would be an excellent method of learning what plans, goals, and purposes these people had.

On August 21, 1968, I rented a motorcycle and purchased appropriate attire which would be acceptable for riding with the motorcycle gang. I made research to determine the headquarters of the Headhunters and I learned as much as possible about the activities and personnel of this gang.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, will you tell the committee what your research uncovered as pertains to the Headhunters?

Mr. PIERSON. Well, sir, the Headhunters are a group of motorcycle riders with headquarters at 147th and California in Posen, Illinois.

The total membership is unknown, but it is estimated at approximately 75 to 100 male members.

The president of this group is a white male, approximately 26 years of age, who uses the name of "Gorilla," whom I will later identify further for the record.

This group is involved in constant and obvious usage of marijuana and LSD. Usually the cyclist carries a gun mounted in a holster under the seat of the cycle if he is riding alone. If he has his girl along, it is customary for the woman to carry the gun for him.

They use a variety of weapons in fights in which they become involved. Some examples are stems of sunglasses which are filed down to points and used as ice picks, belt buckles filed down to the sharpness of a knife and leaded on the inside and used by swinging the buckle at their victims, switch-blade knives, and a general conglomeration of objects used as clubs.

Their initiations usually involve sadism, such as in a carwash establishment where they are washed down. There is a prodder used on the private parts of their body. And also at times they are beaten when they become members of the club.

I would like at this time to go into a further identification of the man I have previously identified as Gorilla.

On Saturday, August 24, 1968, while in Lincoln Park at approximately 2:30 p.m. and in the company of Gorilla, whose real name is Charles Lucas, and other members of the Headhunters gang, Gorilla stated to me that he might blow up the ball park in Lincoln Park, and that is where the man—and by "man" he is referring to police officers—congregate and it would show the man that they mean business.

Gorilla further stated that he would get his hands on the dynamite in a matter of a short time, as he has some dynamite readily available. To the best of my knowledge, Lucas stated that "We might or we should blow up the - - -," and he used an obscene four-letter word, "ball park to show the man we mean business and we would get a few of those - - -," again using an obscene word but referring to police officers, "while we are at it."

On September 9, 1968, Sergeant Edward——

Mr. ICHORD. Will the witness suspend?

What is the difficulty with the electronic system?

Proceed.

Mr. PIERSON. On September 9, 1968, Sergeant Edward Nevell and company went to a garage located at 10936 South Indiana where, in a search of the garbage, they uncovered approximately 1,250 pounds of dynamite. Freely translated, this is 2,500 sticks of dynamite of 40, 50, and 60 percent nitroglycerin.

The garage had been rented from one Arthur Matthews by a man named Charles Lucas, alias Gorilla.

In further investigation, it was learned that Lucas and another man, by the name of Arthur Cadwell, had tried to sell the dynamite to Matthews some time after the Democratic National Convention in 1968. Matthews was given a polygraph test and passed the test as to his version of whom the dynamite belonged to.

The source of the dynamite has been checked and found to have been stolen from an area in Ohio sometime between the 7th and 17th of August 1968.

On Friday, September 13, 1968, the reporting investigator signed complaints against Charles Lucas, alias Gorilla, and Arthur Cadwell, alias Hangnail, for possession of explosives. On this same date, Detective Frank Kasky, from the Chicago bomb and arson unit of the Chicago Police Department, signed complaints against Lucas and Cadwell for theft and illegal storage.

Judge Powers, the chief justice, signed the arrest warrants and set bonds for both men at a total of \$80,000 bond for each person.

As of this date Arthur Cadwell is in police custody in Ohio and Detective Kasky is en route to return Cadwell to this jurisdiction. Charles Lucas, alias Gorilla, remains at large and is being sought by this office and by the Chicago Police Department.

If I might divert to one thing with Mr. Cadwell, he is currently fighting extradition in the State of Ohio on this matter.

On Friday, September 13, 1968, at approximately 9:20 p.m., the reporting investigator, along with Detectives Corbett and Carlisle of the State's attorney's office and Lieutenant J. Harmon and other members of the Cook County sheriff's office, raided the headquarters of the Headhunters at 147th and California, Posen, Illinois, where we photographed and fingerprinted some 50 members of this gang, but Charles Lucas, alias Gorilla, was not among them.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, were you successful in penetrating this group? If so, would you please tell us of your activities?

MR. PIERSON. Yes, sir. I did manage to infiltrate the Headhunters. On August 23, 1968, I went via motorcycle to Lincoln Park and met with a member of this gang who called himself Banana. I talked for some time with him, his girl friend, and another Headhunter known as The Prospect.

At about 2:30 that afternoon, I was introduced to a Negro by the name of Fred, who I cannot identify by his full name, nor can I identify the previously mentioned Banana, The Prospect, or the girl with him.

While lying in the park, I observed a constant use of narcotics by Banana and his girl friend, by The Prospect, by Fred, and by many other unidentified Yippies. These narcotics included numerous types of pills, capsules, seed from flowers, and marijuana.

I might divert one second and add that the way I determined these to be narcotics was these people admitted to me that they were taking narcotics.

MR. ASHBROOK. How did you determine them to be Yippies?

MR. PIERSON. Many of these people identified themselves as members of the Youth International Party.

During this period the various groups were given instructions by the marshals, who are subleaders, not Federal marshals, in resisting arrest. The main thought conveyed by the marshals was to foul "up the pigs"—again I use this word "foul" diverting from using the obscene four-letter word which they used—when they attempted to make an arrest.

I spent the rest of the afternoon talking with different groups and listening to how they intended to disrupt the convention. Up to this time it was not apparent that there were the strong, revolutionary militants directing these people, as I was to learn later.

Mr. SMITH. One question at this point: You mentioned Fred as an unidentified individual. Did you learn that he had any particular position?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir. Fred was actually the main enforcer for these people and he would assign the bodyguards to the various leaders in the park.

Mr. SMITH. Continue, please.

Mr. PIERSON. Late that afternoon Banana made an appeal for the motorcycle gangs to come to Lincoln Park to join the Yippies in their fights. The deal between the Yippies and the Headhunters was simply girls and dope supplied by the Yippies in exchange for the cyclists' fighting power.

Banana then invited me to a party with the Headhunters that night at 11 p.m. at the Lemont Quarry. This particular area is located a considerable distance off the main highway in Lemont, Illinois, a Chicago suburb, and does provide a degree of privacy.

Mr. SMITH. Did you attend this party, Mr. Pierson?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I did. I arrived at the party area about 11:30 p.m. Between then and 3 a.m. in the morning, when I left, all these people did was drink, take pills by their own admission to be narcotics, engage in various sex activities, and smoke marijuana.

There were brief scuffles between some of those present, and I did see knives displayed during these fights. A few were carrying guns, the outline of which could be seen when they neared the campfire.

The group seemed more for partying than discussing the previous day's activities. I returned to Lincoln Park again about 11:30 a.m. on August 24, 1968. I spent most of the day and early evening just talking with various groups and attempting to learn of any disruptive plans they might be making.

During the day Fred did tell me that that night some of his people were going to set fires along Michigan Avenue, in Old Town, and somewhere on the South Side. He also asked me if I knew where kerosene could be purchased.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, after having spent these past 2 days with the Headhunters, did you have occasion during this period to meet any of the known leaders of the groups involved in the Chicago disruption?

Mr. PIERSON. No, sir, I did not; that is, not during this period.

Mr. SMITH. Did you ever meet any of the leaders personally during this undercover assignment?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SMITH. Would you name the leaders whom you personally met?

Mr. PIERSON. Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin—

Mr. KUNTLER. Abbie Hoffman's lawyer is not in the room. Mr. Hoffman was arrested and seized on the steps trying to get into this building this morning. I object, in the absence of his counsel, to any testimony on Abbie Hoffman until he is back in this room.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair is not responsible for the conduct of Mr. Hoffman either in this room or outside this room. But since you are bringing this point up, I do observe that there is some activity to distract the hearings. The Chair cannot tolerate this type of action in the committee room.

I would bring up, again, Mr. Kunstler, since I forgot it at the beginning, yesterday I was advised by the police that some of your clients—at least one of the witnesses, or two of the witnesses before the committee—were snuffing their cigarettes out on this rug that has been newly installed. I examined the places where they were sitting, and there are still five burn spots in the rug that did not come out with cleaning.

So I will advise just a few people in the audience that such behavior cannot be tolerated.

The Chair is not responsible for Mr. Hoffman's conduct outside this committee room. He should have conducted himself in such a manner that he would not have been arrested.

I will overrule your point of order.

Mr. KUNSTLER. You are prejudging. I saw him seized by police. He was doing nothing but climbing the steps to come into this building.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Kunstler, that matter can be handled by the courts downtown. You are interrupting the proceedings, sir. Please be seated.

Mr. SMITH. Please continue.

Mr. PIERSON. Wolfe Lowenthal, Tom Hayden, Bobby Seale, and Rennie Davis.

Mr. SMITH. Would you please relate to the committee the circumstances under which you met these leaders?

Mr. PIERSON. On Sunday, August 25, I spent most of the morning in Lincoln Park talking with different Headhunters. Sometime around noon Fred approached me and asked me if I would like to give him a hand by watching some of the leaders of the movement, whom he named as Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Wolfe Lowenthal, Tom Hayden, and Bobby Seale, when he was to come into Chicago on Tuesday.

Fred also mentioned other leaders like Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger.

I agreed and asked exactly what he wanted me to do. Fred told me that my job was to fight the cops whenever they would try to arrest any one of these leaders he had previously named. He also said that he and other enforcers would assist me in this task.

I spent the rest of that day at the park—

Mr. ICHORD. Just a moment.

Mr. Rubin, the Chair will have to remind you that your presence is not required in this room. You will have to conduct yourself in an orderly manner or I will have to ask you to remove yourself from the room. You are entitled to be here, but the Chair cannot tolerate constant interruption of these hearings. I advise you, sir, that if you interrupt again, I will have to ask you to leave the room.

Proceed.

Mr. PIERSON. I spent the rest of that day and evening at the park mingling with the Headhunters and other groups. The mood of these people was one of belligerence. They continually talked of the arrests which had been made and of fighting the police when the opportunity was present.

By evening the crowd grew to substantial size, and Fred, together with some of the marshals, began to go around asking everyone to stay and fight for the park.

Mr. SMITH. Will you explain what you mean by "the marshals"?

Mr. PIERSON. These are people who are subleaders of these groups and they self-named themselves as marshals. But they are subleaders of these groups.

The Headhunters had originally agreed to stay, but later decided to leave and have a party at their headquarters at 147th and California, Posen, Illinois.

The police finally cleared the park without too much of a problem. The Yippies roamed the near North Side, turning over trash cans, hurling bottles and objects at passing cars, and committing other disruptive acts.

My personal meeting with Hoffman came the next day, August 26. I had arrived at Lincoln Park about 10:30 a.m. and shortly thereafter I met Fred. Fred told me that he wanted me to be a bodyguard for Abbie Hoffman. I agreed, and Fred introduced me to him, telling him that I could be trusted.

Hoffman made various comments as we walked among the groups in the park, the main theme being to, as he put it, using again an obscene word, but meaning to foul up the convention.

Hoffman also said they intended to hold the park that night and cause a big confrontation with the police. I was told by Hoffman to pass the word that we were to hold the park at all costs and to fight the police as necessary.

Shortly after these comments by Hoffman, two Negro enforcers joined me as bodyguards, and we escorted Hoffman to a Volkswagen which was located on Eugenie Street. I declined an invitation to go along with Hoffman, telling him that I had to go back to the park to join some of my cyclist friends. Hoffman said that he would see me later.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, when did you first meet Jerry Rubin?

Mr. PIERSON. After leaving Hoffman I returned to the park and met Fred. Fred told me that he wanted me to be a personal bodyguard to Jerry Rubin on a full-time basis.

Mr. SMITH. This would have been on Monday, August 26?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. SMITH. Would you please continue?

Mr. PIERSON. While Fred, Rubin, and I were talking, Rubin was interrupted by a man who told him that he was from London, England, and showed him a letter from someone in New York, saying that the letter was, in effect, his credentials.

Rubin smiled and told me to advise the marshals that this guy was okay and that he was free to roam around and draw pictures of the different groups. I did not, and at this time do not, know who this man is.

At about this time the police moved in and arrested Tom Hayden and Wolfe Lowenthal. Rubin immediately grabbed one of the marshals and directed him to notify the Legal Aid people. He directed another marshal to find out what the charges were, and one of the marshals present told him that they, the charges, were conspiracy or solicitation to mob action.

Rubin then began damning the police and vowed he would get even. Rubin mentioned these charges would cause a high bond; further, that he was afraid of a bust, referring to an arrest, especially from one of

Hoover's, meaning the Federal Director, Mr. Hoover, again referring to him with an obscene word, but especially from one of his "pigs."

Rubin stated that "We have to kill the fouled up pigs and kill the - - -," again using the foul word, "Mayor Daley."

Mr. KUNSTLER. If this testimony was heard in executive session, as I understand it was yesterday, then I believe you are in violation of your own rules under 26(m) and the other rules of the subcommittee. I would like to know whether it was heard in executive session yesterday or any time.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will overrule the point of order. The testimony was not heard in executive session.

Mr. PIERSON. He further stated that that night, the 26th, we would hold the park and, once we were pushed to the streets, we would riot and disrupt the Old Town area. Rubin turned down the suggestion of one marshal that they disrupt the whole city. Instead, Rubin directed that the riot be restricted to the Old Town area so that places to hide from the police would be available after "setting the fires and breaking windows."

Rubin stated that we had to develop a new culture like that of Red China and Russia. We could do this, he said, by killing the candidates, all the candidates, for President, and cause revolution throughout the country.

During this period of time, Rubin had a march formed to go to 1121 South State to protest the arrest of Hayden and Lowenthal.

Mr. SMITH. What is located at 1121 South State Street?

Mr. PIERSON. That is the central police headquarters.

Mr. SMITH. Continue, please.

Mr. PIERSON. As we got close to police headquarters, there was such a show of force that Rubin decided to take the march by headquarters and go to the area across from the Conrad Hilton Hotel. We proceeded east on 11th Street to Michigan Avenue and then started north on Michigan toward the Hilton.

At this time the people were carrying the black power flag, the Red flag, and the Viet Cong flag. They ran toward the statue of General Logan screaming, "Take the hill." When these flags were displayed on the statue, Rubin said that this was better than Iwo Jima.

The police moved in to remove—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has repeatedly warned some of the witnesses and certain people sitting on this side of the hearing room that we cannot tolerate these outbursts. Thus far the interruptions have not been too bad, but I intend to maintain order in these proceedings. If necessary, I will just have to have the whole room cleared and leave only the press in.

Mr. DELLINGER. Could I explain something, Mr. Chairman? I laughed because it was so ridiculous—

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the gentleman to be seated.

Mr. DELLINGER. I can't help but laugh, and I apologize.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead.

Mr. PIERSON. The police moved in to remove one young man from the statue and after a brief confrontation, with insults being directed to the police, this young man was finally pulled off the statue.



We then went to the area across from the Hilton Hotel, where the crowd joined in various chants such as "Hell no, we won't go," "Sieg Heil," and other verbal insults to President Johnson.

At this time I told Rubin that I had to go to get my motorcycle and then proceeded to have myself arrested.

I was taken immediately to the first district of the Chicago Police Department, where I related to the intelligence division that evening's plans by the various groups. Later on in the evening I returned to the park and walked among the various groups.

The main conversation was holding the park and fighting the cops. Bottles, rocks, boards, sticks with nails imbedded at the ends, and other objects were gathered to be hurled at the police.

The police, after numerous announcements telling us to leave the park, finally began to advance. This would be around 11:30 to 12 o'clock. They were met with a variety of objects such as I have just mentioned. Tear gas was thrown and a general confrontation began. Numerous police were in hand-to-hand combat with some of the Yippies.

I was struck quite hard by a police club, but did manage to make my way to the street. The Yippies were yelling to beat and maim, again using the obscene word, "— — — cops." I heard one Negro enforcer say, "Pull fire alarms all over the Old Town area. Start some fires and foul up this city real good."

I finally got to a police sergeant and warned him of the proposed plans for that night. You will recall that earlier I had reported to intelligence that fire alarms would be pulled and fires would be started.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, were there any fires started or false alarms pulled that night?

MR. PIERSON. To the best of my knowledge, fires were set in trash barrels and alarms were pulled.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, did you have occasion to see Jerry Rubin after that night?

MR. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I did. On Tuesday, August 27, I met Rubin in the park sometime before noon, and we discussed the preceding night's confrontation. Rubin stated that he was glad that the police had a confrontation with the newsmen and said that, "We knew this would happen as it was one of our goals." Rubin continued the conversation, stating that, "We should isolate one or two of the police and then kill them."

As my report to my superior reflects, Rubin stated, "We have to foul up the November elections by any means possible. We should create little Chicagos throughout the country and at the right time we should take the — — —," again using an obscene word, "Government over just as Russia did."

There have to be riots in every city, he stated, and also that during these next few months, "we will create little Chicagos everywhere that a candidate appears and, above all, we will foul up the universities to get all young people to join in the revolution that will turn the country over to us."

Rubin stated that the SDS, the Students for a Democratic Society, had been told as to where the live cameras were going to be and that we should have confrontations in these areas. Rubin continued his tirade

saying that the Yippies wanted the young people from all over the country to join the revolution and that "we could take this country away from the Johnsons, the Humphreys, the Nixons, the McCarthys, and any other - - -," again using an obscene word, "imperialist who wanted to tell us what to do."

About this time I started talking to Barry Opper from New York, who told me that Abbie Hoffman was to meet at 2 p.m. this day, August 27, with the Blackstone Rangers in an attempt to get them to "join forces in our revolution."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, to your knowledge, did this meeting take place?

Mr. PIERSON. I personally do not know, but I was told by Jerry Rubin that the meeting had taken place.

Mr. SMITH. Did Rubin tell you what took place at the meeting?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes. Allegedly, that the Rangers agreed to help them, the Yippies, defend Lincoln Park against the pigs, meaning the police.

Mr. SMITH. Did the confrontation with police take place?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes; but not with the Blackstone Ranger being present as a gang. There were a few individuals that I know to be members of the Blackstone Rangers. But, again reverting back to some confidential informants, I had previously been told long before the Democratic National Convention that the black power groups would not become in any way involved in these activities, as they did not wish to be identified with white people or with the white groups.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, can you further identify Barry Opper?

Mr. PIERSON. No, sir, I cannot.

Mr. SMITH. Please continue.

Mr. PIERSON. As Rubin and I walked in Lincoln Park among the numerous groups of marshals and others assembled there, he constantly advised the marshals to keep the crowd active. Rubin also discussed Bobby Seale coming to give his talk.

Throughout this period many of the marshals would approach Rubin and tell him of different devices which would be used to maim or blind a policeman. Rubin's reaction in such instances was one of encouragement.

Rubin told me that he and Abbie Hoffman wanted the park held that night at all costs. He mentioned starting fires in the Loop to get, as he put it, the National Guard to come in full force so that people could see we were living in a police state.

It was now becoming more and more apparent to me that the attitude of these leaders was becoming one of complete militancy. Rubin stated that we had to get to the Amphitheatre on Wednesday to foul up the convention. He complained bitterly about the National Guard and the police show of force which he said stopped thousands of supporters of the movement from coming to Chicago.

He stated that he would make Daley sorry when we got to the Amphitheatre the following day. Rubin also spoke at this time, and he, too, advocated taking to the street and not letting the pigs foul over us any more, again referring to an obscene word.

Rubin told the group not to get caught in large groups any more. He advised them to take to the streets in small groups and to use their own ideas on how to foul up the city.

After a meeting in Lincoln Park, Nancy, Rubin, Stu, Judy, Al, and a girl and I went to a restaurant on Clarke Street. On the way Jerry handed me a diary and told me to protect it from the pigs. This book was turned over to the intelligence department of the Chicago Police Department.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to interrupt by stating that this diary he referred to as having been turned over to the Chicago Police Department is the same diary that the police department's Lieutenant Healy and Sergeant Grubisic referred to in their testimony the day before yesterday.

Mr. ICHORD. All right.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, can you identify for the record Nancy, Stu, Judy, and Al?

Mr. PIERSON. Stu Albert I can identify. I refer to an article I received yesterday which, if you wish to enter as an exhibit, is dated September 6-12, the *Berkeley Barb*, page 9, the Berkeley underground press weekly.

In this article, the article is headlined "Jerry's Chi[cago] Bust Bail, Busts Records," by Stewart Albert. In it he refers to Rubin's arrest in Chicago and some of the activities I previously mentioned.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received in evidence as Pierson Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. ICHORD. Pass it forward, please.

Is there any objection to the inclusion of this document in the record?

Hearing none, the document will be accepted.

(Document marked "Pierson Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

# JERRY'S CHI BUST

## BAIL, BUSTS RECORDS

by Stewart Albert

They busted Jerry again. It is happening with boring corporate regularity. He is being charged with solicitation to riot (it sounds like a sexual offense) and his bail is set at \$25,000 -- the highest bail so far in the white movement.

It looks like the pigs are going to blame the Chicago riots on Jerry and some of his friends. A Yippie conspiracy is being woven in the head of Richard Daley and the federals may pick up on his vibes.

The state's key witness will be Robert Pierson, a Chicago fuzz who passed himself off as a motorcycle gang member and was a self-proclaimed bodyguard of Jerry's.

Pierson grew a beard for the job and was very convincing. He told people he would kill anybody who laid a hand on Jerry, and voiced a concern that we eat properly and get a good night's sleep.

This cop never got into any important meetings and really has nothing on us. In conversation, he was a hard-liner, always trying to push us into dangerous actions. We disagreed with him and figured him to be an exuberant tough guy new to the movement.

Jerry was really kidnapped off the street by the pigs. They yanked him into a cop-car by his hair and threatened to dump him into the river. They really believed he was responsible for the whole thing.

At the pigpen, after several hours of questioning and in a room filled with the entire Chicago red squad, they produced Pierson, cleanshaven and with a thick dossier on Jerry.

Now everyone on the scene knows the organizers of the riot were Richard Daley and the Democratic

If they had given us a permit for Lincoln Park and another for our march, the whole thing probably would have been a peaceful affair. Amidst the running blood, McCarthy liberals were turned into revolutionaries, and their greatest teachers were blue thug cops and the National Guardsmen.

A word about Jerry. The governmental gangsters consider him to be the incarnation of every anarchist bombthrower who ever lived. He seems to possess a magic evil which threatens the very existence of their bourgeois empire -- the Pentagon siege, where Jerry was project director; and now Chicago, where Jerry was the leading publicist.

The enemy's view of Rubin is greatly exaggerated, for the spontaneous movement of the streets has no real leaders. It hangs loose and responds to circumstances.

But it is truer to reality than a view of Jerry I heard expressed at a meeting of the radical caucus of the Ann Arbor Peace and Freedom Convention. Jerry was described as a fun-loving hippie who once fought imperialism but now is interested only in having a good time.

It seems the man has a greater grasp on the reality principle than some of our comrades.

It is going to come down hard on us and on Jerry. The establishment would like to see us deader than the Barrows gang, so we better be ready for it.

We must get the best lawyers and take advantage of all liberal opportunities, but our battle is going to be won on the streets with many more and bloodier Chicagos. We better get out heads straight about that.

Mr. SMITH. Please continue.

Mr. PIERSON. All along the way to the restaurant, Stu and Rubin were talking of fighting the police and of holding the park that night. We finally sat down and had dinner, and before the others were through I told Jerry that I had to move my motorcycle and that I would meet him back in the park in about 30 minutes. He said all right, and told me that some ministers were going to hold a pray-in, to help us hold the park.

I then left and contacted intelligence to give them the diary, along with other information of their plans to pull fire alarms and start a general melee in the streets that night.

I went back to the park and met Jerry, Nancy, Stu, Judy, Al, and other marshals.

A pray-in was started, and some of the ministers said they would stay and others began to leave. The police unsuccessfully asked that a representative from the ministry speak with them. While the police were speaking with the ministers, a police car slowly drove toward its own ranks and about 10 of the marshals began to throw bottles, bricks, boards, and bags of liquid at the police car. The police car was hit numerous times and quickly got out of range.

After that the mob began yelling, "Kill the pigs," "Death to the imperialists," as the police-demonstrators confrontation began.

A number of members of the group started throwing rocks and other objects at buses and police cars. Like the incidents occurring the previous night, I noted, as the Yippies left the park, they ran down side streets overturning garbage cans, tossing matches into them, breaking car aerials, and committing other acts of vandalism.

One of the most active, if not most vicious, of the rock-throwers in this group was Stu Albert, a friend of Rubin's. It should be noted that during the melee in the park, when the police began to clear it, many objects thrown by the Yippies in the rear of our group would often strike the marshals and Yippies in the front lines, often injuring them. On one occasion this happened to Stu.

Upon reaching the park, Rubin, Nancy, Stu, Judy, Vince, Al, and myself proceeded west on Armitage Avenue, and as a bus passed us at Cleveland and Armitage they threw a rock at one of the bus windows. Judy, meanwhile, set a garbage can on fire about one block east on Cleveland from Armitage.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will suspend.

We will begin at this point at 1:30. It is now 12:19. The committee will be in recess until 1:30.

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Willis, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

(Whereupon, at 12:19 p.m., Thursday, October 3, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1968

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:03 p.m., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

The committee will be in recess until a quorum appears again. There are only two members present. We will wait for the appearance of Mr. Watson.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken from 2:04 p.m. to 2:10 p.m.)  
 (Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT L. PIERSON—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Continue with your presentation, Mr. Pierson—

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order.

Mr. PIERSON. On Wednesday morning, August 28, I went to Lincoln Park to meet Jerry Rubin, but instead met Wolfe Lowenthal. Wolfe asked me to stay with him until we saw Jerry.

Wolfe started talking about the necessity for a revolution in this country and that what Comrade Lenin teaches us is true. Other references were made about Red China and about Russia and about Cuba.

At about the noon hour Wolfe, Steven, Mary, and I drove in Steve's car to Grant Park where we met Rubin.

Mr. SMITH. Can you further identify "Steve" and "Mary," Mr. Pierson?

Mr. PIERSON. No, sir, I can't.

Mr. SMITH. Continue.

Mr. PIERSON. Everyone was talking about the night before and laughing about the fire and stoning of the bus and the incidents with the police.

We then went over to the bandshell, where about 4,000 people had gathered for a rally before the march on the Amphitheatre. Rubin stated that Robin was going to bring a live pig to the bandshell.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, can you further identify "Robin"?

Mr. PIERSON. No, sir, I can't.

Mr. SMITH. Continue.

Mr. PIERSON. A short time later some of the Yippies attempted to lower the American flag and wanted to raise a Red flag. At this time the police moved in and made an arrest and retrieved the American flag.

With this, a barrage of bottles, rocks, et cetera, were thrown at the police officers, and the crowd started to surge towards them.

Rubin became extremely agitated and began shouting, "Kill the pigs. Kill the cops."

Stu Albert yelled at me to give them a hand in breaking a bench to throw at the pigs. I stayed with Rubin, and he kept screaming for the marshals to stay off the microphone so that we could keep fighting the cops.

At this time some of the marshals had told the crowd to sit and that the cops would not attack them. Rubin became enraged and screamed to me and everyone to keep fighting. The fight finally stopped, and hundreds of Yippies started picking up debris for the next confrontation.

Rubin then said that we should now go get the live pig, and things would start again.

After this episode Rubin, Stu, Robin, and I started to walk toward the Outer Drive, toward Soldier Field to get the live pig. It was at that time that two of the Blackstone Rangers recognized me and started

to come toward me. I told Jerry I had to leave for a few minutes and quickly left the area.

I immediately reported the plans of the Yippies to the Deputy Superintendent of Field Services Radford of the Chicago Police Department.

On Wednesday evening, August 28, I went to the police headquarters at 1121 South State Street, where I identified Rubin and signed a complaint against him for solicitation for mob action.

He had already been charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Bond was then set at \$25,000, and court set for September 6, 1968, and continued to September 9, 1968, and at present is pending.

And that concludes my testimony.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, based on your experience, which you have just related to the subcommittee, have you formulated any conclusions as to the goals of these organizations and individuals you have named in your testimony?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SMITH. Please inform the committee.

Mr. PIERSON. The goals of the Youth International Party, the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee, and the Black Panther Party are obviously the same, which is to violently overthrow the Government of the United States.

The leaders of these groups would exchange information as to how they would disrupt the National Democratic Convention, but to my knowledge they would do this on an on-the-run tactic.

By this I mean that I did not see any written battle plans as such for the convention, but it was quite apparent that these groups had conspired with each other to accomplish these specific goals of disrupting the Democratic National Convention, embarrassing Mayor Richard J. Daley, win the support of the news media by confrontations with the police, and win sympathetic support from the liberal delegates attending the convention.

These leaders, prior to my abrupt departure from them, felt that they had accomplished these specific goals and set forth the following new goals:

- (1) Create havoc on every university or college campus in the country;
- (2) Have little Chicagos every place where the candidates of our democratic system appear;
- (3) Prevent or disrupt all election areas or polling places on election day;
- (4) Resort more to guerrilla-type warfare;
- (5) Go underground whenever possible.

Much is relied upon the training of the marshals to make the crowd react to spontaneous situations to create confrontations. The leaders feel that the time to overthrow the Government of the United States is not too far off and that they will recognize when to engage our Government in an out-and-out revolution.

They place this entire strength in the solicitation of young people from all phases of youth; use certain subterfuge, such as sing-alongs, to make the public believe that they are, quote, flower children.

It is not possible to single out one of these leaders as the greatest threat to our country. Rather, each of these leaders represents an individual threat in himself.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pierson, I have one point which I would like to bring up for clarification.

I have here an article from the *New York Post*, dated September 25, 1968, by James A. Wechsler, wherein he says, and I quote, and this is a *Post* article entitled "Preview":

One such hell-raiser—Robert L. Pierson—has indiscreetly told the Chicago Tribune (as published Aug. 31) how he gained Rubin's confidence and, to confirm his credentials, threw rocks and bottles, hurled epithets at the police and even participated actively in lowering an American flag and raising a red flag in Grant Park—an action that touched off a police assault. How many other such disguised emissaries of law and order helped to stage scenes that would later be adjudged "provocative"? Why has Pierson's role been so inadequately explored?

Would you care to address yourself to that?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, I would.

First of all, to the best of my knowledge—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Pierson, just a minute.

Mr. Counsel, this is an editorial from the *New York Post*?

Mr. SMITH. It is a columnist in the *New York Post*, James A. Wechsler, *New York Post* of September 25, 1968.

Quoting from the column—

Mr. ICHORD. What is Mr. Wechsler's position with the *New York Post*?

Do you have that knowledge?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes, he is editor. And, in addition, he writes a column.

Mr. ICHORD. Very well. Proceed with the questioning.

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, to the best of my knowledge, I was the only police infiltrator that was present during this experience which I have related to the committee.

At no time during my entire period that I was with these people was I the first, nor did I engage in an attempt, to create havoc with the police. I did participate in the rock-throwing, once it had begun. I assure you I did not attempt to create scenes and I, above all, was not one of the first to throw rocks. What actions I did, took place as a result of my undercover activity and to assure these people that I could be trusted.

As a result of the lowering of the American flag, many people have quoted that I participated in that. I would like to correct that and state that, at the time that occurred, I was at least 30 to 60 feet away from that incident and at no time did I ever comment on doing anything to desecrate our American flag. So I was not present at that and I reiterate that at no time did I attempt to create any incident with either the police or the National Guard.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, that completes the interrogation of this witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Are there any questions of the witness by members of the committee?

Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson?



Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I certainly should like to commend the gentleman for his work and I am sure, as we have heard some of your relation of the accounts out in Chicago, I am sure that it was at considerable personal risk that you undertook the job that you were doing.

I would like to ask whether or not you could give us a better idea of the constituency or the makeup of the particular crowd out there? Give me some idea as to the percentage of teenagers, young people, and such as that. Could you be helpful in that regard?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir. I believe that in describing what took place, either in Grant Park or Lincoln Park, we would have to break the participants into three categories.

The first category, I would state, would be the hard-core group, and these are the leaders that I have previously mentioned and their marshals. Now they number somewhere in the neighborhood of approximately 150 to 200 people.

The second group were the troublemakers, the motorcycle people, who, along with this hard-core group, wanted confrontation with the police, wanted confrontation between the police and the news media.

The third group—

Mr. WATSON. If I may interrupt you at that point.

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WATSON. You referred to the motorcycle groups. Were Rubin, et al., the hard-core leaders you referred to, were they giving directions to the motorcycle groups, or from whence came their specific instructions?

Mr. PIERSON. Well, these leaders had solicited the cooperation and the musclepower of these motorcycle gangs. And as a result of that, the motorcycle gangs, namely, the Headhunters and other gangs that I saw out there, the Chicago Outlaws, they did come to the park for the sole purpose of defending the park and of fighting the police.

Mr. WATSON. Continue. Excuse me.

Mr. PIERSON. Then the third and final group—and I assure you this is the large majority of the people that were there—were unsuspecting young people.

While I was out there, I saw an occasion where they took Oreo cookies, broke the cookies in half, poured LSD between the cookies, and then passed them out among the group. They had people also that would go among the group, the marshals, that would try to instigate and try to build up the antagonism of these young people against the police, so that what originally began to be the vast majority of unsuspecting people—which to use Rubin's and other people's own words, to use them as "dupes"—such as the McCarthyites, the hippies, and any other young people that went out there, they used them to create this antagonism, so that when the spontaneous incident did take place, these young people did actively participate in confrontations with the police.

Mr. WATSON. What percentage of the young people would you estimate received the LSD or the various other drugs which may have been distributed, as you indicated a moment ago?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I ask a question at that point first? How do you know that it was LSD?

Mr. PIERSON. Well, again, sir, by their own admission, I was told numerous times when they would smoke marijuana, which I have seen and I know the odor of from previous experience, the same with LSD. And on top of that, I was told that this was LSD and that the cigarettes they were smoking were marijuana.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Of your own knowledge and participation?

Mr. PIERSON. I did not participate in it. They handed me capsules; I would break the capsule and take the empty plastic and act like I was taking it, but at no time could I take it, where I could actively tell that I knew the results of it.

Mr. ICHORD. Would you repeat your question?

Mr. WATSON. Was it fairly widespread, the distribution of these particular drugs?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir, it was. I can't say on a percentage basis how many people consumed the various type narcotics, but I was told by numerous people that it was being used in food and that it was being prepared in the theater across from the park and was quite widespread among the youth and among the young people that were there.

Mr. WATSON. And again, what would be your estimate of the teenagers, the percentage of teenagers involved in this particular movement?

Mr. PIERSON. I would say that on Sunday and again on Wednesday, when the larger amount of people were there, there was a fairly substantial amount of teenagers, but by far and large the groups that did actively engage in these confrontations were by no means teenagers. They would range, I would say, within the 20- to 30-year bracket.

Mr. WATSON. I asked this question earlier, and probably you may not be qualified to answer any better than the earlier witness, and certainly I am at a loss to understand it myself, but having observed the demeanor and the general dress, and so forth, of some of the leaders that you have named, can you explain why, regardless of the merits or demerits of their cause, why any person would follow such revolting leadership as that?

Mr. PIERSON. Well, sir, I think it is rather difficult to answer. However, I do feel that these people have picked on possibly the minority groups, such as where they would refer to using the black power people as dupes, they try to pick anyone that feels that they are oppressed, and I do feel that a lot of our young people today unfortunately feel that they are being oppressed by the adult people in our community and in our society. And consequently, as oppressed youth, they are easily susceptible to this type of suggestion.

Mr. ICHORD. In other words, it is an agitation or manipulation of either real or existing ills?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir; because they also mentioned, Mr. Ichord, where they had planned on infiltrating various areas of the Armed Forces through places where the servicemen would hang out, so to speak, and they talked about passing out their literature there and trying to get these people to win support towards this Yippie movement. And they felt that if they took servicemen when they first entered the various branches of the Armed Forces, this was the time they were most susceptible to being swayed one way or the other.

They are very well organized in the means and methods in which they attempt to gain support of our young people.

Mr. WATSON. And I believe you stated that Chicago was not the end, it was just one in a chain of events that they plan later on. I believe your language was to create "little Chicagos" all over the country and foul up universities everywhere? Was that basically it?

Mr. PIERSON. Yes, sir. All of these leaders spoke of that and spoke of when our candidates, of our system, would appear, that they would create "little Chicagos" at that time; they would create them at such time as on election day.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you very much.

I again commend you for the splendid work you have done.

Mr. PIERSON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Pierson, and I, too, join in the commendation of the witness. I don't think you need to be concerned about the column about which you were questioned. The overwhelming majority of the American people feel as I do. You are a great officer, and I think you performed a tremendous service to your country in the city of Chicago and appearing before this committee today.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PIERSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, in the absence of cross-examination, I would move to strike all his testimony as something no self-respecting lawyer or Congressman could ever base legislative action on. And in the absence of being able to cross-examine him and in view of the testimony by Congressmen on this man's testimony, I think we ought to be able to cross-examine him or strike it.

Mr. ICHORD. The demand of the attorney, Mr. Kunstler—let the record show now rising—has been heard. I think I answered that, Mr. Kunstler, many times, as to the reasons for the denial of your request. It is denied.

Again I repeat, for members of the press who may not have been here Tuesday, this is not a court of law. This is a legislative proceeding, a legislative investigation. The rules of legislative bodies and their committees differ from those of the courts. No one is being tried in this hearing. The committee seeks to punish no one. I think it is readily apparent that the rules of a legislative body must be different than the rules of the court. I think it has been evidenced time and time again here, Mr. Kunstler, by the repeated interruptions and violations of the rules of the House, even though I have explained to you that you are present in a legislative investigation only for the purpose of advising your client, yet you repeatedly tried to test the patience of the Chair by raising these repeated objections.

I deny your request for the reasons many times stated and I would ask that you abide by the prior rulings of the Chair, and now be seated and let the Chair call the next witness.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I just wanted to say we are not trying to test anybody's patience; we are just trying to live under a Constitution which I thought governed all of this.

Mr. DELLINGER. I object to the statement that my lawyer is trying to test the patience of the committee. I have been insulted and put on public trial here and I appreciate his efforts on my part.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is not on trial, I will say, and your request is also denied.

Mr. WULF. I have an application pursuant to the rules of the House and this committee, Mr. Chairman. May I read it?

Mr. ICHORD. Who is the gentleman now standing?

Mr. WULF. Mr. Wulf, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. You represent whom?

Mr. WULF. Mr. Dellinger and Dr. Young.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the nature of your request?

Mr. WULF. It is a motion for issuance of subpoenas, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. If the gentleman will present that motion to the Chair, we will take that under advisement at the regular time, but the Chair will control the way these hearings will be carried out.

Mr. WULF. Well, I would like to read it.

Mr. ICHORD. If the gentleman wishes to file that with the committee, we will take it under consideration.

Mr. WULF. I would like to read the motion now, Mr. Chairman, because we understand that Mr. Pierson—

Mr. ICHORD. Again, I shall read the rules of the committee and of the House of Representatives to the gentleman. I read that to him this morning, that the purpose of counsel in a legislative proceeding, a legislative investigation, is to advise his client, not to engage in oral argument with the committee, and I do not like having to do this, but I must cite Rule VIII of the committee rules, reading as follows:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the Committee or Subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removal of counsel from the hearing room, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

Now the Chair wants to proceed with these hearings in an orderly manner. I do not want to use all of the powers vested in the Chair, nor in the committee. So, therefore, I would ask the gentleman to please be seated and let the proceedings continue.

Mr. WULF. May I hand the motion up, then, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. We will accept it.

(Motion handed to chairman.)

Mr. ICHORD. Now before the next two witnesses are called, the Chair believes, and I may be in error, that because of the nature of the information the committee has, or for whatever reason that the witnesses may have, that either one or both of the next two witnesses may well carry out a tactic previously used before the committee, that is, walking out and refusing to testify.

I say that I hope I am in error in that belief. The evidence concerns financing of the Chicago disturbances and connections with foreign Communist powers.

Now I make this announcement in order to be completely fair with the witnesses because I intend to call other witnesses at the proper time to show this evidence. And I hope that the witnesses will testify before the committee because the best evidence will be the witness himself.

I thought I should bring this to the attention of the witnesses and the attorneys in the event that such tactics as have been previously used in committee hearings are carried out at this time.

Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Will Mr. Robert Greenblatt come forward, please?

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Dr. Young, concerning whom I presume the remarks were made——

Mr. ICHORD. Let the gentleman identify himself.

Mr. GUTMAN. My name is Jeremiah Gutman, and I am one of the counsel for Dr. Young. Dr. Quentin Young is one of the two I presume——

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order because Dr. Young has not been called yet.

The Chair has now called Mr. Greenblatt, and I would ask the gentleman to please sit down, and the gentleman, when Dr. Young is called, will be permitted to come forward with his complaint.

Mr. GUTMAN. I understand, Mr. Ichord——

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman be in order?

Let us proceed.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of information.

Mr. ICHORD. These rules, which I have announced and which I have the duty to enforce as chairman of this committee, are as old as the history of the English parliamentary system. I have explained time and time again why the ordinary rules of court do not apply in a legislative investigation.

Mr. GUTMAN. I do not—the rules, Mr. Ichord, I rely upon rules of——

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order, and I would direct that the gentleman please sit down. I direct the gentleman to sit down.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I then, may I ask a point of information?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Greenblatt, will you please come forward?

Will the witness please be sworn?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I would like to make a statement to the committee, if I may.

Mr. ICHORD. Under the ordinary—under the rules and practices of the committee, and again the Chair is being quite lenient as far as the rules are concerned, but it was evidently practice in the past for the Chair to permit the witness to make a brief statement after he is sworn.

If the gentleman will please rise and be sworn, then he will be recognized.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Mr. Chairman, in my reading of previous hearings of this committee, I have noted that witnesses have been allowed to make a statement before being sworn.

Mr. ICHORD. Well, now, you are out of order. Let's have order. I appeal to your sense of reason and decorum. If the gentleman wishes to make a brief statement, he will be recognized once he is sworn.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am suggesting to the Chair that statements by witnesses before this committee have been made before they were sworn in the past, and I ask why this distinction is being made at the present time.

Mr. ICHORD. Does the gentleman refuse to be sworn?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I do not refuse to be sworn. I refuse to testify.

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the witness to be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I do.

Mr. ICHORD. Please be seated.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT GREENBLATT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
SANFORD KATZ**

Mr. ICHORD. Now under the rules, I will have to ask the witness to restrict himself to matters of jurisdiction, to legislative purpose, and subject of the hearing, also, objections concerning compliance with the rules and the validity of the subpoena. But first, I think you should identify yourself so that it will be a matter of record.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, before that occurs, I would like to make a statement which goes to the very heart of the jurisdiction of this committee.

I was seriously disturbed——

Mr. ICHORD. Now, Mr. Attorney, will you please be seated.

Mr. KATZ. I would like the opportunity at some point, sir, to make this statement.

Mr. ICHORD. I have explained to you time and time again that your purpose in being here in representing your client, under the Rules of the House of Representatives and the rules of this committee, is to advise and offer your client legal advice.

I will have to refuse the right of counsel at this time to make a statement. However, the witness will be permitted to make a statement.

Mr. GREENBLATT. May I make the statement at this time?

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, sir.

Mr. GREENBLATT. There have been numerous objections raised in the past, and in the past few days, to the very legitimacy, the very legality of this committee. The unconstitutionality of this committee is well known by people across this Nation, by people across the world. That this committee ostensibly plans to hold hearings, is holding hearings, for various purposes cited by the Chair last Tuesday, I think it is clear from the past history of this committee that that is not the intention of HUAC, and is clear from the actions of this committee and of the Chair and of counsel and staff of this committee this Tuesday past and earlier today.

I was well aware of the restrictive methods and of the intentions of this committee primarily as one of a kangaroo court, to act in violation of the Constitution, to smear members of the American public, to smear people who are in opposition to their political views.

I was not aware directly, until this morning, that the armed camp which this hearing room has been turned into was being used for anything but psychological intimidation of witnesses and intimidation of the people in this room and intimidation of people who watch these hearings and read about them in the mass media.

Mr. ICHORD. You realize that these hearings are not being televised?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I understand that. And I think this is, in fact, an example of the restrictive measures taken by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. ICHORD. I would ask you to restrict yourself to four matters.

This constitutes haranguing and harassing the committee, and perhaps you should memorize that statement again, because they are not being televised.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am not memorizing a statement.

Mr. KATZ. The last witness wandered all over the map with his absurdities. Let the gentleman make his statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Will the counsel be seated?

I would advise the audience that the witness is out of order. He is not restricting himself to points concerning jurisdiction. He is making the speech which we hear time and time and time again, and it is almost identically the same line of witness after witness that appears before this committee.

But proceed, sir.

Mr. GREENBLATT. It is, indeed, difficult to know how to respond to the irresponsibility and to the intimidation of the Chair, and specifically to the kind of intimidation that took place this morning, when one of the very people that was subpoenaed to appear before this so-called tribunal—

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GREENBLATT. —was arrested and physically removed from these premises.

Mr. ICHORD. I hope the gentleman testifies as freely as he is speaking now.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am willing to testify to any question put to me in this room, so long as I am given some assurance that the physical well-being of the people that come to this room, whether as witnesses or as friends of witnesses or as members of the public, will be in some way safeguarded.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure the witness—are you finished with your statement?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am not finished with my statement, no.

Mr. ICHORD. Well, let me assure the witness at that point, it is not a statement in order, but the Chair and the committee have ordered the security that prevails in this room because of statements from various persons that they are going to disrupt the hearings. And as long as the Chair presides over any of these hearings, we will have the same kind of security that we are having today because I will not, the Chair will not, permit some of the people who have tried to get into this room, with the intent of disrupting and disturbing the hearing and causing a circus to develop.

And the Chair will take complete responsibility for the security that exists here today.

Mr. GREENBLATT. The Chair has said time and again, and made reference to these unnamed persons, which the Chair has not named, from unnamed sources, that these hearings are going to be disrupted. I think the only disruption taking place here has been done as a disruption of the legal procedures of the Congress, legal procedures of the Government of the United States, and has been done by the Chair and by members of this committee.

The incidents that took place specifically outside of this building this morning regarding Abbie Hoffman were clear to any observer there.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is completely out of order.

I give you an inch, and you take a mile, Mr. Witness.

Let's proceed with the questioning. I don't think we are accomplishing anything at all. He has not made one valid point, or even stated one, other than the jurisdiction.

Proceed with your questioning.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I make a statement at this juncture?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. We want to hear anything the gentleman might say, for whatever it might be worth, but one thing I as a member will not tolerate is a matter of personal abuse of this committee, and the law will not tolerate it. And your statement a moment ago, charging irresponsibility to this chairman and assigning other derogations of the Constitution to members of this committee, is not going to be tolerated, and I would hope that the witness would be mindful of the law which was read earlier, concerning that anyone or any group who uses abusive language in reference, or intimidates a committee of the Congress subjects himself to \$500 fine or 6 months' imprisonment or both. Just passed last year. And I, for one, would intend to use that provision of the law if there is a continuance of this. And I would—

Mr. KATZ. Congressman Watson, that is the clearest form of intimidation of a witness I have ever heard.

Mr. WATSON. And I appeal to the witness to state whatever he has to state and I am sure that he should be able, within his intelligence, to present the matter in the factual fashion without trying to intimidate, harass, or abuse this committee.

I, for one, am not going to tolerate it.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with your questioning, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GREENBLATT. There is no law to prevent intimidation of others who are not Members of Congress, and it is to this that I was trying to speak, and I was speaking about factual matters that happened this very day.

Mr. ICHORD. We are familiar with these tactics. They have been used very, very many times before, Mr. Witness.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. GREENBLATT. My name is Robert Greenblatt.

Mr. SMITH. And what is your address?

Mr. GREENBLATT. My home address?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I don't think I want to give my home address at this time.

Mr. SMITH. I see. What address would you give?

Mr. GREENBLATT. 5 Beekman Street. That is my mailing address.

Mr. SMITH. Where?

Mr. GREENBLATT. In New York City.

Mr. SMITH. You are here today in response to a subpoena served upon you by John T. Brophy, United States—assistant United States marshal in New York, under date of September 27, 1968? Is that correct?

Mr. GREENBLATT. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. Where and when were you born?

(Witness confers with counsel.)



Mr. GREENBLATT. I was born in circumstances not very unlike the circumstances right here. In circumstances of an armed camp, of fascism, much more advanced perhaps and overt than in most cases here, but nevertheless of the same kind of intimidating nature. I was born in a country and at a time when individual citizens of that country, if they held particular political points of view——

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is not responsive to the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am trying to explain.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, the witness is replying in the best fashion possible.

Mr. ICHORD. Well, Mr. Counsel, counsel will still follow the instructions of the Chair and abide by the rules of the House. Counsel well knows that the answer is not responsive to the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am trying to answer the question in the way I understand it.

Mr. ICHORD. The question is when and where was he born. Where were you born, Mr. Greenblatt, not the circumstances under which you were born?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am trying to describe the country in which I was born and I suggest that I am describing that country.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the country?

Mr. GREENBLATT. The country is the country of Hungary, at a time when fascism was rising in Hungary and at a time when this kind of intimidation was at approximately the same stage as it seems to be in the events surrounding these hearings. I think this answer is responsive.

Mr. SMITH. What date were you born?

Mr. GREENBLATT. May 14, 1938.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

When did you come to the United States?

Mr. KATZ. May I inquire how that is relevant to the subject matter of this inquiry, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. Please advise your client. You may feel free to do so, but the Chair, Mr. Attorney——

Mr. GREENBLATT. I would like such advice. What is the relevance of the question?

Mr. SMITH. Purposes of identification.

Mr. GREENBLATT. You mean you don't know who I am at the present time? I am the man upon whom the subpoena was served.

Mr. SMITH. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. What is the relevance of that question?

Mr. SMITH. Background information.

Mr. GREENBLATT. What kind of background information is relevant?

Mr. SMITH. All.

Mr. GREENBLATT. For what purpose?

Mr. SMITH. Determining your qualifications.

Mr. GREENBLATT. My qualifications as a witness?

Mr. ICHORD. What is the question pending, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. Please answer the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have yet to receive an answer to the relevance of the question.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is definitely out of order, Mr. Greenblatt. What is the question, Counsel?

Mr. SMITH. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. May I ask the Chair how he can know I am out of order when he doesn't know what the question is?

Mr. ICHORD. Ask the question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. May I ask again for an answer to what is the relevance of that question?

Mr. SMITH. The question is relevant.

Mr. GREENBLATT. So you have stated. I would like to have an explanation of the relevance.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the witness be advised that the Chair will determine the relevance of the question, and the Chair rules that the question is relevant as to when you came to the United States.

Mr. GREENBLATT. It is absolutely clear to me that the Chair will rule the relevancy of every question raised by the Chair's counsel. I presume that I do have the right to have an explanation of the relevance so that I can understand it.

Mr. ICHORD. We will have to wait and see that. It is a matter of identification.

Mr. KATZ. What is the question before the witness?

Mr. SMITH. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I came to the United States after spending several years in concentration camps in Nazi Germany. I came to the United States after spending several years—

Mr. SMITH. I want the date, Mr. Witness, of when you came to the United States.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I will get to the date. I will tell you when I came to this country. After spending several years in ghettos, in repressive institutions in Hungary and Germany.

Mr. ICHORD. The answer is not responsive to the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am trying to respond to the question, in a way, in the only way that I can understand the relevance of the question.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I spent several years in ghettos in Hungary. I spent years in concentration camps in Germany under the most blatant kind of Fascist rule—which again, and at that time, was justified, in the name of protecting the security of the countries then involved. It was at that time justified as a way of separating out the people that were endangering the security of that country, and I may remind the Chair that ultimately the people who were so described were exterminated.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is definitely out of order. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I came to the United States when I had had enough of that kind of fascism and thought I could meet with a different kind of condition in this country—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Witness—

Mr. GREENBLATT. In the year 1949.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Witness, you are not responsive at all.

But at last, we got it. [Laughter.]

Thank you.

Now proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am not sure you are welcome.

Mr. SMITH. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Again, I ask the relevancy of that question.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Explain the relevancy of the question.

Mr. SMITH. To determine his status within the United States.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, just for the elucidation of counsel, can you advise me on what ground that question is relevant?

Mr. ICHORD. The attorney is out of order.

Proceed with the questioning, Mr. Counsel. There is no question about the relevancy of such a question.

Mr. SMITH. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. It seems to me that the rights to—

Mr. ICHORD. Just as a matter of identification, the Chair rules the question is relevant.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I would be the same person in either case. Yes, I am a citizen of this country. I am proud to be a citizen of this country, except for today, if this is in fact acting in accordance with the laws of this country.

Mr. SMITH. When and how did you obtain citizenship?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I again must ask for the germaneness or the relevancy of that question.

Mr. SMITH. Background information.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I know of only one procedure of becoming a citizen of this country, and as far as I know—that is, for someone not born here—and as far as I know, I would presume that counsel is acquainted with that procedure. I don't see any particular reason for my trying to recite that procedure right now.

Mr. SMITH. When and how did you obtain citizenship?

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Mr. Counsel. I don't believe we got an answer to that question. The question is relevant. When did he become a citizen of the United States. When did you become a citizen of the United States?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. GREENBLATT. In 1956.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel, and I direct you to get to the meat of the matter as quickly as possible.

Mr. SMITH. How did you obtain citizenship, Mr. Greenblatt?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I repeat the question: as far as I know, there is a perfectly standard procedure, which every counsel, I presume, would be familiar with. I don't see why I have to try to give at this time.

Mr. ICHORD. Let's move along, Mr. Counsel. I think we have him well identified. We are going to be here all day long, with the attitude of the witness. He only answers, apparently, when I direct him to answer.

Mr. SMITH. Do you possess a United States passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. How is that relevant to the matter at hand?

Mr. SMITH. The question is relevant and pertinent to this inquiry.

Mr. GREENBLATT. In what way?

Mr. ICHORD. Let me explain to the witness that the Chair has been advised that many participants in the riots in Chicago and many of the persons who participated in the planning and the organization of the Chicago disturbances have traveled abroad, have visited Hanoi, have visited many other Communist nations. And it is relevant, and the Chair so rules and directs you to answer the question in regard to passport.

Mr. GREENBLATT. It hasn't been established.

Mr. ICHORD. Now you may have forgotten the question.

Miss Reporter—

Mr. GREENBLATT. It has been already established in my testimony that I have traveled abroad. I already stated that I was born in Hungary in 1938, that I came to this country in 1949, after several years of fascism.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair directs the witness to cease.

Mr. GREENBLATT. That fact has already been established.

Mr. ICHORD. Restate your question. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Do you possess a United States passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the witness to answer the question.

Do you possess a United States passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I intend to answer the question, if I may do so in my own way.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the matter will be resolved.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, will you please be seated and abide by the rules under which these hearings are being conducted?

And I might again state that they are as old as the history of the English parliamentary system, and I ask the counsel as a member of the bar of the State of New York, I believe, to abide by the rulings of the Chair, the duly constituted appointed authority of this committee.

Mr. KATZ. If only we were permitted to act as attorneys, rather than stand for this procedure.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is free to advise with his client on any of these questions and direct him how to answer. Apparently the witness is doing a very good job—

Mr. KATZ. I think so.

Mr. ICHORD. —of avoiding the question.

Now, restate your question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I think counsel is doing a very good job of refraining from explaining the relevancy of the question and refraining from explaining of the—

Mr. SMITH. Do you possess a United States passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. You mean am I in possession of a passport right now?

Mr. SMITH. Do you possess one, do you have one? Have you been issued a passport?

Mr. KATZ. May we have a date?

Mr. SMITH. That's what I want you to tell me.

Mr. KATZ. Well, you asked that first.

Mr. SMITH. How about June 3, 1968?

Mr. GREENBLATT. To the best of my recollection, at approximately that date, I did in fact apply for and receive a passport.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Did you claim that you had lost an earlier passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Can I again ask what the relevancy of that question is?

Mr. SMITH. Answer the question.

Mr. ICHORD. The relevancy of the question, I believe, has already been explained by the Chair.

There is evidence, information received by the committee, that the gentleman has traveled to certain Communist nations; there is evidence also that there is some connection between the Chicago riots and this travel by certain individuals in the United States. And this is a matter of background information, leading up to other questions to be asked.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, your counsel obviously knows the answer to all of these questions, and what you are trying to do, trap—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, I will again have to direct you to abide by the rules of the committee, and not only the rules of the committee, the Rules of the House of Representatives.

Now this is about the fifth or sixth time. You are permitted to advise your client and give him whatever legal advice you think he may need, but you are not recognized for the purpose of making objections. This is not a court proceeding.

Mr. KATZ. I am painfully aware of that, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is not on trial. The committee is trying to develop certain facts and information. If we have to stay here for the rest of the year, we will have it.

Mr. KATZ. May we confer?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes; proceed.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SMITH. Can you claim—

Mr. ICHORD. Wait a minute.

Mr. SMITH. The question is, Did you claim you had lost an earlier passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I had, in fact, lost an earlier passport; yes.

Mr. SMITH. How and where did you lose the earlier passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. If I knew how and where I lost it, I probably would have been able to retrieve it.

Mr. SMITH. Where did you lose the earlier passport?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I really don't know. I was in transit, and when there came an occasion for me to need it again, I couldn't find it. I have no idea where I lost it. If I had known I lost it, I would not have lost it.

Mr. SMITH. Did you have it when you reentered the United States?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I don't understand that question at all.

Mr. ICHORD. Rephrase your question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. When I reentered the United States when?

Mr. ICHORD. Let counsel rephrase his question. He will withdraw that question.

Mr. SMITH. To rephrase my question, did you have the passport when you reentered the United States, returning from the trip that you had been discussing a few moments ago?

Mr. GREENBLATT. What trip are we discussing? The only trip I discussed was the trip when I came here in 1949. If that is the passport you are talking about, I still have that one.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned you were in transit. In transit where?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I was traveling in the United States, as far as I know, when I lost my passport.

Mr. ICHORD. Next question, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Greenblatt, you are the national coordinator, are you not, of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in

Vietnam, which is also referred to as Mob, National Mobilization, and National Mobilization Committee, as well as being a cochairman of the organization?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have been identified in both of those capacities. I have so identified myself.

Mr. SMITH. Is it also true that you have served in these capacities with the National Mobilization Committee from the time it assumed that name in April 1967?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. GREENBLATT. Mr. Chairman, if I may be allowed to make a brief statement which will explain the context of my response to this next question and subsequent questions, I want to make it absolutely clear that I came to Washington, I came to these committee hearings, despite reservations and the very strong feeling that I have about them, as I indicated earlier, with the full intention of testifying and responding to any questions that may be put to me about my own actions, about my own activities, although I do feel and feel very strongly that I am not legally, morally, and constitutionally under an obligation to do so for reasons that have been cited by counsel and that I have tried to cite myself.

I am still willing, perfectly willing, to go forward with this attempt to testify, although I will not be willing to testify about actions and activities of other people.

I will be willing to testify about my own actions and my own activities because I am proud of them. However, as I tried to indicate earlier, I am very concerned about the general atmosphere in which these hearings are being conducted, both inside and outside this hearing room.

I am very concerned about the kind of actions that the committee and law enforcement officers, or people who should be enforcing the law, have taken against myself, attorneys, other witnesses, colleagues of mine that have appeared or tried to appear before this committee.

I am almost finished, Mr. Chairman.

And I must say at this time, specifically, that the greatest outrage was reached in the last few days when, in fact, one of my colleagues, one of my brothers, was physically assaulted outside this committee. Until I know the whereabouts and the well-being—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair recognizes this as propaganda.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am trying to complete my statement and explain the background under which I will proceed at this point.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. It is difficult for me to answer the question when one of these seven people who have been subpoenaed to this hearing was arrested for trying to walk into the hearing room and trying to walk into the building in which this hearing room is located.

I find it very difficult, indeed, to be responsive under those kinds of circumstances of intimidation and of use of force.

Mr. ICHORD. And you are going to refuse to answer on those grounds?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am unwilling to testify until I know that these kinds of tactics will no longer be employed, until I have some kind of assurance as to the well-being of Mr. Hoffman.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure the gentleman that the Chair is not aware of the whereabouts of Mr. Hoffman, except that he has been informed that he was arrested on some charge. I don't know exactly what the charge is. The Chair is not responsible for the conduct of Mr. Hoffman outside this hearing room.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am not asking the Chair to be responsible for the action of Mr. Hoffman. But the Chair—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, will you restate your question to the witness?

Mr. SMITH. The question is: Is it true that you have served in these capacities, that is, as national coordinator of the National Mobilization Committee and as cochairman of that organization, from the time it assumed that name in 1967?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I am willing to be responsive to all questions put to me about my own—

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I must stand by the statement I made earlier.

Mr. ICHORD. Next question, Mr. Counsel.

Ask your next question.

Mr. KATZ. I respectfully request that the witness be able to complete his statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Will the gentleman be seated?

Mr. KATZ. We have been intimidated. My bag was searched before I came into this building. Under such circumstances—

Mr. ICHORD. Who are you trying to propagandize, Mr. Katz?

Mr. KATZ. I am a very bad propagandist, Mr. Chairman. My bag was opened and was searched.

Mr. ICHORD. Please sit down and abide by the rules of the committee.

Mr. KATZ. I am frightened to go on with this hearing. I am frightened for my own personal safety, for Mr. Greenblatt's safety. They have buses out there with bars in them, in front of our hotel, in front of this building. We have not been permitted to act as counsel.

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the counsel to be seated.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Greenblatt, on Tuesday of this week, you filed a petition in the court, in which you stated that you were the founder and cochairman of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam and became the national coordinator of the Mobilization Committee in the summer of 1967. Is that correct?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Mr. Counsel, I have tried to explain that I am willing to be responsive to these questions as soon as I am given some assurance—

Mr. ICHORD. Go to your next question.

Mr. GREENBLATT.—of my own safety. Otherwise, I cannot continue with these proceedings. I will be willing to come back and appear before this committee as soon as I can receive some sort of—

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Chairman, we are at the Congressional Hotel. We are ready and able to come before this committee tomorrow.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair thought this would happen. Let the record show that the attorney, Mr. Katz, and Mr. Greenblatt, the witness, are now leaving the hearing room, even though the Chair has directed the witness to answer.

Mr. GREENBLATT. The Chair has not allowed the witness to answer the questions in the way he knows how to answer them.

Mr. KATZ. I am agreed as to how you anticipated this would happen.

Mr. ICHORD. We will develop that later on.

Proceed.

Let there be order in the hearing room.

Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Let the record show that the witness and his attorney have left the hearing room. The witness will be continued under his subpoena. We will expect the witness to return tomorrow morning under the subpoena.

Call your next witness.

Mr. SMITH. The next witness is Quentin D. Young.

Mr. ICHORD. Will the witness rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly promise the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. YOUNG. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF QUENTIN D. YOUNG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
JEREMIAH S. GUTMAN AND WILLIAM COUSINS, JR.**

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to proceed with a brief statement, if I may, before the witness answers questions.

You indicated that it was your presumption that the next two witnesses, presumably Mr. Greenblatt and Dr. Young, would get up and refuse to testify.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me correct the gentleman.

I said I did believe that that would be true, but I hoped it was not true. I hope that I was in error.

Mr. GUTMAN. I hope, Mr. Chairman, you will divulge at this time the source of the data from which you came to the conclusion that you believed—

Mr. ICHORD. We will at the proper time, Mr. Gutman.

Counsel will please be seated. He is out of order in violation of the rules of the committee.

Proceed with the questioning and identification of the witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GUTMAN. I have another motion, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. You are not recognized. The Chair is confining the counsel to the Rules of the House of Representatives and the rules of the committee, that is, advising and conferring with his client.

I will ask the counsel, as a member of the bar, not to argue with the Chair. It is not permissible under the rules.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Would you give your full name and address, please?

Dr. YOUNG. My name is Quentin Young. My office address is 1512 East 55th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. SMITH. You are here in response to a subpoena served upon you on September 23, 1968, by a United States marshal?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Although I deny the validity of that subpoena, I am here.



Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young, do you have a preliminary statement you want to make?

Dr. YOUNG. I do, indeed, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. In regard to jurisdiction and the validity of the subpoena?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes. If I may, sir, since counsel was not allowed, I would appreciate your apology for the implied insult that I would not appear at this time.

Mr. ICHORD. If the witness is going to appear and testify, and I said it was my belief that at least one—the other witness has already left. I will apologize to Dr. Young, and it will stand if you go ahead and testify.

Dr. YOUNG. I will testify, as my statement will show. I appreciate that Mr. Ichord has seen fit to correct the record and purge the record of the insult that was implied by the fact that I wouldn't cooperate.

Mr. ICHORD. It wasn't meant for you, sir, if you are appearing to testify.

Dr. YOUNG. I thank you.

Mr. ICHORD. You appear to be conducting yourself in a much different manner, and I do apologize for any reflection upon you. I said one of two, not both.

Dr. YOUNG. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to inform you that on October 2 I instructed my counsel to enter a suit in Federal court reflecting my belief that the House Un-American Activities Committee is now and has been an illegal and unconstitutional tribunal.

Sir?

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. Naturally, certain of the unconstitutionality of this tribunal, I would not be a party to its hearings. However, since the Medical Committee for Human Rights played such an exceptionally courageous and humane role during convention week, and since city officials of Chicago and more recently police officers of Chicago have sought to besmirch this record of unselfish service, I must tell the American people the truth of our Medical Committee's actions.

This obligation is all the more imperative because the apologists for the brutality that shamed Chicago, and I am a Chicagoan, are attempting, on the other hand, to conceal the incredible record of indifference and irresponsibility of city officials. Their failure to offer even the most elementary health precautions, even as Armed Forces at the division level were being deployed, is what forced the Medical Committee for Human Rights to put together a team of volunteers which alleviated so much of the human suffering inflicted on citizens that week.

In appearing at this time, I want to make clear that I am not acknowledging the constitutionality of the Un-American Committee, nor will I in any way compromise constitutional guarantees relating to physician-patient privacy, freedom of speech, association, and press—sir?

Could you direct the interrogator to be quiet?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. I didn't hear the direction.

Mr. ICHORD. I am hearing the gentleman.

Dr. YOUNG. I will start that sentence over.

Nor will I in any way compromise constitutional guarantees relating to physician-patient privacy, freedom of speech, association, and press, due process, and equal protection under law.

In particular, I will under no circumstance cooperate with your Un-American Committee where it seeks to violate rights of others.

The suit which each member of the committee should by now have received clearly defines the constitutional violations, the character defamations, and the chilling effect on guaranteed liberty that have been the hallmark of the HUAC in the 30 years of its ignoble existence.

In this framework, I welcome the opportunity to tell the American people the whole story of events in Chicago from the viewpoint of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Mr. ICHORD. Does that conclude your statement?

Dr. YOUNG. No, it does not.

Mr. ICHORD. How long is your statement?

Dr. YOUNG. It is about 30 seconds more.

Mr. ICHORD. It is in violation of the rules, but proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. I appreciate the opportunity you have given me.

I would just add that I would like, in this interrogation, to have a chance to comment on the medical aspects of the last friendly witness and move on to quash the subpoena served on me. I am happy to give the information to the American people, but deny the rights and powers of this committee to compel it.

I would like to cite in defense of that, my attorneys have helped me, the first, fourth, sixth, and ninth amendments and the due process clause, as well as separation of powers of the legislative—I am more a doctor than a lawyer, but we have to get that way at times.

Will you please accept my motion to quash?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has received your motion. I will point out to the doctor that these objections have been raised time and time again by witnesses and attorneys for the committee. They have no basis under the court decisions.

This is a legislative investigation. We are looking into what happened and how it happened in Chicago, and the questions which will be directed to you will be relevant.

As a member of the bar and chairman of this committee and a Member of Congress, I will endeavor to protect the constitutional rights of Dr. Young.

Dr. YOUNG. I will call upon you to do that, sir. I would like to point out all the objections I raised in my lawsuit.

Mr. ICHORD. The objections are overruled.

Proceed with the questioning, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, you stated in your petition to the court, filed with this committee today, that you are a member of the governing council and executive committee of the Medical Committee for Human Rights and a member of the executive committee of the Chicago chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Is that correct?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. Are you a practicing physician in the city of Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. I am, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, apparently you did not hear my earlier statement or you wouldn't have bothered to ask me that question. It is perfectly clear that that question not only is irrelevant to anything that happened in Chicago during the week under question. It is also further clear that I could answer that question without any embarrassment. But I would not compromise the rights of all Americans by responding to such an obvious violation of the first amendment privileges and the variety of others I have cited. You may relax on that one.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will advise the witness that the legislative purpose of this investigation is to determine the extent of Communist and subversive activities, the parts they played in the planning, in the organization, of the disturbances in Chicago.

The committee does have information that you have played a part. The Chair has been presented with a ruling on that question time and time again. The question is relevant to these hearings.

I direct you, sir, to answer the question. Your invocation of the first amendment is not accepted.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Taking the Chair's statement in good faith, which I do, sir, I want to inform you that I am prepared to describe all of my activities relative to the week, and if the Chair and the rest of the committee is eager to hear what I have to say, they will get very important evidence for understanding those events.

Mr. ICHORD. Doctor, the Chair is sorry to advise you again that the question is relevant. I warn you of the possible penalties of contempt of this committee if you fail to answer the question.

Again, I direct the doctor to answer the question.

Dr. YOUNG. I would like to indicate that I have stated I feel fully confident in the guarantees of the first amendment of the Constitution protecting my rights of free association and speech. I have no need to rely on any other amendments.

My answer to the question is that it is an unconstitutional invasion of my rights and under these circumstances I would never answer. I chastise the Chair for daring to ask me that question.

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ICHORD. Ask the next question.

Again I warn you that the invocation of the first amendment is not sufficient, and there are possible penalties of contempt in failing to answer the question. This has been decided time and time again before this committee.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel, with the next question.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, the committee has received information that you have been a member of the Communist Party, specifically, a member of the doctors' club of the party on the North Side of Chicago, a club that was called the Bethune Club.

Would you affirm or deny this information?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. I am sorely tempted to answer those ridiculous charges—

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a charge, it is a question.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, let me answer in my own way, please.

My answer is that this is a repetition of a question I have already answered, fully confident that the first amendment and other protections will take care of it. When do we get to Chicago?

Mr. ICHORD. The question is more specific, Doctor, than the first question, and involves membership in a specific Communist organization, a specific club. The question is relevant. The Chair directs you to answer.

Dr. YOUNG. I can only remind the Chair that my rights of association are inviolate.

Mr. ICHORD. Again I advise the doctor of the possibility of contempt in failing to answer the question, because the invocation of the first amendment is not sufficient. That has been decided many, many times in the courts of the United States.

Proceed with your next question.

Mr. SMITH. Did you serve as a member of the governing council of the Medical Committee for Human Rights pursuant to a plan or directive of the Communist Party?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. I am advised by counsel that that question is best separated into two parts. If you will please do so, I think I can handle them.

Mr. ICHORD. Separate the question.

Mr. SMITH. The first part is: Did you serve as a member of the governing council of the Medical Committee for Human Rights?

Dr. YOUNG. I believe I have answered that question.

Mr. ICHORD. I did not understand your answer, Doctor.

Dr. YOUNG. My answer was "yes."

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, for your convenience in expedition, you could, if you desire, say that you refuse to answer for reasons previously stated. You wouldn't have to repeat them.

Dr. YOUNG. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. The second part of the question: Did you serve in this position—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair would advise the witness, though, that there would still be the possibility of contempt in that he has invoked the first amendment.

Proceed, Counsel.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't feel, sir, that the first amendment can be invoked too often. I am sure you feel attached to that right at least as much as I am.

The CHAIRMAN. It was with that in mind that I suggested you could say you refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Dr. YOUNG. I would like to hear the question. I might have different grounds for different questions.

Mr. ICHORD. I think the chairman of the full committee is trying to expedite the proceedings.

Dr. YOUNG. I see that, but I am interested in getting to the Chicago matter. Will we?

Mr. ICHORD. We shall in a minute.

Dr. YOUNG. I see no signs of it. Let's go.

Mr. SMITH. The second portion of the question: Did you serve in this position, as a member of the governing council of the Medical

Committee for Human Rights, pursuant to a plan or directive of the Communist Party?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. No.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to explain the origin of the name of the doctors' club of the Communist Party on Chicago's North Side, which I mentioned a moment ago.

Dr. Norman Bethune was a Canadian surgeon and a secret Communist. He served with the Communist—

Mr. COUSINS. Are we interrogating the witnesses here or are we having counsel make a statement, or rendering a statement, to which the witness would be bound in some way?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, I think you can put that in, in another way.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, did you attend a mass meeting of the Communist Party held in Chicago at the Ashland Building auditorium on October 10, 1948?

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order in the committee room.

The Chair will advise the members of the audience you are guests of the committee. There must be order.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. ICHORD. Ask the next question, Counsel.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir—

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute. Counsel is ready to propound the next question.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, you have indicated you were affiliated with the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

Dr. YOUNG. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SMITH. You have indicated.

Dr. YOUNG. I have indicated? Would you please clarify your memory?

Mr. ICHORD. Doctor, are you affiliated with the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam?

Dr. YOUNG. I am not. But why did he say I "indicated"?

Mr. ICHORD. All right, you are not.

Proceed to the next question.

Mr. COUSINS. I would like for the counsel to apologize.

Mr. ICHORD. Now, Counsel, counsel will confine himself to the proper role of a counsel. There is no need for that kind of conduct. As a member of the bar, you know your role.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, have you been affiliated with the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, the principal organizer and coordinating agency for the disruptions which took place in Chicago during the Democratic Convention?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, would you please clarify what you mean by affiliated? I think I will be able to answer your question.

Mr. SMITH. Were you associated with it? Did you participate with it?

Dr. YOUNG. Are you referring relative to medical presence of our committee, or am I a part of its governing—

Mr. SMITH. In any way.

Dr. YOUNG. I still don't understand that. It is a matter of record—

Mr. SMITH. As an individual, were you affiliated with it, did you participate with it, in any of its activities?

Dr. YOUNG. You are giving me different verbs. The relationship of our committee and, to that extent, myself has been the relationship of the Medical Committee exclusively. In that sense, I am not affiliated with the National Mobilization.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state that committee investigation reveals—

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. The counsel can advise the witness and will be restricted to that.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, as I understand it, counsel is testifying. Could he be sworn at this time?

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel will ask the questions in such a way that he is not testifying.

Dr. YOUNG. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, is it not a fact that you paid \$1,000 of the \$1,500 due for the rent of the National Mobilization Committee office in Chicago, located at 407 South Dearborn?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. That is not true. Would you like me to clarify that?

Mr. SMITH. I think you should.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. I lent \$1,000 to somebody which was promptly paid back in cash over a 2-day period.

Mr. ICHORD. Who was the somebody, Doctor?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Rennie Davis.

Mr. ICHORD. You lent him how much money?

Dr. YOUNG. \$1,000 over a 48-hour period.

Mr. ICHORD. And what was this money in the form of? Was it in the form of cash?

Dr. YOUNG. It was a check. He just showed me a photostat of it.

Mr. ICHORD. Very good. We appreciate your candor.

Dr. YOUNG. It is not only candid—if I may respond—

Mr. ICHORD. You say the whole sum was returned?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, it was.

Mr. ICHORD. In what form?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I do not honestly recall. That \$1,000 was returned.

Mr. ASHBROOK. He said in cash.

Dr. YOUNG. I didn't say that.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think the record will show that.

Dr. YOUNG. Why don't we read the record?

Mr. ICHORD. Was it paid in cash?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I am not being evasive; I don't recall.

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the witness to answer the question. The witness has said that the money was paid back by Mr. Davis, and the question pending is: Was the money paid back in cash? I direct the witness to answer the question.

Dr. YOUNG. I am answering you. I don't recall. I rather think it was paid in check, but I really don't recall.

Mr. ICHORD. You really don't recall the payment of \$1,000? Was it paid at one time, Doctor?

Dr. YOUNG. It was indeed, and if it was——

Mr. ICHORD. You do not recall whether it was paid in cash or paid by check or some other means?

Dr. YOUNG. I have answered that three times. What I am wondering is, is the Chair impugning me?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair is merely wondering why the doctor must handle large sums of money if he is paid back \$1,000 and doesn't remember the payment.

Dr. YOUNG. Just a minute, sir. I am a busy doctor, and we handle a lot of money. We spend a lot of money. If I give a personal loan to somebody for that purpose for 48 hours and it is paid back in 48 hours, I don't keep a mental note or any other. I rather think it was paid in cash, and I will search my records to see if it was. You can be sure that I am not attempting to conceal the fact that I loaned it or that it was paid back.

Mr. ICHORD. Were these your own personal funds, Doctor?

Dr. YOUNG. They sure were.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I ask a question?

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. ASHBROOK. This loan that you have discussed was not in the form of a payment to Mr. Davis? Was it not in the form of a direct check to the company?

Dr. YOUNG. If you are interested in the details, they were renting an office, and he said could I lend \$1,000 for 48 hours. Normally, I wouldn't do it, but they said they couldn't make it without it, and I lent them the money.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The check was made to Sudler and not Mr. Davis.

Dr. YOUNG. Sudler is the realtor.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That was at Mr. Davis' request, so it took the form of a loan to him via the real estate?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, would you tell the committee the significance of the word "trustee" on the check?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes. I have several accounts, and one is dubbed trustee account. It has no legal significance. I wrote a check out of that because that is probably the only account I had \$1,000 in.

Mr. ICHORD. Would you hand the check to the witness, Mr. Counsel, and let him identify it?

Mr. SMITH. Is this the check that you have reference to?

(Document handed to the witness.)

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, do you offer this for the record?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. I request it be accepted for the record as Young Exhibit No. 1.

Dr. YOUNG. The witness has no objection, none whatsoever.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule on the objections, Doctor, if you please.

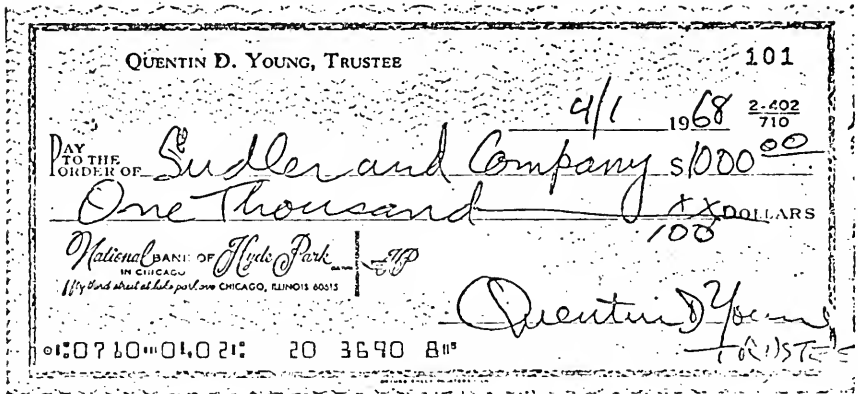
Would you hand me the check?

This check, Doctor—if there are no objections, it will be admitted for the record, included in the record—this check at the top, at the

left-hand side says, "Quentin D. Young, Trustee." The number of the check is 101. The date is 4/1/1968. It is made to the order of Sudler and Company, \$1,000, drawn on the National Bank of Hyde Park, and signed by Quentin D. Young, Trustee.

(Document marked "Young Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

YOUNG EXHIBIT NO. 1



Mr. ICHORD. These were your own funds even though you signed the check as trustee?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes. Would you like an explanation of it?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes, I would.

Dr. YOUNG. I have four bank accounts. One is a business account—it is very hard to have four different accounts, so you have your name in different ways. My business account is Q. David Young. My personal account is Quentin Young, M.D. I have an account for my children's education called Quentin Young, Trustee, and because it was the only account with that much money and because I was assured that it would be paid back within 2 days, which it was, I used that account. There is nothing more sinister than that, Mr. Ichord.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, do you intend to continue questioning concerning this check?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Dr. YOUNG. When do we get to Chicago, please?

Mr. WATSON. I thought this was paid in Chicago. It was not paid in Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. I presume it was.

Mr. WATSON. Now we are already in Chicago with the check.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me advise the doctor there have also been threats made to not only disrupt the convention processes in the future, but the Federal election process. Let's not handle this matter with levity.

Proceed, Mr. Watson.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I must make clear there has been no levity here. I think we are in the gravest crisis this country has ever seen. I am still responding.

I feel that it is terribly important if the purpose of this committee to understand what happened in Chicago is to be achieved that you



question me about what our committee did, what I did in relation to it, talk about the casualties we treated, and so on.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me advise the doctor that I announced at the opening of the hearings—and then I will recognize Mr. Watson for questions he wishes to direct to you—that the purpose of this legislative investigation is to determine the extent of Communist and subversive participation in the Chicago disturbances. We have asked you one question, which you refused to answer, about membership in the Communist Party. Mr. Watson has additional questions to ask you about this check. It seems very strange to the Chair, indeed, that there has been nothing about the security behind this loan, Mr. Counsel, though I am sure Mr. Watson is going into that.

The Chair recognizes Mr. Watson at this time.

Dr. YOUNG. I also heard the Chair state that the purpose of this hearing was to find out what went on in Chicago. Those are his very words.

Mr. ICHORD. Yes; and I will say, Dr. Young, that a count of the testimony yesterday, performed by the committee staff, indicated that the witnesses testifying identified 21 Communists who were active in the Chicago disturbances.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, I am going to object to this statement because there are implications which are unwarranted.

Mr. ICHORD. There are no implications involved. It is a statement of fact. You will abide by the Rules of the House of Representatives, Counsel. Please abide by the rules announced by the Chair and confer with your client.

Proceed, Mr. Watson.

This is serious business, gentlemen.

Mr. WATSON. Dr. Young, you stated that you were not formally affiliated with the National Mobilization Committee except in your capacity as a leader or an officer in the medical group—What was the name of it?

Dr. YOUNG. —for Human Rights. What I did state—

Mr. WATSON. That is your only affiliation with the National Mobilization Committee?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't even have an affiliation in that role.

Mr. WATSON. I believe your subcommittee or committee did help in the activities of the National Mobilization Committee.

Dr. YOUNG. May I explain my answer, sir?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. I am just asking whether or not you did. I am sure you are not apologizing.

Dr. YOUNG. By no means. Counsel here asked such a multiple question—

Mr. WATSON. I will try to get to specifics.

Dr. YOUNG. Now to answer. Many organizations that had planned to exercise normal political rights during the convention period approached our committee, among which was the National Mobilization and the Coalition for an Open Convention and informally representatives of the Yippie group, and others made overtures.

So it is fair to say that in the tradition of our committee, which is to respond to bona fide requests for medical reference, we did so. I resent any implication that we are any more affiliated with the National Mobilization than we were with the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference when we gave the same kind of service at that time, or indeed that we were affiliated with the police department of Washington, D.C., when we served them in the same capacity. Is that clear?

Mr. WATSON. That is very fine. Then, of course, I am to conclude that you were not a part of the planning of the disruptions in Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. You may conclude that with confidence.

Mr. WATSON. That is a correct statement?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. You just entered the picture just prior to the rioting to be prepared?

Dr. YOUNG. If asked general questions on how our committee participated, it would be my pleasure to enlighten you.

Mr. WATSON. Is that correct? You had no part in the planning, did you?

Dr. YOUNG. Are you speaking of me personally?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. You are the one testifying.

Dr. YOUNG. The answer is, I had no part in the planning.

Mr. WATSON. You had no part in it whatsoever?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. In fact, I am to assume you didn't even know Mr. Davis prior to these riotous conditions, this activity in Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. You can hardly assume that when I said that I lent him \$1,000 on his face 4 months before.

Mr. WATSON. I see.

How long have you known Mr. Davis?

Dr. YOUNG. Approximately a year.

Mr. WATSON. Approximately a year?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Is your acquaintance with him one of friendship, or just a casual one?

Dr. YOUNG. He is a patient of mine and he is a friend of mine.

Mr. WATSON. He is a patient of yours?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, he is.

Mr. WATSON. And a friend of yours for the past year?

Dr. YOUNG. At least a year.

Mr. WATSON. In that capacity he has never asked you anything about participating with the National Mobilization Committee?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct. Sir, we are getting very close to the line of discussion of my rights to discourse with people.

Mr. WATSON. I have asked you nothing about the ailments of Mr. Davis at all. I have my own ideas about them. But I have asked you nothing about them.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, as a physician I know I need all the help I can get.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, point of order. I move that Mr. Watson be disqualified from this committee.

[Loud demonstration from floor.]

Mr. ICHORD. There will be order in the hearing room. Either leave the room or be seated.

Mr. DELLINGER. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Dellinger, we know what is going on. The committee knows what is going on. I think if the press will accurately report what is going on, the American people will know what is going on.

Proceed, Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. I apologize, Mr. Chairman, if apparently I have struck a very sensitive nerve on the part of anyone here.

Mr. COUSINS. May I have a point of personal privilege?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will confine himself to the rules as described by the Chair.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, I think it would expedite the proceedings—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order. I must caution the gentleman that if I have to use the authority vested in the Chair, I shall do so.

Proceed, Mr. Watson.

Let there be order.

Mr. GUTMAN. Just a moment, sir. The witness wishes to confer with counsel.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. ICHORD. I think the counsel had better confer.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ichord, may I address—

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Doctor. With the interruption that came from the audience, the Chair is not aware of the question now pending.

Mr. Watson, have you a question in mind?

Mr. WATSON. I believe I stated at the time I was not concerned about your medical relationship with Mr. Davis, but I was inquiring about your relationships other than medical, specifically, your relationships in reference to the National Mobilization Committee. My question was whether or not, in view of your close relationship, whether or not Mr. Davis had ever discussed the matter of working with him in the activities that were staged in Chicago.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. The answer is that only in relation to the Medical Committee's activities in the sense of their interest in having medical presence at any demonstrations.

Mr. WATSON. And, of course, in your presence he did discuss the fact that they were going to have demonstrations and there might be a necessity for medical care, against the specific request for your assistance? That is a fair statement, isn't it?

You might confer on that one.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. I am trying hard. I sense that the questions are very carefully phrased. I want to be responsive. On the other hand, I want to listen very carefully. Let me say the conversations were limited to the questions of medical presence, which is a concept I would like to explain, if it would be useful. Our committee was born in 1964 in response to a request for medical presence, first aid teams and the like, in the South. At the time there developed a kind of social role in relation to people who at that time were demonstrating for their rights, which essentially brought in health professionals aimed at having a calming influence on the tense situations that were generated in those Southern days.

The committee, while it has many, many other activities now, views with great honor this source of its beginnings. So it is a commonplace in cities across the land for people of all persuasions to approach the committee and ask for medical presence. This has no presumption of anything other than having neutral medical personnel present.

Mr. WATSON. Is your committee a formal branch of the Medical Society in Chicago? Is it a fully constituted arm of the Medical Society?

Dr. YOUNG. Of the American Medical Association?

Mr. WATSON. Or the Medical Society in Chicago, either one.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't understand your question.

Mr. WATSON. Is the organization to which you refer, the Medical Team for Human Rights—

Dr. YOUNG. I am not the head of it, and it is not the Medical Team for Human Rights.

Mr. WATSON. What is it?

Dr. YOUNG. Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Mr. WATSON. The Medical Committee for Human Rights, is that organization an arm of the Chicago Medical Association or the American Medical Association or the State of Illinois Medical Association?

(At this point Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

Dr. YOUNG. I think I understand your question.

Referring to the Chicago Medical Society or the Illinois Medical Society or the American Medical Association, the answer is it is not affiliated with any of those three organizations.

Mr. WATSON. You mentioned earlier that Davis did discuss with you the matter of demonstrations and at least he anticipated the necessity for some medical care being available at the time of the demonstrations.

Dr. YOUNG. I think my answer would be useful to you if I expand. I see Mr. Davis very infrequently. Typically in the office, in the nature of medical practice, one talks beyond the nature of the illness at hand. These remarks would go just as I would talk with a sociologist about his work. I would like to divest you of any implication that Rennie Davis and I planned in this direction.

Mr. WATSON. And you are obviously aware of Mr. Davis' activities. They have been well publicized. I am sure you are aware of them as a friend. You knew that he was in the business of demonstrating, didn't you?

Dr. YOUNG. I am aware of that, certainly. He is a very well-known citizen and widely respected in our community.

Mr. WATSON. And I am sure your discussions with him relative to this activity were more than casual; were they not, sir?

Dr. YOUNG. They were casual.

Mr. WATSON. Just casual?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Yet on the basis of that casual conversation, you brought your medical committee into play at the time of the violence in Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. That, of course, is completely untrue.

Mr. WATSON. You didn't? I thought you did.

Dr. YOUNG. No, sir. The response to your question is that I brought nothing to bear. A request from the Mobilization, the Coalition for an Open Convention, other groups normally made to the Chicago chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, was discussed and it was duly agreed to attempt to offer some kind of assistance. It is the developments of that assistance and the role it served that I would like to talk about.

Mr. ICHORD. I am sure, Doctor, you would like to talk about many other things than the question the gentleman is now asking you.

Dr. YOUNG. I think I responded to it.

Mr. ICHORD. We will proceed with other questions before we conclude these hearings. Your answer is not responsive.

Continue with the questioning, Mr. Watson.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WATSON. Doctor, I believe you state not what, in addition to Mr. Davis, other representatives of other groups contacted you with reference to your committee's participation.

Dr. YOUNG. They didn't contact me, sir. I don't believe I said that. What I would like to convey is that our committee was, in a normal organizational way, approached by other groups. There were many at one time that were considering activities in the Chicago area. I recall, for the gentleman, Mr. Watson, that there has been great concern in this country since at least the first of the year as to the direction, and there has been increasing public expression in this regard. I think the most important point to make at this juncture is that the estimates of the various groups as to the number of people who demonstrate approach the half million. It has been shown historically that this was greatly exaggerated. But, at the time, the Medical Committee was naturally responsive to the best of its abilities to any such request because, among other things, our presence seems to have a calming effect, an effect that is useful in creating an orderly expression of protest. We are proud of this role.

Mr. WATSON. You said various groups came to your committee to ask assistance. Who, representing those groups, came to your committee, in addition to Mr. Davis?

Dr. YOUNG. I can't remember the particular names. I can get them for you if you want. They refer to representatives of the groups I mentioned.

Mr. ICHORD. Are any of those persons known by you to be members of the Communist Party, Doctor?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Repeat the question, sir. I will try to answer it.

Mr. ICHORD. Were any of those persons who approached you known by you to be members of the Communist Party?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. I am trying to be as accurate as I can. To the best of my knowledge and belief, nobody who was a Communist ever approached me for this service. A variety of groups approached the committee. I think it is important to remind the questioners again that I am not—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule on the matter of what questions are relevant and what questions are not.

Dr. YOUNG. Here is what I am trying to say: When I say they didn't approach me, I don't want to imply they didn't approach the committee. I am trying to explain things. But I am not the person to whom all these things go. We have a vigorous and thriving group of people who would be resentful if I gave the impression that everything went through me. The contrary is true. I am a national officer in the sense that I edit the newspaper and have national activities in the sense that I am a past chairman and am invited to speak to chapters and other medical groups, student health organizations, and so forth.

Mr. ICHORD. What is your specialty?

Dr. YOUNG. I am a specialist in internal medicine. If I may finish my point, the facts are that this kind of demand on my time plus my practice makes me very little involved in the events you are questioning me about. I want the record to be clear that I am not trying to be evasive. These overtures were made and they were responded to. I am proud of the way our committee did it. But if you keep asking me did I get approached and did I get this, you are going to get negative answers.

Does that help explain my answer?

Mr. WATSON. I am sure that it is an explanation.

Doctor, getting back to the matter of the check that you issued, I believe you stated it was a loan to Mr. Davis.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. Why didn't you make the check out to Mr. Davis if it were a loan to him?

Dr. YOUNG. The exact circumstances, as I recall, is he was out of the city. He called me and asked me if I could make the thing out to the realtor. As I have testified here, I have no inclination to conceal the fact. When asked, I responded immediately. The check was made out to the person to whom it was to be delivered since Mr. Davis wasn't even around to receive it.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson, the bells have sounded. I think we are going to have to hurry over to make the rolleall.

It is now 3 minutes until 4 o'clock. We wouldn't have much time to continue for the rest of the afternoon.

The Chair will adjourn these meetings until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, at which time we will—

Mr. GUTMAN. Before you drop the gavel, an important matter. We are all, of course, busy people. This is an important matter. Certainly, Dr. Young is not one to underestimate its importance. However, he is a physician. He does have patients who rely upon him. He has been in Washington since yesterday. If we compel him to stay over another day, it will seriously interfere with the rights of the people who rely upon him for his professional services. I appreciate your obligations as Congressmen to respond to the bells. By the same token, I hope you will make it possible to come back here after the call and conclude with Dr. Young this evening.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me advise the attorney that what has developed here today makes it highly imperative that he continue tomorrow. I would advise the attorney, and I appreciate the busy schedule of the doctor, that I have to catch a plane to Missouri at 15 minutes after 4 to keep a speaking engagement in a place where I have canceled out twice before. I must keep it. I shall be on the plane all night and be up all night and return for these hearings tomorrow morning. That is how important I think it is. The request will have to be denied.

Mr. GUTMAN. Dr. Young similarly has a speaking engagement in Philadelphia this evening. He will be faced with the same problem, unfortunately, on the train both ways.

Mr. ICHORD. The doctor will be required to return tomorrow morning under the subpoena. The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4 p.m., Thursday, October 3, 1968, the hearing was recessed, to be reconvened at 10 a.m., Friday, October 4, 1968.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

# SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION

## Part 1

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1968

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Richard H. Ichord (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri, chairman; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman of the full committee; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and William J. McMahon and Herbert Romerstein, investigators.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Will the photographers please retire?

Let there be order. People standing will please be seated.

The witness will resume the chair. Dr. Young?

Prior to the continuation of the questioning, the attorneys for several of the witnesses filed a Motion for Issuance of Subpoenas.

(The motion referred to follows:)

### MOTION FOR ISSUANCE OF SUBPOENAS

Pursuant to Rule III of the Rules of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Rule 26(m) (3) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, and the invitation of the Chairman extended on October 1, 1968 at page 51 of the transcript of the hearings before this Committee, the subpoenaed witnesses Renard G. [sic] Davis, David Dellinger, Robert Greenblatt, Thomas Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Quentin Young, move for the issuance of subpoenas duces tecum to compel the attendance of the following persons and documents before this Committee to be examined under oath as hostile witnesses by the attorneys for the moving parties;

James L. Gallagher, Joseph J. Healy, Joseph Grubisic, and Robert Pearson [sic] together with all records and documents pertaining to the subject matter of their testimony before this Committee on October 1, 1968;

Chester D. Smith together with all records and documents pertaining to the subject matter of his unsworn testimony before this Committee on October 1, 1968;

Francis J. MaNamara [sic] together with all documents and records pertaining to the preparation for and conduct of the hearings before this Committee beginning October 1, 1968;

Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago, together with all correspondence, memoranda, applications for parades and assemblies, and documents of all kinds connected with or related to the events in the City of Chicago which are the purported subjected matter of these hearings.

The moving parties further request the names and addresses of all persons both overt and covert from whom the Committee has secured information of whatever nature pertaining to the moving parties, and for the issuance of subpoenas to such persons to appear with all records and documents in their possession or subject to their control concerning the purported subject matter of this investigation.

/s/ Melvin L. Wulf  
MELVIN L. WULF

*Attorney for the Moving Parties.*

OCTOBER 3, 1968.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will now rule on the motion presented to the subcommittee by Melvin L. Wulf, whose name is subscribed to the document as attorney for the moving party. The subcommittee at that time deferred ruling on the motion.

The subcommittee has met this morning and considered the motion. We now make our ruling.

We find that the motion is not pertinent to the purposes and limitations of committee Rule III and House Rule XI, 26(m). We further find that the motion is frivolous. We therefore deny the motion.

Mr. Counsel, you will resume the questioning of the witness.

**TESTIMONY OF QUENTIN D. YOUNG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
JEREMIAH S. GUTMAN AND WILLIAM COUSINS, JR.—Resumed**

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I at this point enter on the record, if you please, our exceptions to the Chair's ruling on this matter and file with the committee another matter?

Mr. ICHORD. The exceptions can be entered. The Motion for Issuance of Subpoenas and the denial will be printed in the record.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will receive the motion filed by the gentleman.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has repeatedly advised the witnesses and the attorneys that this is not a court hearing. I have repeatedly advised the attorneys that under the rules their function is to serve as an adviser and giving legal advice to their clients.

The gentlemen of the bar have repeatedly violated the rulings of the Chair. Again I point out that this is not a court hearing. No one is being tried in these proceedings. The committee seeks to punish no one. It has been brought to the attention of the Chair in contentions made by attorneys repeatedly that it is obvious how the Chair is going to rule on all of the questions presented.

Let me point out to the audience and to the attorneys that the Chair is not in a position of a judge in these hearings. This is a legislative hearing. We are here for the purpose of gathering facts and information on what happened and how it happened in Chicago.

The attorney will please be seated and abide by the Rules of the House of Representatives and the ruling of the Chair.



I want to point out again that the repeated violation of these rulings must not be construed as acquiescence by the Chair.

Let's resume the questioning.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I make one statement, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is denied the privilege of making a statement at this time. Perform your function.

Mr. GUTMAN. That is what I am attempting to do, Mr. Chairman, under very difficult circumstances. The right to counsel and the living up by an attorney to his oath vigorously to defend—

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure the counsel he can confer with his client any time.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, we are making a record here, and on this record it is incumbent upon each of us as an attorney to make sure that every position, every objection, every violation of right which we see taking place be recorded. We are making a record. These matters will be, and are now, under the jurisdiction of the United States Federal court. It is essential that all that goes on here be recorded. This is a record—

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the attorney to please be seated.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, I have a point of order that I think should be in the record of these proceedings.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman now arising from the audience is Mr. Kunstler. The gentleman is not recognized. I have read repeatedly the Rules of the House of Representatives. Since this is another session, I suppose the Chair should do it again, read the rules—

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, do we have to go through that—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. KUNSTLER. We will waive the reading.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order. I will ask the gentleman to please be seated.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I want my client to make a statement. I think it is important for the continuance of this hearing.

Mr. ICHORD. The request is denied.

Mr. RUBIN. Last night the—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Rubin, will you please retire from the room?

Mr. RUBIN. They telephoned me and told me they were going to get me.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will please retire from the room. If the gentleman continues to do this, if the gentleman does this one more time, I have no other alternative except to ask you to please retire from the room. If you do not, the Chair will be compelled to have you removed from the room.

I warn Mr. Rubin that I will not tolerate another interruption of these committee hearings. The police are so instructed. I don't want to do this. As I have stated repeatedly, this committee is not here for the purpose of punishing anyone or trying anyone. But we cannot continue to have these hearings interrupted. You leave me no other alternative. The Chair is not conducting a circus here, and I will have to maintain order. That warning has been given you, Mr. Rubin. I shall appeal to your sense of decorum, your sense of propriety, to abide by that ruling.

Proceed with the questioning, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young—

Mr. WULF. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order.

I shall read again the rules under which these hearings are being conducted.

Rule No. VII of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

A—At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B—The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the Committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

Rule No. VIII, "CONDUCT OF COUNSEL"—

Counsel, the Chair will state at this time, have not abided by this rule, even though the Chair has read the rule several times, and I again read it today, since it is a new hearing:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the Committee or Subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removal of counsel from the hearing room, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

In a ruling by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the rules of the committee were confirmed. The Speaker held that the Rules of the House of Representatives in legislative hearings provide only for the counsel to advise his witness as to his legal rights.

With that warning again, the patience of the Chair, gentlemen of the bar, is being sorely tried. Rightly or wrongly, I believe you are trying to goad the Chair into precipitous action. There is certain information and facts which this committee wants. I shall demand order. I shall enforce order in an effort to obtain those facts.

Mr. Counsel, resume your questioning of the witness.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young—

Dr. YOUNG. Excuse me, Counsel. Mr. Ichord—

Mr. ICHORD. The record will show that the witness is still under oath.

Dr. YOUNG. Good morning, Mr. Ichord. Did you have a good trip?

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman is out of order at this time.

Dr. YOUNG. I would like to, at this point, on reconsideration of one of the questions that Mr. Watson put to me—I feel my answer was incomplete and, with your permission, I would like to give a full answer.

Mr. ICHORD. What was the question given to the witness?

Dr. YOUNG. We spent several questions over affiliation with the American Medical Association and its subsidiaries.

Mr. ICHORD. As long as you do not indulge in haranguing and come to the point, if you want to explain your answer, that will be all right.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, at any time have I indulged in haranguing?

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with your answer.

Dr. YOUNG. I would appreciate it if the Chair would not—

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman has been a very courteous witness in comparison with the preceding witness, I will say.

Mr. GUTMAN. And in the abstract and objectively.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Watson was deeply concerned with the affiliation of the Medical Committee and myself with the American Medical

Association. I am, of course, not necessarily, of course—I am a member of the American Medical Association and its affiliates in the State of Illinois. I have been president of the branch of the Chicago Medical Society and have been a counselor in the Chicago Medical Society. Indeed, I am a counselor today. I have been a delegate to the State convention for the past several years. I am proud to represent the doctors in my community. However, there is another relationship that would be of interest to Mr. Watson and the committee which I would like to identify now.

I am a national adviser to the Student American Medical Association. I am sure the Chair will be kind enough to let me indicate the closeness of that bond by reading a very brief statement from that group.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. The Student American Medical Association is, of course, a group of some 60,000 medical students and doctors, house officers, which is an expression of the American Medical Association in that area. The statement very briefly is from C. Clement Lucas, president of the Student American Medical Association, and the statement was issued just a few days ago. I am very proud of it:

The United States is involved in a severe crisis as relates to the effective delivery and distribution of the highly developed health technology and medical skills which we possess to all sectors of our society. This problem has been clearly documented by citizens, legislators, physicians and students of all health professions as well as by the health professions organizations in the recent Presidential Commission on Health Manpower.

As the full extent of this problem and the needs of our society have been realized, students, practitioners and organizations of all the health professions have joined together in concert in trying to find the answers that are so necessary and the answers that are not crisis-oriented, but related to long-term programs to correct this deficiency.

The Student American Medical Association has assumed a major role in trying to be a part of this large and necessary effort. To do so requires the active support and advice from many areas of our society as is represented by the National Board of Advisers of the Student American Medical Association. Dr. Quentin David Young, National Adviser to the Student Medical Association, has worked diligently and demonstrated the very highest ethical standard and with a genuine concern to the relevant and basic issues and suggesting possible answers, solutions and modes of actions in meeting these problems.

Not only has he advised the Student American Medical Association in the areas of medical education and community health, but he has been an effective force in bringing together diverse student viewpoints into SAMA to form a strong, united, logical and active approach to the problems of which we are all well aware

He has been a moving force and has made a significant contribution not only to the progress of medicine, but to the general welfare of all mankind within our society.

I am proud of that statement.

Mr. ICHORD. I am sure you should be, sir.

Let me explain to you at this time. Perhaps you do not understand the nature of these proceedings.

Dr. YOUNG. I am well aware of the nature.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair hasn't called you here, and the committee has not called you here, to ridicule you. We haven't called you here to subject you to any punishment. But the committee has been advised that you do have access to certain facts and information which would be of great interest to the committee and are relevant to these hearings.

Let me point out the relevancy of the question, for example, again, as to whether you had been a member of the Communist Party. It has been charged that Communists in this country have inspired, have planned, and played a part in the instigation of the riots in Chicago. It has been charged that certain organizations in the United States have connections with foreign Communist powers.

I am not getting into an argument about the merits or the demerits of the war in South Vietnam. But we can take cognizance of the fact that American boys are engaged in a war with the Communist nation of North Vietnam. I believe over 30,000 of them have been killed up to this time.

You were asked yesterday about a check. We are concerned about the financing of certain organizations. You were asked about a check written by you—

Dr. YOUNG. Sir—

Mr. ICHORD. I am explaining the relevancy to you. I permitted you to reply. The witness will be in order. Perhaps we need to understand one another.

You gave a check to Sudler & Company in the amount of \$1,000. You said that was a loan to Mr. Rennie Davis. Mr. Rennie Davis was a coordinator of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. He has traveled to Hanoi. You explained this as a loan. You said that it was returned in the form of cash, you thought, but you weren't clear; you weren't exactly clear as to how it was returned.

We are not trying to get into the doctor-patient relationship at all, but it does look strange to the committee that a resident of the State of New York whom you had only known at this time for a year, you stated, you had only known for 6 months, that you loaned him \$1,000, and that is returned and you don't know how it was returned.

We are interested in the financing of these organizations. All of these questions, I think, will be relevant. That has been brought out. The Chair doesn't want to ridicule you. The Chair is not going to punish you. We are interested in the facts about what happened in Chicago. I think you can help us and I hope you will freely answer the questions.

Dr. YOUNG. Right, Sir. I am, of course, deeply interested in the facts. As the Chair knows, I responded to every question that was put to me. Your reopening the matter of my response to the questions of my associations and freedom of speech and all the rest of it, I have answered. I have stated, and I restate, in no way would an answer to that question embarrass me. But I also state, sir, that I am so attached to the first amendment that I could not, no matter what the penalty before this tribunal, give away the rights of Americans in that area.

Now, let me proceed.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead. I think we might understand one another and perhaps get the information that we need and that we might not if we don't understand one another. Go ahead.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Sir, the Chair has said that it is not ridiculing me, but then links the fact that American boys are dying in Vietnam, about which I feel as strongly as the Chair, with the fact that I lent a young man \$1,000 for 48 hours and swore here that it was returned. I feel that is an innuendo.

Mr. ICHORD. But a young man who had traveled to Hanoi during a time that the war was going on.

Dr. YOUNG. What does the Chair mean by that? In every loan that you gave somebody, if you ever lent money, do you get a complete dossier on the traveling? Is it really relevant, sir?

I feel my right to support these young people and I must admit that I am deeply concerned with the new energies that young people across this country have. They are our only hope. I remind the Chair of the silent generation of the fifties. The Chair, forgive me, is old enough to remember that, those dark days.

I think of those days and I am enthusiastic about young people of all political hue who are expressing themselves. I exult in it. Because I am a physician and make a bit more than the rest, I am happy on occasion to lend them money and on occasion to donate money. I will not answer here to whom I give money. If I break the laws of the land, it is up to that section of the Government—

Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young, you say you have refused to answer the question whether you were a member of the Communist Party on the first amendment. The Chair has ruled that that was not a sufficient invocation of a constitutional right not to answer under the possibility of contempt proceedings.

I don't want to institute any contempt proceedings. At this time I think I would be inclined to vote against any contempt proceedings of the witness in the chair.

Dr. YOUNG. I think that would be very fair.

Mr. ICHORD. I do warn you, however, prima facie that is not a sufficient invocation.

May I ask you this: Would you perjure yourself if you said "no" in regard to the question about being a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. YOUNG. You embarrass me, sir. How could you possibly—

Mr. ICHORD. I don't see any perjury on that.

Dr. YOUNG. I am a physician and I am not aware of lawyers' techniques, but I see through that one. I have given you an answer to that question.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me tell you, Dr. Young, that the courts have decided time and time again that the rights under the first amendment do not give you the right not to answer such a question.

Dr. YOUNG. You have reminded me of that a dozen times, sir, and I have responded each time.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record stand. I thought maybe we could understand one another. Perhaps we are too far apart.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Dr. YOUNG. One last point. We are separated only by the first amendment.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure you of this: that the fact that a person may take the fifth amendment would not necessarily mean, in my view, that he is or is not a Communist.

Dr. YOUNG. I share your view that the fifth amendment is a right that every citizen has and should use. There is no presumption of guilt in its utilization.

Mr. ICHORD. I agree with you.

Dr. YOUNG. But I want to remind the Chair that at no point did I invoke the fifth amendment, the privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. ICHORD. You have invoked the first amendment.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct. I hope, sir, when we proceed to questioning, that we will very soon get to the chronology of events that happened in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. There are still some pertinent questions which should be directed to the witness.

Dr. YOUNG. I am sure there are. But can I plead that we do get to these things? The committee and the American people will once again be enlightened about what happened in Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. You testified yesterday that you had no affiliation, association, or tie with the National Mobilization Committee other than the technical or formal relationship involving the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

I have here a copy of a letter—is that correct?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Is that verbatim from the record?

Mr. SMITH. Verbatim from the record? "Were you associated"——

Mr. GUTMAN. Where are you reading from, sir?

Mr. SMITH. Page 273 of the record:

[Q.] Were you associated with it? Did you participate with it?

[A.] Are you referring relative to medical presence of our committee \* \* \*——

\* \* \* \* \*

[Q.] As an individual, were you affiliated with it, did you participate with it, in any of its activities?

Mr. GUTMAN. You are reading the questions, Mr. Smith, not the answers. You are skipping the answers.

Mr. SMITH. "You are giving me different verbs"——

Mr. GUTMAN. Now you are quoting the witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, will you please remain silent for a while and abide by the rules?

Mr. GUTMAN. If Mr. Smith will abide by the rules of fairness, I will, too.

Mr. ICHORD. Let's permit the question to be put. If the counsel can put the question, that is. If your client does not want to answer, advise him of his rights.

Mr. GUTMAN. Indeed, if Mr. Smith can put a question, I would like to hear it.

Mr. SMITH [reads].

Mr. SMITH. As an individual, were you affiliated with it, did you participate with it, in any of its activities?

Dr. YOUNG. You are giving me different verbs. The relationship of our committee and, to that extent, myself has been the relationship of the Medical Committee exclusively. In that sense, I am not affiliated with the National Mobilization.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, I so testified.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Dr. Young, I have here a copy of a letter which has been supplied to the committee by a reliable confidential source, and we know that it came from the office of the National Mobilization Committee in Chicago. The heading of the letter indicates that it emanated from Room

315, 407 South Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, under date of March 7, 1968. It is addressed to "Dear Friend." I should like to read a few paragraphs of this letter.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the witness examine the letter.

Mr. COUSINS. I would like to have the whole letter read, perhaps, if it is going to be read.

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to object to the use of this on several grounds.

First of all, there is no explanation whether the fourth amendment of the Constitution was violated or not.

Second of all, it is obviously incomplete. It consists of page 1 and page 5 of a letter which obviously contained at least six pages. So it isn't complete.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair again admonishes the attorney.

Mr. GUTMAN. It is not a document, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Examine the document and let's proceed.

Mr. GUTMAN. It is an incomplete piece of paper that is barely legible. Half of the second page cannot conceivably be read.

Mr. ICHORD. The attorney is out of order.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Smith is out of order.

Mr. ICHORD. Let's go on with the questioning.

Mr. GUTMAN. There is some typing that has been added to this after the copy was made. I demand that it be submitted to an expert document examiner and that it be now marked for identification so it cannot be substituted. It is an altered document, Mr. Chairman. I haven't read it yet, but it is obviously a forgery. Look at it. It contains duplication and typing both.

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order.

Mr. GUTMAN. Indeed, let there be order.

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel, please come forward.

Mr. GUTMAN. Is that me?

Mr. ICHORD. No. The committee counsel.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, an emergency situation has just arisen. I represent to the Chair that it is an emergency.

Mr. ICHORD. An emergency?

Mr. GUTMAN. Yes. Mr. Abbie Hoffman, who was arrested yesterday, has been ordered released to this committee by an order of Judge Charles Halleck. He has been turned over pursuant to that order to the United States marshals who have him here in Longworth Building in a cell. The order of the judge is that he be brought to this committee room.

The United States marshal is specifically disobeying that order, and they say they were directed to do so by this committee. Counsel for Mr. Hoffman is here.

Mr. ICHORD. The attorney is obviously propagandizing and is out of order.

Let there be order.

Let me advise that the Chair has no knowledge of the whereabouts of Mr. Hoffman.

Mr. GUTMAN. I am not accusing the Chair, Mr. Ichord. I wouldn't suggest that you would deprive a person of his liberty without due process of law.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair is not responsible for Mr. Hoffman's conduct.

Mr. GUTMAN. The U.S. marshals say he is.

Mr. ICHORD. The marshals will be directed here and now. Mr. Hoffman's presence is not required in this room. I am not responsible for his conduct. They can return him to the cell as far as the Chair is concerned. Please stop interrupting these hearings and please be seated.

Mr. LEFCOURT. I am the attorney for Mr. Hoffman. I just left him in the Guardroom of the Longworth Building. The U.S. marshals inform me that he is being held there—

Mr. ICHORD. If you want Mr. Hoffman returned to his cell where he has been arrested on certain charges about which the Chair is not informed, as far as the Chair is concerned, he can be returned to the cell.

Mr. GUTMAN. Or here?

Mr. LEFCOURT. He has been released from that jail by order of Judge Halleck.

Mr. WATSON. I thought we were questioning Dr. Young. I didn't know this other individual was testifying. If counsel has any argument, I should think it would be with Judge Halleck.

Mr. GUTMAN. Judge Halleck has already ruled.

Mr. WATSON. I don't want any discussion with anyone. I am appealing to the Chair that we proceed in orderly fashion. And if and when Mr. Hoffman is called, we will deal with that at the time. Meanwhile, counsel can take up any arguments with Judge Halleck.

If counsel insists, I should think we should invoke the rules of this House so far as moving along in an orderly fashion.

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel leaves the Chair no other alternative. The Chair is not responsible for Mr. Hoffman. His presence is not required in this room. Whatever Judge Halleck or the proper authorities dispose—

Mr. GUTMAN. May I suggest a solution to the impasse? The marshals say that they recognize that Judge Halleck has directed that he be brought here—released. He is released.

Mr. ICHORD. He has been released? As far as the Chair is concerned—

Mr. GUTMAN. Tell the marshals that you don't want him locked up. They say you do.

Mr. ICHORD. As far as the Chair is concerned, he can come to the hearing room, as long as he behaves himself. We must continue with the hearings. Obviously, this is an attempt to interrupt.

Mr. LEFCOURT. It is not such an attempt. My client is being held illegally. The court has released him. It is a work-release order, which means he is released as of 7 a.m. this morning.

Mr. ICHORD. I leave it up to Judge Halleck. As far as I am concerned, if he comes into this room and wants to behave himself, it will be permitted.

Mr. LEFCOURT. Can the Chair direct the marshals to release him?

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel is out of order. I direct the gentleman to be seated. If not, I ask that he be escorted from the room.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Chairman, I represent Mr. Hoffman as well. Order the marshal to bring Mr. Hoffman into the room. You have the power to do it.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Hoffman, as far as the Chair is concerned, is a free man.



Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Marshal, will you bring him here?

Mr. ICHORD. This is obviously an attempt to disrupt the hearing.

Mr. GUTMAN. It is not, sir.

Mr. KUNSTLER. I am his lawyer. He is released. Bring him to the room. He is released by the court.

Mr. ICHORD. Let him come into the room.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Mr. Marshal, will you please do so?

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Ichord, as you know, I am the chief deputy marshal for the District of Columbia. These gentlemen are in error. Judge Halleck, late yesterday evening, issued an order to produce the man before the committee when he was needed. The order covered yesterday and today.

Later in the day, apparently Judge Halleck had some second thoughts. He issued a work-release order. As Mr. Lefcourt knows, who is the counsel for Mr. Hoffman, Judge Halleck failed to put a date on the work-release order, only a time. The jail will not honor a work-release order without a date.

Mr. Lefcourt was informed of that, and the order has been sent back to Judge Halleck. When Judge Halleck corrects it, then we can act on it. Until that time we cannot.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will leave that to Judge Halleck. If Judge Halleck releases Mr. Hoffman and he behaves himself, he will be permitted to come into this room. I am not trying to interfere with Judge Halleck's order at all. I leave that to Judge Halleck and the marshals.

FROM THE FLOOR. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. I direct the gentleman to be seated or I shall have to ask him to leave the room.

FROM THE FLOOR. I will leave the room, Mr. Chairman, because I understand Mr. Lefcourt has been barred from the hearing room by the police.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you please retire from the room, sir?

FROM THE FLOOR. I certainly will, sir.

Mr. KUNSTLER. We are all going to leave the room until Mr. Lefcourt is back here. You can't do this to counsel like last time.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that counsel are now leaving the room.

Mr. KUNSTLER. Until you order Mr. Lefcourt back—

FROM THE FLOOR. Will the record show that some of the victims are leaving the room also?

Mr. ICHORD. I only ordered him to be orderly. He refused to be orderly.

Mr. GUTMAN. Let him in, Mr. Chairman. We will not get anywhere.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that certain counsel and witnesses are leaving the room.

Let there be order in the hearing room. Perhaps now we will have some order.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, if counsel proposes to read from the document, we would like to see it.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair directs the attorney to please abide by the rules.

Dr. YOUNG. One quick comment. My counsel did want to leave with the other counsel. I pled with them to stay, and they graciously acceded.

Mr. ICHORD. Very good, sir.

Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, I would like to establish the fact that this is a two-page letter. It is true that some of the mimeographed material on the preceding document was smudged on the second page, but it is not a five-page document as indicated by the counsel.

Mr. COUSINS. Can we inspect the document, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. Hand the attorney the document.

(Document handed to counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Sir?

Mr. ICHORD. State your question.

Dr. YOUNG. You asked me to inspect this, and I have done so. I think the Congressmen have also done so. Although I have already pled I am not a lawyer, I will now plead I am not an expert in forgery. This is a remarkable document with superimposition, and I cannot believe the Congressmen would expect anybody to accept this—

Mr. ICHORD. Your answer is that you have not participated in Mobilization To End the War in Vietnam activities; is that correct?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct, sir. I can't believe that any reasonable person would look at this and say that it could be useful.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with your next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. GUTMAN. Has it been marked for identification, Mr. Ichord?

Mr. ICHORD. The document has not been marked.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I request that it be marked for identification?

Mr. ICHORD. The document will be marked for identification.

Dr. YOUNG. In particular, sir, I would like to note for the record the superimposition of several different documents.

Mr. ICHORD. Let it also be noted for the record that the document does have a list of sponsors.

Mr. GUTMAN. Typed on it after mimeographing.

Mr. ICHORD. It is a mimeographed reproduction. The name of Dr. Quentin Young does appear as one of the conference sponsors.

At the request of counsel for the witness, it is included in the record for what it means. This is at request of the counsel.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. GUTMAN. For identification.

Dr. YOUNG. The Chair also takes note—

Mr. ICHORD. Gentlemen, we must have order. You have repeatedly violated the instructions of the Chair. I am trying to get some information from this witness. You have violated the Rules of the House of Representatives. I again warn you of the rules of the House and the rules of the committee.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Dr. Young, you have challenged this document, but you have not in any way said that you know nothing about it or you know—

Mr. GUTMAN. He wasn't asked.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I am asking him now, Mr. Counsel.

Do you in fact know that such a document, which we have just shown you, is in existence, was produced, and was produced with your knowledge?

Dr. YOUNG. I want to be as responsive as I can, and it is in complete honesty that I say that I cannot look at what was given me and say I am aware of it.

<sup>1</sup> See Davis Exhibit No. 5, pt. 2, pp. 2686 and 2687 of Dec. 3, 1968, hearings.

I see a list of names. My name is there, and someone has generously underlined it. But I put it to Mr. Ashbrook, who presumably is a lawyer, that I could not be asked about that.

Mr. ASHBROOK. We certainly can ask you whether or not you have been a conference sponsor, whether you ever served in the group.

Dr. YOUNG. That is more like it, but don't hand me junk like that.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think the gentleman knows that in investigating work original, perfect copies do not always come into our hands.

Dr. YOUNG. That fell far short of the mark.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It was produced in the office we referred to and it was produced by the committee we are now studying, so it certainly is pertinent. You might challenge the way it looks. I certainly would say it is not a perfect copy. But let's get to the merits of it and indicate whether or not you were a conference sponsor, whether you have served with the group that had a temporary administrative committee including Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Bob Greenblatt, and Sue Munaker.

Does that strike a responsive chord?

Dr. YOUNG. Would you repeat the first question you gave me?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Are you aware of being a conference sponsor of a group which includes—you have seen the names, down through the alphabetical order, which includes Dr. Quentin Young?

Dr. YOUNG. My answer to that would be this is so obviously an encroachment of my rights of free expression that I would be inclined to invoke that once again. But I have no knowledge of my name being on that list, or being a sponsor of that conference.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You have no knowledge of being associated with this group in any way?

Dr. YOUNG. I have answered that question explicitly yesterday. I think counsel read it back.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Do you mean the first amendment?

Dr. YOUNG. No. He read back the relationship. By the way, what is this group? There is nothing on that that says what group it is. That is the exciting thing about that document.

Mr. GUTMAN. There is no signature on it and it is incomplete.

Dr. YOUNG. What would you say was the group from that?

Mr. ASHBROOK. This comes from the office where you loaned \$1,000 to Rennie Davis. It comes from 407 South Dearborn Avenue, the room that was rented by Mr. Davis.

Dr. YOUNG. I have no knowledge what room was rented.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You have no idea that the money you sent to Sudler & Company was to rent 407 South Dearborn?

Dr. YOUNG. I have no knowledge of what room was rented.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Until we now are telling you, you had no idea that the group working for the Chicago effort on the Democratic Convention emanated from 407 South Dearborn?

Dr. YOUNG. I didn't say that. I said I had no knowledge what room was rented for the money.

Mr. ASHBROOK. But you do know the office?

Dr. YOUNG. Of course I know. That is the office of the National Mobilization.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Now we are getting somewhere.

Dr. YOUNG. Was that hard? I have answered every question you have put to me.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You are now saying that this document, which has the list of conference sponsors, including yourself, was issued without your permission? You know nothing about it?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't recollect it. I don't know what the group is. There is no letterhead name on it, or what-have-you. I have answered that question. I have no knowledge of my name being on that list.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I read these two paragraphs and see if they strike a responsive chord?

Dr. YOUNG. I read that when inspecting it, and my answer stands.

Mr. ICHORD. Let's have some order. Read the paragraphs.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It says:

We have made arrangements for a meeting on March 22-24 in Chicago.

This conference will climax several weeks of discussion initiated by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. After two meetings among various anti-war, student and black power leaders, and after consultation with many other individuals, plans to call a March 22-24 conference were made. A temporary administrative committee, whose members are listed below, was established to organize the gathering.

The two major purposes of the March conference are, first, to consider and adopt general proposals for an election year strategy, including possible actions in Chicago at the time of the Democratic National Convention and, second, to set up the administrative machinery which can cooperate with other organizations in carrying out the program.

It goes on to say:

We have opened an office at Room 315, 407 South Dearborn, Chicago, telephone 939-2666.

As I stated, it says:

A temporary administrative committee, whose members are listed below, was established \* \* \*.

You say there is no name on the letterhead. It indicates it is a temporary administrative committee. At that point it probably did not have a name. But it does, rightly or wrongly, list your name along with the temporary committee of Rennie Davis, Bob Greenblatt, and others.

Dr. YOUNG. But you are making clear, are you not, that they don't suggest I am part of the administrative committee even in this document?

Mr. ASHBROOK. It lists you as a conference sponsor.

Dr. YOUNG. That is right, a long list of conference sponsors.

Mr. ASHBROOK. And you have testified that, to the best of your knowledge, you know nothing about being a conference sponsor?

Dr. YOUNG. That is right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Were you, then, a conference sponsor? Your name appears there incorrectly, is that what you are saying?

Dr. YOUNG. It appears without my knowledge.

Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young, were you a conference sponsor?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, to the best of my knowledge, I was not.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson, have you any questions?

Mr. WATSON. Doctor, you say to the best of your knowledge you were not.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, I said that.

Mr. WATSON. Of course, you would know whether you were or not; wouldn't you?

Dr. YOUNG. I would believe I would, but I don't quite get the thrust of that question.

Mr. WATSON. It is very simple. You would know whether or not you were one of the conference sponsors. That is not a difficult question. Were you, or were you not? We are playing with words, Doctor. You can answer very simply.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, do you find an answer, "To the best of my knowledge, I was not," an unresponsive answer?

Mr. WATSON. That is your position?

Dr. YOUNG. That is my position.

Mr. WATSON. You were not.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. You were not. And whoever put this on this paper did it without your authority or knowledge?

Dr. YOUNG. Obviously, if that is the case.

Mr. WATSON. And, further, Doctor, that you knew nothing about this initial planning of a meeting for the National Mobilization Committee?

Dr. YOUNG. What is obvious about that?

Mr. WATSON. Perhaps it isn't so obvious. I was trying to follow through from your original position that you were not a sponsor and you knew nothing about this. Perhaps you would like to qualify your position and you know something about it.

Dr. YOUNG. My answer is that I didn't say that I know nothing about it and I am not asserting I know nothing about it.

Mr. WATSON. We do know something about it?

Dr. YOUNG. We do know something about it?

Mr. WATSON. You do know something about it?

Dr. YOUNG. I know something about it.

Mr. WATSON. Were you aware of the plans and did you attend any meeting in Chicago in reference to this matter?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Dr. YOUNG. Here is a fully responsive answer, Mr. Watson, if I may hold your attention and the rest of the committee.

Sir? I am testifying.

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order. Proceed.

We might be getting somewhere here.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, indeed. This, I believe, although it is impossible to tell with confidence from this complex reproduction which we have already commented upon, refers to a meeting that was held in the Chicago area—I don't know the date, but it is probably recorded there—and widely publicized in the press and hailed as some kind of a secret meeting in that area. I had no part in the planning of that meeting; repeat, no part in the planning of that meeting.

Mr. WATSON. You had no part in the planning of the meeting.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct. I attended that meeting for 2 hours, as I recall. It is a long distance from my home up there in the northwest suburbs. The meeting was, to the best of my knowledge, not even in session.

I want to make it very clear to this committee, so they will spare themselves the effort, under no circumstances will I tell you who was there. It was well publicized in the Chicago newspapers. My rights of

association and my sense of honor prevent me from letting this committee hold up to defamation other people by making these kinds of innuendoes at this time. I testified fully to my participation.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the question be placed, Mr. Witness.

Mr. WATSON. Doctor, then, the presence of anyone, according to your interpretation, would tend to defame them?

Dr. YOUNG. My interpretation is that this committee is intent on defaming people, has done so for years—I am answering the question. May I complete my answer?

Mr. ICHORD. It is out of order. It is not in response to the question.

Dr. YOUNG. He asked if I felt this would tend to defame a person. I am answering him.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. WATSON. You said you would not reveal the names, and I have not asked you to reveal any names. But you said you would not because it would defame them, as I recall. If you would like to correct that—

Dr. YOUNG. No: if we could have read back what you said, did I feel this would tend to defame them—

Mr. WATSON. Earlier you said you would not reveal the names because it would defame them.

Dr. YOUNG. No. I meant to say, and I feel I said, and I am now stating that this committee defames people, has done so for 30 years.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is out of order. I direct the witness to cease at this time.

State your next question.

Mr. ASHBROOK. One point on that. We have gotten interesting information. At least I am honest in thinking you profess no knowledge at all about the meeting and now I find you were at the meeting.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I didn't say I had no knowledge of the meeting. When asked, I said I had knowledge of the meeting. I said I had no knowledge of the planning of the meeting. I said I was not aware of my name being listed as a sponsor. I respond to all that, and you propound a question that is insulting. This is a good example of what I mean by defamation.

Do you get the feel about it?

Mr. ASHBROOK. No, I don't.

Dr. YOUNG. Think about it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Let's go back to the question I wish to propound and see if this puts it in proper light.

You admit you indicated at first that this document had to be scurrilous, or your counsel did.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Amazingly enough, it appears to be accurate in that this meeting was held and that it was, on the best of our information, something that emanated from that meeting. Now it appears that while you were not one of the organizers, by the statement, you did appear at the meeting. You end up as a conference sponsor which, under my questioning, you said you were not.

Dr. YOUNG. I denied it and I deny it again, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. When, between March 7 and this time, did you find that you were a conference sponsor? Is this the first you have known about that?

Dr. YOUNG. I have learned that today, here, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You did not know up until this time you were listed as a conference sponsor?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is all I wanted to know. That is a responsive answer.

Mr. ICHORD. Let's get this matter clear. This check is made out to Sudler & Company. Is that the company which owns the office?

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Davis, as I testified, asked the check to be made out to the realtor. That is, to the best of my knowledge, the realtor. Has the committee not checked that?

Mr. ICHORD. Did you know that the loan of the money to Mr. Davis was going to Sudler & Company for the rent of the office?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, what was the question again?

Mr. ICHORD. Did you know that the loan of the money to Mr. Davis was going to the company for the rent of the office?

Dr. YOUNG. Well, I knew it was going to the company because that is the name I wrote on the check, but is the purport of your question, did I know it was going for rent?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes.

Dr. YOUNG. The answer is yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, wasn't your attendance at the conference we have been talking about by invitation only, and did they not bar the Socialist Workers Party representatives at that meeting?

Dr. YOUNG. I was not invited to come. I was made aware of the meeting, and my general interest in these things brought me there.

As I say, I had a chance to spend 2 hours meeting people whose names I will not reveal, no matter how hard this committee tries to get me to do it, people of all political hue. I don't know anything about the Socialist Workers Party. I don't know anything about it being barred.

Mr. ICHORD. Your answer is not responsive to the question. The Chair has been very lenient because I do think we are getting somewhere.

Dr. YOUNG. Wherein wasn't it responsive? Would you instruct me?

Mr. ICHORD. When you started talking about this committee trying to—

Dr. YOUNG. I answered about the Socialist Workers Party. I answered whether I was invited. My answer was imbedded with responsiveness.

Mr. ICHORD. The record will stand as made.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I ask one question on that?

Dr. YOUNG. Please.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It is our information, rightly or wrongly, that it was by invitation only. You said you were not invited, but you heard about it and for your own reasons went. Would you give us information as to how you heard about it?

Dr. YOUNG. Certainly. It was in the press, and people I knew were going and indicated it would be an interesting meeting.

Mr. ASHBROOK. People you knew—

Dr. YOUNG. Sir? The record will show I am very interested in meetings. I spend all too much of my time in meetings, although I do

have a considerable time spent in the practice of medicine. This is one of hundreds of meetings I go to. I find it remarkable that the committee wants to talk about this meeting and not the meetings where we planned medical care for the people who were brutalized in Chicago.

Are we going to get to that?

Mr. ICHORD. That is not responsive, Doctor.

Dr. YOUNG. Some of the times I answer, I indicate I don't remember all the details. I want it clarified that going to meetings is something I do a lot of.

Mr. ICHORD. At least I can say we are getting some testimony and some information.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, you have already commented, and I would like you to reiterate, I have been responsive to everything. Is that correct?

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is correct.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ashbrook said it is correct.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, it is the committee's information that the National Mobilization Committee operates its Chicago office in a very businesslike manner. It maintains a card file of members, contacts, sympathizers, and so forth.

It is also the committee's information, and this comes from a reliable confidential informant, that there was a card in that file bearing the following information which had been typed on it—

Mr. GUTMAN. I would ask that Mr. Smith be sworn if he is going to testify.

Mr. COUSINS. I would like to see the card if there will be any reading from it.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the attorneys inspect the document.

Mr. SMITH. This is not a document.

Mr. COUSINS. Could we inspect what he is going to read from?

Mr. GUTMAN. With what passed for a document before, that will be all right.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will examine it.

Rephrase your question, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Information has been furnished to the committee by a confidential source that the cards in the office of the National Mobilization Committee contained the name of Dr. Quentin Young, M.D., with his home address, telephone numbers, and contained notes as follows—

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, we want to inspect what he is going to read from.

Mr. GUTMAN. We are getting unsworn testimony in violation of the fourth amendment, I presume.

Dr. YOUNG. If you will hear me—sir, will you hear me?

Mr. ICHORD. I am trying to get the question put and then I will rule. You are not permitting the question to be put.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ichord, you have been extremely fair. Listen carefully.

Mr. ICHORD. I am trying to be.

Dr. YOUNG. If I am going to be defamed by this ridiculous stuff, it is on your head. Sir, it is on your head. Read it and make sure that if that can't be cross-examined, I will not be defamed.

Do you want that stated? Do you want to defame me?



Mr. GUTMAN. Why don't you read it before you let him make it public?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't know what it says, but I fear the Chair is too anxious to have that read.

Mr. ICHORD. Rephrase your question, Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Are you aware that your name was in the files of the National Mobilization Committee to receive invitations, to receive mail, to receive funding requests, and that you were a primary contact, noted as a primary contact of MCHR?

Dr. YOUNG. No.

Mr. SMITH. Did you ever make a contribution to the National Mobilization Committee in the sum of \$125 by check?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I can't recall that, but I would not deny that I made that. I have made many contributions—

Mr. ICHORD. The answer is yes or no, Doctor.

Dr. YOUNG. Why is it yes or no? I am not denying.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you mean you don't know whether you did or did not make a contribution?

Mr. GUTMAN. That is not his answer.

Mr. ASHBROOK. He started to say he contributed something.

Dr. YOUNG. That is right. Listen to me. Listen carefully. Don't interrupt me because my answer is responsive.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. I give money, to the best of my ability, to many causes of a variety of political persuasions. I find this a shameful invasion of my right to donate money.

I don't know, sir, whether I gave that money. I don't deny I gave it.

Mr. ICHORD. In other words, you may or may not?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You know you gave some?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't even know that. That sounds remarkable, doesn't it?

Mr. ASHBROOK. No, I don't think it sounds remarkable.

Dr. YOUNG. All right.

Mr. ICHORD. We can well understand.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, on September 10—

Mr. GUTMAN. We are ready, Mr. Smith.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, will you please abide by the rules? I have instructed you time and time again. You have the right to advise your client of his rights. I think we are getting somewhere if the counsel will properly phrase his questions.

Mr. GUTMAN. I agree, if he will do so.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, on September 10, after Mayor Daley had made his report on the demonstrations, which stated that 60 persons had been injured as reported in the *New York Times* on September 11, 1968, you held a press conference in the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union in Chicago, in which you branded Mayor Daley's report as "incredibly inaccurate."

Is that true?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, the question has so much information in it. It is generally true. Let me correct one part of it, the statement that the

mayor's report asserted there were 60 casualties. The mayor's report explicitly said, and when confronted with our figures spokesmen for the mayor, indeed, on a local television show, apologized in the sense that he said the report was, this was a partial count.

It was 60 casualties, give or take 1,000.

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order.

Dr. YOUNG. The question asked me, did I have the press conference?

The answer is, of course. It is a matter of public record. Press conferences tend to be. I was the spokesman for the Medical Committee, and I have the press release here which I would like to read into the record, if I may.

Mr. ICHORD. That would not be responsive to the question.

The witness is denied that privilege at this time.

Dr. YOUNG. Could I at least have it put into the record as a document?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will not permit the witness to absolutely control the questioning.

Dr. YOUNG. He just asked me about the press conference. I have the full text of it.

Mr. ICHORD. Yes, we would like to have that for the record.

Dr. YOUNG. Will it appear in the record?

Mr. ICHORD. It will appear in the record. It will be considered, at least, by the committee.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't know the difference between those categories.

Mr. ICHORD. I want to look over it. If this is a correct copy—the Chair will examine it—if this is a correct copy of your conference, the Chair will see that it is included in the record. But I do want to examine it.

Dr. YOUNG. You will not mind if I note it is slightly clearer than the thing handed me a few minutes ago.

Mr. ASHBROOK. We note that.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ashbrook noted.

I would like to read this statement. I feel it is of great interest to the committee. I will be responsive—

Mr. ICHORD. The witness is not recognized for the purpose of reading a statement at this time.

Dr. YOUNG. I was asked about this conference.

Mr. ICHORD. I have been very lenient with you, Dr. Young, because I think we are at least getting questions and answers, if the counsel will proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. Will I be given a chance to read it later?

Mr. ICHORD. Not necessarily. The Chair will take that under advisement, if you will hand it to the chairman.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I would like to think that the Chair agrees—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has not called you here, Doctor, for the purpose of making any statement that you wish to make.

Dr. YOUNG. This is not a statement. This is for the record.

Mr. ICHORD. You have been called here for the purpose of answering questions that are relevant to these hearings. I have no way of knowing whether your statement would be relevant to the hearing.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Ichord, if I may be heard for just a moment, sir, the question posed by Mr. Smith to Dr. Young was: Did you hold a

press conference and did you say during the course of the press conference that Mayor Daley was incorrect?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will examine the statement.

Mr. GUTMAN. Dr. Young wishes to expand that answer so that the committee will have the entire facts.

To ask him, in a forum in which we are not permitted to cross-examine, in which we are not permitted to examine our own clients directly, to ask him a yes or no question out of context and forbid him to read the entire facts to this committee, you may decide, sir, that you don't want to pay any attention to it.

I would like the opportunity—

Mr. ICHORD. Since the witness is testifying, I will go ahead and let him read it.

Dr. YOUNG. That is extremely fair: "THE STRATEGY OF CONTUSION"—

Mr. ICHORD. That is the first time that has been said to this committee for a long time.

Mr. GUTMAN. I want to compliment the Chair on the new look.

Mr. ICHORD. Let us have order.

Dr. YOUNG. This is the press statement. I will read it as rapidly as I can, although it contains a wealth of information of great interest to this committee, and I can see enormous legislative purpose, national, local, and state, involved in reacting to this problem: "THE STRATEGY OF CONTUSION. The city's official report, 'The Strategy of Confrontation,'"—and this is dated, sir, Tuesday, September 10, 1968, and was given in a press conference which the American Civil Liberties Union in Chicago was generous enough to let us use their offices for. This report—

"The Strategy of Confrontation," states that sixty civilians and more than two hundred policemen were injured in demonstrations attendant upon the Democratic National Convention. If the Mayor's information in other areas is as incomplete and unreliable as his medical intelligence, the entire report is called into question.

In fact, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which treated most of the injured civilians—and a number of the injured policemen—was not even consulted by any agency of the city. That the authors of the report were willing to express observations based upon incomplete and fragmentary evidence may account for the overall quality of incredibility the report imparted. Our medical care effort, formed cooperatively with the Student Health Organization of Chicago, involved more than 400 physicians, nurses, health science students and health professionals during Convention week. Some served several hours; many worked round the clock with brief naps for several days. This summary of our experience is based both on our records and careful discussion with the scores of health workers at the scene of injuries.

Our estimate is that more than 1,000 civilians required medical care as a result of police action during the demonstrations. Approximately 425 persons were treated at our seven stationary medical facilities or referred to hospitals; 125 were treated in the emergency rooms of only seven hospitals contacted by MCHR; 200-300 persons were treated by our mobile medical teams;

I might explain that groups went out into the demonstration areas, and this estimate has to be considered a very modest estimate. [Continues reading:]

and 400-600 persons were given first aid for tear gas and Mace.

Again, not from this statement, we know that we did not treat all the people by any means; that several times more people than we

treated were treated by other physicians, received no first aid, went to hospitals, and so forth. So it is extremely important the committee understand this is a small portion of those treated. [Continues reading:]

Several conclusions are forced by our observation of the timing, nature and source of the injuries we treated:

1. Most of these patients did not require hospitalization. However, we have ascertained that 95 per cent of the injuries were the result of police action, rather than of the National Guard, other law enforcement agents on the scene or accidental causes.

2. —

Mr. ICHORD. At that point, did you ascertain how many policemen were injured and hospitalized, Doctor?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, I can answer that at this time.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you have that in your statement?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

I think I answered it in regard to questions. We treated seven policemen in the course of that event.

Mr. ICHORD. That was your medical group?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

The tear gas and several abrasions. I would add that the police did have a team of—they had their own medical resource, and the city announced that 193 policemen were injured, listed all the policemen, all their injuries.

We have no inclination or suggest that those figures are wrong. We don't know about them. We treated seven policemen.

Mr. ICHORD. There are other medical services besides the medical services you offered?

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct. But on that day, as my testimony will reveal, we were the ones in the field despite enormous efforts of every agency in the city, both official and in the medical field, to have reasonable first-aid preparations against what was obviously going to be an enormous confrontation.

Perhaps the Chair in asking that question would welcome the knowledge of the planning, of the arrangements that were made in the several weeks before the demonstration.

We have a chronology set up here indicating, and I won't take the liberty to read the eight-page document closely typed, indicating all of the efforts to reach city officials, conferences with the deputy mayor, conferences with board of health officials, conferences with the fire department—you might wonder why in Chicago, but the only public ambulance is the fire department ambulance—conferences with the police department. And in that respect I might say we had cordial conferences with Captain Patrick Needum of the police department, who, upon hearing our intent and recognizing our purpose, said that he would make every effort to afford our committee safe-conduct.

I am pained to report that, although carefully marked and in white jackets with red crosses, it was not the experience overall that our people who were helping those injured were accorded that safe-conduct. Indeed, five members of our teams were beaten. One medical student was beaten very badly at the time they were attending patients.

I might say, sir, that you had an exhibit put in. With all due respect, this is an example of what I mean by defamation. A policeman

from the city of Chicago—this is the only document I could find when allowed to read the transcript that relates my committee to the activities of that week.

He read in two paragraphs, the first two paragraphs of which I am not ashamed. They merely state that the Medical Committee for Human Rights and the Student Health Organization had been asked to provide medical presence by a number of organizations whose members planned to be visiting Chicago from August 26 to 30, 1968, and the second paragraph is in the same vein, describing what was to be done.

Unread was the rest of the document. In particular, unread was this paragraph:

All medical volunteers are requested to maintain a neutral posture relative to any activities at the site. Medical volunteers will wear arm-bands with the red cross on white coats or uniforms at all times that they are on duty at a site of activity. Medical volunteers wishing to participate in the activity at the site are requested to remove their white coats and arm-bands and act as individuals. No volunteer should participate in the activity at a site if he is actively on duty as a member of a medical aid team. Any volunteer who does not feel it is possible to submit to this discipline is asked not to serve on a medical team.

As of this moment, sir, though over—

Mr. ICHORD. I will state, Doctor, this is not relevant to this hearing.

Dr. YOUNG.—over 400 health professionals volunteered. They were heroic. There has not been a single allegation from any source in the city or elsewhere that these people conducted themselves in other than a neutral and impartial posture.

Not one of our people were arrested, although I want to point out that it was easy to get arrested. Innocent bystanders were arrested. Five of our people were indeed beaten. But that is the only conflict they had at that time.

I want to emphasize how proud we are of those wonderful people during that time.

Now to proceed with the press statement.

To continue the press statement, I indicated that 95 percent of the injuries were as a result of police action, although the National Guard, it should be noted, had almost equal responsibility. That is to say, they were in relationship to the demonstrators as much time as the police. But the police somehow were responsible for 95 percent of the injuries. [Continues reading:]

2. On each day of the demonstrations, there was a consistent one-third of the patients who exhibited injuries to the head, face and neck. An additional 20 percent, consistently, suffered injuries to other organs, including the limbs, the groin, the abdomen and the back. All of these injuries are of a potentially serious nature.

3. Beginning with the first night, Sunday, August 25, patients came to us in roughly equal numbers on each day of demonstrations. From Sunday through Tuesday we saw approximately 200 patients at our permanent stations.

I might identify these stations. The two most active ones were in the Church Federation of Greater Chicago offices on 116 South Michigan, and the second most active one was near Lincoln Park in an Episcopal church, St. Chrysostom-Chrysingers Church, 1424 North Dearborn. Both of these agencies cooperated with our humane effort and

have subsequently congratulated us on our service. [Continues reading:]

The police department has stated that the vast majority of injuries sustained by police officers occurred on Wednesday night. This forces us to the conclusion that police over-reaction (brutal and irresponsible attacks on citizens) commenced at the very beginning, several days prior to the alleged provocation with golf balls, excrement and spiders.

In contrast to the Mayor's statement in an interview with Walter Cronkite that the presence of medical personnel on the scene was evidence of violent intent on the part of the demonstrators, the facts are that MCHR carefully explained its history and purpose [sic] to the authorities in advance of Convention week, and attempted to persuade several agencies, including the Board of Health, the police and fire departments and the Mayor's office to establish medical facilities at the proposed sites of demonstrations. We did this with the experience of the April 27 peace march in mind.

To enlighten the committee, that statement would mean something to Chicagoans, not necessarily something to natives of Ohio, Missouri, or North Carolina.

Mr. WATSON. Did your committee participate in the April 27 peace march?

Dr. YOUNG. Some student volunteers participated in that.

Mr. WATSON. Did you yourself?

Dr. YOUNG. No; I did not, sir.

Mr. WATSON. But your committee did?

Dr. YOUNG. I again have to state I am not certain whether we did. It is perfectly possible for us to have done so.

Mr. WATSON. What about the Pentagon demonstrations? Did your committee participate in that?

Dr. YOUNG. Our committee, as Mr. Watson himself elicited from me yesterday, has a tradition of medical service in a variety of demonstrations. This is where we were born, this is what we are proud of.

The committee has been in demonstrations across the country, many of which I do not know. In response to your question, there were Medical Committee personnel at the demonstrations.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you.

Dr. YOUNG. The committee's efforts in this behalf are well known, something we are proud of. It is a matter of public record. It probably is not even necessary to ask me.

The point on the April 27 peace march is simply that there again police excess and overreaction was manifest. In this instance, medical students were beaten blocks away from the demonstrations while they were trying to board the IC train.

In Chicago, again, we have a situation where the police are able to conduct themselves in a perfectly orderly fashion, upholding the rights of citizens, within a week after completely opposite behavior takes place.

On April 27 we had this terrible day for our city. Many people have suggested it was a dress rehearsal for the convention, about which there was so much concern.

The next week a larger march went very peacefully. The police were courteous. It shows that, when policemen are so instructed and so ordered, things go very well.

The problem we feel we saw, and we are reporting to the committee for the legislative purpose, is the importance of responsible

city officials in these things. We have not found it necessary to identify policemen as such; policemen will uphold the law and the rights of citizens when that stress is made. It was not made on April 27.

The very next week it was and it went well. In Chicago, as recently as a week ago, 40,000 people marched and there was not one incident. The slogans were the same. The mood of the crowd was the same. The difference was the confrontation and the posture of brutality was away.

What I am saying to you, sir, and this committee, as Congressmen and as representatives of people from their own districts, defenders of the Constitution, defenders of people's liberty, legislation so that we can have an America where people can talk, where people can march down the street, where we can have this free expression that we all cherish.

Let me continue.

Mr. ICHORD. That is one of the problems, Doctor, if I may interrupt.

We have the problem of determining in this country the fine point where legitimate dissent ends and criminal disobedience begins. That is one of the things that might possibly develop out of these hearings.

Dr. YOUNG. I understand your remark, sir. I hope that your concern will be with the rights of citizens. I presume that is what it is.

Mr. WATSON. All citizens.

Dr. YOUNG. All citizens.

Mr. ICHORD. I assure you we are concerned.

Mr. GUTMAN. The extreme right and the extreme left, as long as they stay within the law. Isn't that so, sir?

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel, let us continue with the witness.

Dr. YOUNG. You have opened up a very important point. I would say the right to health care is something very close to a right. I think it is not too extreme an interpretation of the Constitution to say that the right to be treated, if injured, or to have medical assistance is a cherished right.

Our committee's work is a chronicle of an effort to get responsible authority to act in this vein, and only when we found that there was going to be indifference and no plans were made, even while troops were mustered to the division level and policemen were forced to work 12 hours a day for every day of the week to the point of fatigue, not one single provision was made for medical care except in the Democratic Convention hall itself, where public health personnel for this partisan convention—I don't mean to offend any Democrats here—the facts are that at that convention there were some 30 or 40 public health personnel assigned, while for people in the streets of Chicago, citizens of this Nation and of that city, there was a total resistance to do anything.

Mr. WATSON. May I interrupt you at that point?

Of course, you knew the objectives of these demonstrations: didn't you?

Dr. YOUNG. I did.

Mr. WATSON. You knew one of the objectives was to disrupt the Democratic National Convention? You knew that?

Dr. YOUNG. I did not know any such thing, sir.

Mr. WATSON. You didn't see it in the paper? I assume you read the paper in all of your busy activities. You didn't notice that in the paper?

Dr. YOUNG. I have seen many such charges, but I don't believe everything I read in the papers. I do not believe that was the goal of the demonstration.

I think the Democratic Party—

Mr. WATSON. At the meeting of March 24, the conference that you attended, and so forth, there was no discussion about that at all at that meeting?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I was there for 2 hours. I heard no such discussion in those 2 hours. I have sworn to that. Let me proceed.

Mr. WATSON. You don't know what transpired otherwise?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't understand.

Mr. WATSON. In the conference.

Dr. YOUNG. I read a great deal in the Chicago press. There were columns and columns of it. Insofar as that is a representation of what happened, I know that.

Mr. WATSON. If they intended for this to be peaceful dissent, just a bona fide, constitutional expression of their beliefs, and so forth, I wonder why they made such elaborate medical preparations, even calling in your committee.

Dr. YOUNG. To the best of my knowledge, they made no elaborate medical preparations.

Mr. WATSON. Doctor, yesterday you told me specifically under oath that they contacted you and asked you and your committee to be there. Do you deny that?

Unless they asked you to participate as a demonstrator, obviously they were asking you to participate as medical people, anticipating some injuries.

Dr. YOUNG. May I respond to your question?

Mr. WATSON. Surely.

Dr. YOUNG. The question, as I understood it, is that they made elaborate medical plans. We made plans. I am not aware of any plans they made. However, I want to remind the Congressman that it is unfortunately true that in this country peaceful demonstrators need medical assistance. The Congressman, I am sure, recalls the bridge at Selma, when the Alabama police—

Mr. WATSON. We are discussing Chicago.

Mr. ICHORD. Let us stay on the one point, Doctor.

Dr. YOUNG. He leads me away.

Mr. ICHORD. We are talking about Chicago, not Selma.

Dr. YOUNG. Our committee has an experience and a tradition. It was born out of bitter experiences. It was born out of things we didn't believe would happen in this country and have confessed to the southerners that one time we thought they happened only in the South.

We have learned it is not only in the South.

Mr. WATSON. On the basis of what you have said, could I ask you one question?

Dr. YOUNG. Of course.

Mr. WATSON. I think the record will reflect that you pointed out that the April 27 meeting was basically peaceful?

Dr. YOUNG. No. It was a peaceful march on the part of the demonstrators. There was an enormous amount of police action.

Mr. WATSON. I thought you gave testimony that there wasn't the violent reaction by the police.



Dr. YOUNG. You might not have understood what I said. On April 27 there was a peace march, totally peaceful on the part of the demonstrators, a terrible amount of police brutality. The next week a march was held to protest that brutality, which was totally peaceful. What I am saying is that in Chicago you have a week of brutality followed by a week of peace. We would like to make it every day peaceful in Chicago.

Mr. WATSON. Then on the basis of your experience in April, is this why there was such a buildup of medical preparation for the Democratic Convention, or was it because you felt that there was going to be a confrontation which would require medical attention?

Dr. YOUNG. I think I can answer that.

Certainly the April 27th was on our minds, but what the committee should understand is that there was no buildup. There was an exploration with the responsible agencies for weeks before.

Counsel reminds me it was government agencies, city agencies, as well as the established medical forces in the city. It was only in the days before—I mean literally 3 or 4 days before—it was clear there would be nothing that we built up, sir, as you say, and we start out with a moderate number of volunteers.

It was after that first terrible night when the television and the newspapers showed the brutality and the hurt of people that we were inundated with volunteers, whole house staffs from hospitals coming down on their off hours.

As I repeat, we didn't start with 400; we ended with 400, because to their eternal pride the health professions of Chicago rose to the occasion to help their fellow citizens in a terrible situation.

I hope the committee will study that very carefully.

Mr. WATSON. And your services would not have been needed had there not been the initial provocation?

Dr. YOUNG. Let me put it this way—

Mr. WATSON. I am sure you are concerned with the medical aspects.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. WATSON. You don't have to try to convince me of that. Most of this statement is alleging police brutality, and so forth. I think everyone can easily see your interest in this.

But the thing is, there would have been no necessity for medical treatment of anyone by anyone, your group or the local or other officials, had there not been the provocation which resulted in the confrontation which ultimately ended in violence. That is a fair statement. In other words, you can't have a reaction unless you first have an action.

Dr. YOUNG. Right. I don't think it is a fair statement, Mr. Watson. I would like to explain my answer.

First of all, you have not yet grasped the concept of medical presence, the purpose of which is to add—with the presence of physicians and uniformed people in white coats and red crosses—to calm these frequently tense confrontations our country has had over the past years. I feel it is a matter of record. We have been told that by many.

Mr. WATSON. Doctor, to calm the situation, and I am sure you are interested in that, let us explore that in a question.

Did you take the lead in telling these people to back up, to settle down, and don't have this confrontation? I assume you took the lead in telling them not to do that?

Dr. YOUNG. I have already testified that I had no part in the aspects of the demonstrations.

Mr. WATSON. But you are concerned about peace. Of course, you are interested in treating people, but you prefer people not to be hurt initially?

Dr. YOUNG. Exactly, sir.

Mr. WATSON. What did you do since you were on the scene? Did you tell them to stop and back up?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, as a matter of fact, when the police charges came and people were in danger of trampling over each other, it was our Medical Committee that stood and said, "Don't run. Don't trample yourself." That was done all the time.

Mr. WATSON. And you tried to use your influence with your friend, Mr. Davis, to whom you loaned \$1,000 by telephone, without any security—you tried to use your influence with Mr. Davis to tell them to stop?

Dr. YOUNG. To the best of my knowledge, sir, I didn't see Davis for that entire week one time. I did not, sir. And I am under oath.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you remember when he repaid you the money?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes. He paid it within 48 hours. If he hadn't, I never would have lent him another dollar.

Let me say this, because I think it is germane.

The Congressman is interested in the way our committee works in other demonstrations. In this city, the District of Columbia, in the wake of the death of Martin Luther King, there were, as there were throughout the country, civil disorders. I would like to read, if I may, sir, letters from just two commanding captains of the police force of this very District commenting on the work of our committee. I would be glad to enter them into the record, if I have your permission.

Here is a letter from Captain Michael F. Molesky, commanding 12th precinct, Government of the District of Columbia, Metropolitan Police Department. This is May 17, 1968:

Perhaps more than most police precincts, I and my personnel are fully aware of the value of the medical assistance offered to us during this time. The soldier who was treated had been stationed in my precinct and I am sure he would have lost his life if it were not for the prompt medical assistance rendered. On receipt of the call, the doctors stationed at my precinct were at his side within minutes. My officers are well aware of this incident and are truly grateful. It was a great morale booster to all of us, knowing that in case of emergency, medical aid was nearby. Please be assured that we are ever grateful for the assistance given us by your committee.

It is signed.

Mr. ICHORD. Doctor, at this point—

Dr. YOUNG. I have another letter.

Mr. ICHORD. We have gone far afield. It is now 1 minute after 12. I hope we can get back on more relevant matters.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has announced the purpose of these hearings—the nature and extent of Communist and subversive organization planning in the riots in Chicago. We are departing from that. We have been very interested in your testimony.

Dr. YOUNG. Let me respond to that.

One quick sentence. It seems to me that what I did is important. An innuendo—and, again, Mr. Ichord, it was there—

Mr. ICHORD. There was no innuendo intended at all.

Dr. YOUNG. I hope you are getting a feel for my committee and what I did. Are you not, sir?

Mr. ICHORD. We understand what the committee did.

Dr. YOUNG. Very good. I am very proud of that.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will be in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:03 p.m., Friday, October 4, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1968

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:15 p.m., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Will the photographers please retire.

Counsel, you will resume the questioning of Dr. Young.

Mr. GUTMAN. If I may a moment, Mr. Chairman, as we were adjourning for lunch, Dr. Young had just read into the record the letter of Captain Molesky of the 12th precinct in the District of Columbia, Metropolitan Police. He was about to read a similar letter by Captain Shuttlesworth.

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will take that under advisement. The Chair has been lenient, but these matters are not relevant to the hearing. They will be taken under consideration.

Mr. GUTMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask at this point unanimous consent that we give the officials in Chicago an opportunity to present, either in writing or orally, an explanation, rebuttal, or other comment that they might have concerning the matter which Dr. Young just put in the record?

Mr. ICHORD. Yes. Let me say that that will be taken also under consideration by the committee. This is not the last day of the hearings, and we will have time because we have just begun to scratch the surface of this matter.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel, with your questions.

The witness would be reminded that you are still under oath.

#### TESTIMONY OF QUENTIN D. YOUNG—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, just before we recessed, you were discussing your report on the medical services rendered in Chicago by your committee.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Would you tell the committee, Dr. Young, whether you conferred with officers or representatives of the National Mobilization Committee prior to your press conference of September 10, I believe it was, on the contents of the remarks you made therein?

Dr. YOUNG. To the best of my knowledge, I did not. The answer is no.

Mr. ICHORD. Next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, were you invited by the National Mobilization Committee to attend a meeting of that organization in Washington, D.C., on 14 September 1968?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will admonish, since he observes some of the witnesses have returned to the room, that we will not tolerate waving or demonstrations in this hearing room. This is the last warning that I am giving to the witnesses. The Chair observes that several witnesses were waving while the witness, Dr. Young, is testifying.

I appeal to you again, to your sense of demeanor, let us have order in the hearing room.

Proceed with your question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Would you like me to repeat the question?

Dr. YOUNG. Would you, please.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, were you invited by the National Mobilization Committee to attend a meeting of that organization in Washington, D.C., on 14 September 1968?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't remember receiving such an invitation.

Mr. SMITH. Did you attend such a meeting?

Dr. YOUNG. I did not attend such a meeting.

Mr. SMITH. Did you, Dr. Young, receive a letter from the National Mobilization Committee dated simply "September 1968," signed by Dave Dellinger, in which he reported on the results of the meeting and the individual reports received from various attendees?

Dr. YOUNG. The answer is I don't remember, but counsel or Congressmen—

Mr. ICHORD. The witness has responded.

Dr. YOUNG. I have responded, sir. May I say—

Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young, we got along very well here—

Dr. YOUNG. I want to remind you that I have made objection to these hearings. I would like now to respond to this aspect, please.

The problem I see here is that I get perhaps 200 letters a day as a busy physician. I am on everybody's list for collections, invitations. I get reports from scores of organizations.

Under the threat of perjury, I am being asked questions. I am giving my best, honest answer.

Mr. ICHORD. I assure you, Doctor, that it was not the intent of this Chair to call this witness before this committee for the purpose of punishing him. It is true there are perjury provisions, but we assume the doctor is telling the truth.

Dr. YOUNG. I am. I recently—

Mr. ICHORD. I don't have to remind you that under the circumstances under which you were called on this check again, this gives the question relevancy.

Dr. YOUNG. Whether or not somebody wrote a witness to proceed reporting on the findings of what happened in Chicago—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule that it is a relevant question because you testified that you had no affiliations or associations with National Mobilization.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct, and does the receipt of a letter which I deny receiving under oath show my affiliation?

Mr. ICHORD. I thought you did not deny receiving it. I thought you said you had no knowledge of receiving it.

Dr. YOUNG. That is correct. That was my answer.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with the next question.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, point 5 of an eight-point list at the meeting by Sidney Lens states——

Mr. COUSINS. May we see a copy of this?

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute. The attorney will please be in order and will please be seated. The Chair hasn't heard the question.

The witnesses will please be in order.

State your question again, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. Point 5 of an eight-point report submitted at the meeting by Sidney Lens——

Dr. YOUNG. Which meeting is that, sir?

Mr. SMITH. This meeting that we had reference to in Washington.

Dr. YOUNG. I see.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. GUTMAN. If we could have a copy, we would get along so much better. It would be so much faster.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair would remind counsel that he is here to advise his client.

Mr. GUTMAN. Without the document——

Mr. ICHORD. I don't think any person in the room can say the Chair has not been lenient. Counsel has the right to state his question.

Mr. SMITH. Point 5 of an eight-point report submitted by Mr. Lens——

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, this is not a question. This is a statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Let us finish, Mr. Counsel. Please abide by the rules of the House.

Mr. SMITH.—stating: “Much mileage was obtained from the report of Dr. Quentin Young of the Medical Committee on Human Rights.”

Dr. Young, will you inform the committee concerning the particulars of the report ascribed to you in this statement and in this document I now refer to you?

(Document handed to witness.)

Dr. YOUNG. I spent a good part of the morning giving this report in opening hearing—I am still responding, sir—to the entire body. That is the report that somebody named Lens said that he got “much mileage.” What has that got to do with me?

Mr. ICHORD. This is not responsive.

Mr. GUTMAN. The question was—will he comment on it, please. He is continuing his comment.

Mr. ICHORD. Rephrase the question, Mr. Counsel. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Point 5 of an eight-point report submitted at the meeting in Washington, D.C., on 14 September 1968, by Lens, Sidney Lens, states: “Much mileage was obtained from the report of Dr. Quentin Young of the Medical Committee on Human Rights.”

Dr. YOUNG. What does that mean?

Mr. SMITH. The question is, Will you inform the committee concerning the particulars of the report ascribed to you?

Dr. YOUNG. My response is that you have heard every word of the report.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you know anything about the report, Doctor?

Dr. YOUNG. No, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with the next question.

Mr. GUTMAN. Sir——

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed to the next question. The witness has replied adequately.

Mr. GUTMAN. The witness doesn't think so, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. YOUNG. You gavel every time I start to talk.

The response is that this is as good an example I can give the committee—you anticipate me, sir, and I resent that.

The Chair was attempting to imply that I was going to not respond to the question. You gaveled me.

Mr. ICHORD. I didn't imply anything, Doctor.

Dr. YOUNG. I am proceeding. All right. This is a good example of what I mean when I speak about my first amendment rights and privileges that should be proscribed from congressional participation. I know nothing about this——

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has not required you to answer that question. Go on to your next question, and the witness will be in order.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know Sidney Lens?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, have you been associated with or supported the Students for a Democratic Society in any way?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, my response to that is that you are now getting very close to the areas that are protected by my first amendment rights. I am not now, and never have been, a member of the Students for a Democratic Society. I am responding to the question.

Many of that group are known to me. I think they are fine young people, dedicated, eager to do what they think is right.

Mr. ICHORD. Doctor, you are not being responsive. The answer is sufficient.

Let's go on to the next question.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't feel my answer was complete.

Mr. ICHORD. The question has been answered.

Proceed to the next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SMITH. On July 14-16, 1967, the Radical Education Project of SDS staged a conference on "Radicals in the Professions," in Ann Arbor, Michigan. An account of this conference published in the *National Guardian* of August 5, 1967, in describing what took place at the conference, reported:

The political importance of the health profession was highlighted by Quentin Young of the Medical Committee for Human Rights who points out that by 1975 one out of every 10 persons entering the work force will be in health, a 10 per cent that is also the largest unorganized sector of the working class.

Dr. Young, I hand you a reproduction of the *National Guardian* account referred to and I ask you: Did you speak at the conference in the manner indicated in the *National Guardian* as so marked?

Dr. YOUNG. Certainly I did.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Dr. Young, would you inform the committee as to the meaning you intended by the statement ascribed to you which has just been read?

Dr. YOUNG. I will be more than happy to, Counsel. What I stated there is a statement I have made many, many times. It refers to the fact that the health needs of this country are in such desperate shape, despite the fact that some 60 billions of dollars are being expended each year in this sector, and yet we have perhaps 40 million Americans getting inadequate health care, that more and more people in the health professions and without, and even an occasional Member of Congress—do I have your attention, Mr. Ichord?

Mr. ICHORD. You have my attention, Dr. Young.

Dr. YOUNG. Do I have Mr. Ashbrook's attention? [Laughter.] Do I have his attention?

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order.

Dr. Young, you are not being responsive to the question at all.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I am testifying.

Mr. GUTMAN. There is a pending question, Mr. Chairman, which the witness has not been permitted to answer.

Dr. YOUNG. He asked what I meant by that statement.

Mr. ICHORD. Let the Chair remind counsel that this is a legislative proceeding. It is not a court procedure. I am being very fair with the witness. The witness is not required to answer any further on the question.

Dr. YOUNG. I have not completed my answer. If I am giving testimony, in all due respect, I want the attention of the Congressmen.

Mr. ICHORD. You have had the attention of the Chair.

Dr. YOUNG. To proceed, what I meant when I said that is that at least 40 million people in America get inadequate health care, and the rest of us are not getting that good health care. As a result of this, there has been a vast expansion of the number of people entering the health professions.

Large segments of our population are denied admission. We have denied black people the opportunity to enter the health professions. That makes me nervous when you do that. [Laughter.]

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman should be.

Go ahead.

Dr. YOUNG. When you pick that gavel up, I get nervous.

Mr. ICHORD. I have been lenient.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't think you have been lenient. You have been listening to me testify. That is the best way to put it.

Let me go further. We have 5,000 black physicians in this country out of 300,000, reflecting the fact that there has been systematic exclusion of blacks in the participation of this country's health system.

In addition to that, we have in major cities of the country, my own city included, death rates and maternal and infant mortality rates, death from preventable diseases, like tuberculosis, of such proportions that it would give shame to a so-called backward country. When we, the richest nation in the world, cannot meet the needs, it is a shame.

This country has not seen fit to meet these needs.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you think we are going to solve those ills by such demonstrations as occurred in Chicago?

Dr. YOUNG. I am confident that the provisions of the free-speech provisions of the Constitution, and that people influencing their government in an orderly way—I am in the middle of a sentence.

Mr. ICHORD. Will you continue to lend money to Mr. Davis—

Dr. YOUNG. If I choose to do so, I will do so, and that is my business.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. I am not through with my answer.

Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young, I cannot tolerate this kind of behavior any more. The question has been answered.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ichord, sir, I will be very brief.

Mr. ICHORD. We are going too far.

Dr. YOUNG. I didn't respond.

Mr. ICHORD. The question has been answered.

Ask your next question.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, on September 14, 1955—

Dr. YOUNG. '55?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Attorney Royal W. France of New York City and Mr. Laurent B. Frantz of California filed in the Supreme Court of the United States a motion and brief for leave to file brief as amici curiae supporting the Communist Party in the case of the *Communist Party of the United States* versus the *Subversive Activities Control Board*.

Were you a signer of this brief?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, in signing that amicus brief, I was joining with hundreds, if not thousands, of Americans, exercising my right—

Mr. ICHORD. Were there thousands who signed the brief?

Dr. YOUNG. I don't know. But I think there must have been hundreds. Maybe counsel knows how many signed it.

Mr. ICHORD. Did you sign the brief?

Dr. YOUNG. I answered that question.

In doing so, I was using the proper forum, which is the courts, the judiciary, which is separate, sir, from the legislative, and I was responding in exercising my rights and opinions through the courts.

I think counsel and the Congressman, who is a counsel—

Mr. ICHORD. We have the answer. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. Mr. Ichord, would you—

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. I will advise you—

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman, if we are to proceed on the theory that a man who signs an amicus brief before the United States Supreme Court and is brought here and questioned as to whether he is doing something wrong, this is way out of bounds.

Mr. ICHORD. I—

Mr. GUTMAN. I hope that got in the record, and I hope you will stay out of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Dr. YOUNG. Do you think this has a chilling effect on citizens—could we pull the shades?

Mr. ICHORD. The purpose of the investigation—

Dr. YOUNG. It is very distracting to have the sun in my eyes.

Mr. ICHORD. Can the officer see if he can close the shades? Can you move over, Dr. Young?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. We have your answer, Dr. Young.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't have yours.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed with the next question.



Mr. SMITH. Dr. Young, I would like to ask you a question about a statement contained in this motion and brief. The following appears on page 2 of the text:

(Document handed to witness.)

Moreover, no matter how ably the attorneys for the Communist Party may present the case, it is their right and duty to present it from the point of view of and the effect on the Communist Party and Communists. We desire to present the evils of the Act from the point of view of non-Communists. \* \* \*

Dr. Young, were you a member of the Communist Party at the time this brief was filed with the United States Supreme Court?

Dr. YOUNG. Here we go again.

Mr. SMITH. Was this brief a fraud on the Supreme Court?

Mr. GUTMAN. When did you last beat your wife, sir?

Mr. ICHORD. For the last time, the Chair advises Mr. Gutman to abide by the rules under possible penalties of contempt of the committee.

Mr. Gutman, I am being very patient. The purpose of counsel, the function of counsel before a legislative investigation is to advise his client. You have repeatedly, time and time and again, violated the rules of this committee and the Rules of the House of Representatives. And I am trying to be fair with the witness. You do not intend, apparently, to abide by those rules.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I respond to the remarks, sir?

Mr. ICHORD. I am not threatening you, Mr. Gutman, but we must have order in these proceedings, and you may not reply at this time. Please be seated, sir.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I ask a point of procedure?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Gutman, you have no respect at all for the Congress of the United States or you would be seated and abide by your proper function.

Now proceed with the next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ASHBROOK. This question has not been answered.

Mr. SMITH. I ask the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. ICHORD. Read it again.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to ask you a question contained in this motion and brief. The following statement appears on page 2 of the text:

Moreover, no matter how ably the attorneys for the Communist Party may present the case, it is their right and duty to present it from the point of view of and the effect on the Communist Party and Communists. We desire to present the evils of the Act from the point of view of non-Communists. \* \* \*

Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time this brief was filed with the United States Supreme Court?

Mr. ICHORD. The question is a proper question, and I direct the good doctor to answer the question.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, my response is, of course, the response I gave when I first came in. I warned that—I stated to the committee that I would not, before this tribunal, violate the rights of myself or any other citizen by responding to any question regarding the political beliefs or associations. I am not through talking.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will—

Dr. YOUNG. Let me finish.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Dr. YOUNG. The eagerness to interrupt me worries me.

Mr. ICHORD. We are being very patient with you, Dr. Young.

Dr. YOUNG. I have just this morning, when interviewed by the press—

Mr. ICHORD. The answer is not responsive.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, the—

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ICHORD. Gentlemen, obviously you are trying to goad the Chair.

Mr. COUSINS. Not true, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Abide by the rules of the House. I have repeatedly instructed the attorneys that you were in violation of the rules, and we have tried to proceed.

Now, go on to the next question.

Dr. YOUNG. I want the record to show I did not finish my answer. I did not finish my answer.

Mr. ICHORD. The record will show what happened.

Mr. SMITH. I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Are there further questions of Dr. Young?

Mr. COUSINS. Will you permit Dr. Young to answer the question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. Dr. Young started out on a harangue against the committee, apparently. It was not in response to the question, and the question was simply: Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you signed that brief?

Do you care to answer that, yes or no, and then I will let you explain. Were you, or were you not?

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, I was commencing the answer. I was cut off.

Mr. ICHORD. Were you, or were you not, a member of the Communist Party at the time you signed that brief? That is the question, and I direct the witness to answer. Then you will be permitted to explain your answer, yes or no.

Dr. YOUNG. The only way I can answer that question is the way I have answered it—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Ashbrook—the question can be easily answered, Dr. Young, yes or no.

Dr. YOUNG. Sir, that is your opinion how easily this question can be answered. But I submit that this is the heart of the problem this committee is burdened with, and I really feel today that the Chair—

Mr. ICHORD. You have many, many—

Dr. YOUNG. I feel the Chair is beginning to get the feeling of responsibility—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair is lenient with the witness because we wanted his answer.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Chairman, the witness is going to give an answer if the Chair will permit him to give an answer.

Mr. ICHORD. Are you going to finally answer? All right, you may answer.

Dr. YOUNG. First of all, I don't think when a citizen sits before his Congressmen, his servants, that the Chair is being lenient.

As stated, I cannot remotely permit this tribunal to invade my rights of free expression or association, and much as I can answer that question, without the least bit of shame or cavil, with great ease. I will not

before this tribunal do that. I did, as I started to say, speak to the press today, and answered a question, and my answer is true to the press. But I will not answer it in this room, sir, and I know the penalties that you mention.

Mr. ICHORD. You will admit you were not under oath when you spoke to the press?

Dr. YOUNG. I am under oath now, and what I said is true. Do you understand?

Mr. GUTMAN. Read the morning papers, sir.

Dr. YOUNG. I expressed myself to the press and prepared—no compulsion, as a citizen, expressing myself when I saw fit to, not under the aegis of Congressmen.

Mr. ICHORD. May we remind you again, Doctor, that the question is certainly a relevant one. It has been charged many, many times in the press, by various individuals, that the Communist Party played a great part in instigating and planning of the Chicago disturbances, and the question is certainly a relevant one. You have explained why you will not answer, and the answer stands.

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Ashbrook, do you have any questions?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have no further questions.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Watson, do you have a question?

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I believe it has been established that you have known Mr. Davis for some period of a year.

Dr. YOUNG. At least that long.

Mr. WATSON. At least that long. How long have you known him?

Dr. YOUNG. At least a year.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, sir.

I assume during the course of that time, since you made a loan of \$1,000, unsecured, to him, that you would consider yourself good friends, more than a casual acquaintance?

Dr. YOUNG. The answer to your question is, sir, he is one of the persons I am willing to lend a thousand dollars to. I trust him to return the thousand dollars.

Mr. WATSON. And inherent in that action would be the fact that he is more than a casual friend.

Dr. YOUNG. I am very disturbed about what you want to say here. Do you want to go into my friendships now? What next?

Mr. WATSON. As long as those friendships are involved in the leadership of the violence in Chicago, that is the thrust of this hearing.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). May I object for my client? You haven't submitted who caused that violence. You make—

Mr. ICHORD. Order.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). You said the leaders of the violence.

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel, will you again be seated?

Mr. WATSON. During the time that you have known Mr. Davis, has he ever discussed with you his theory of how to change this country and specifically his plans concerning Chicago—that is, aside from the seeking of your help as an official of the Medical Committee for Human Rights?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes. Again, we are in this very terrible area where what I said to people and what we discussed is being a part of defamation of character.

Mr. WATSON. Is it defaming for you to talk with Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS (from the audience). Your Honor, I am in the room. I will be glad to explain that—

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will please be in order.

Mr. DAVIS (from the audience). Just call me up. I am happy to speak.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will remind the witness that his presence is not required in this room. Apparently, they leave and return, leave and return.

Dr. YOUNG. I want to address myself to Mr. Ichord. I feel he has learned a lot of lessons today.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure you that I have learned a lot of lessons today, and not necessarily from you, because we have heard this time and time again.

Dr. YOUNG. I think you have learned some from Mr. Watson, where we see, by taking conversations with a person whom I have stated is a patient and friend of mine, he is going to proceed by innuendo that I am part of a plot. That's what's wrong with this committee, and—

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Davis has made some violent statements.

Dr. YOUNG. Talk to Mr. Davis about it. Is there any person in this room who would want Congressmen asking them questions about every conversation they had? I find it repulsive.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me assure you that Mr. Davis will be given the opportunity to testify.

Dr. YOUNG. Don't ask me what he said to me.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, if I may again try to explain to the doctor, I had not asked you anything that Mr. Davis said to you at all, and I underscore that word "never." I shall never ask you any question concerning your medical relationship with him.

Dr. YOUNG. Thank you. You asked what we discussed.

Mr. WATSON. I simply asked you, during the period of your relationship with him, whatever it is, whether or not you and he discussed the plans for the activities in Chicago during the time of the Democratic Convention.

Dr. YOUNG. No.

Mr. WATSON. You never discussed it?

Dr. YOUNG. That is right.

Mr. WATSON. In other words, now, you had no discussion with him even concerning, as you stated yesterday, supplying the medical assistance for the demonstration?

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Watson, the record does not bear out the import of your remark.

Dr. YOUNG. I don't recall—

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I shall not ask the witness for an answer.

Dr. YOUNG. I want to answer the question.

Mr. WATSON. It is obvious that we are getting in a very sensitive area.

Dr. YOUNG. No, you are wrong. I am getting in a sensitive area. You are reduced to this kind of junk, and I am happy to answer the question.

Mr. ICHORD. I don't think it is junk.

Dr. YOUNG. That I had a conversation with Rennie Davis?

Mr. ICHORD. When you loan a thousand dollars to a revolutionary like Mr. Davis, and you have money returned—

Dr. YOUNG. I swore the money was returned. Do you doubt it was returned?

Mr. ICHORD. You did loan it to him, didn't you?

Dr. YOUNG. Yes.

First of all, I never said I talked to him, although I wouldn't be ashamed to say I talked to him.

Let me finish this.

The other nonsense there—it slipped my mind. Go ahead.  
[Laughter.]

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will be excused.

Dr. YOUNG. I am excused. [Applause.]

(Documents returned to committee counsel.)

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order in the hearing room.

Mr. GUTMAN. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ICHORD. The attorney is excused, also.

Mr. GUTMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would ask the indulgence of the committee for 2 or 3 minutes.

Mr. ICHORD. It will not be permitted. The business of the committee has been disrupted many, many times during these proceedings, but I am trying to get some facts. I am getting a lot of lectures. But we have got even a few facts.

The witness is excused, and I would ask the witness to please retire and be seated, so we can be in order.

Mr. GUTMAN. I will be happy to do that if I may comment on the role you have assigned to counsel in these hearings. You have before you a motion dealing with the role of counsel.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair does not wish to remove you.

Mr. GUTMAN. I don't wish to be removed.

Mr. ICHORD. Sit down, or I will have to direct the police to remove you.

The Chair observes that one of our witnesses who left earlier has returned to the committee room, Mr. Gutman.

As I told the audience earlier, there will be no demonstrations in the hearing room.

Mr. Gutman—Mr. Greenblatt—I am sorry. Will you please come forward?

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair would remind the witness he is still under oath.

Mr. Counsel, we will resume the questioning.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT GREENBLATT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
SANFORD KATZ—Resumed**

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Greenblatt, earlier this year, in June 1968, did you and David Dellinger travel to Paris, where you met with representa-

tives of the Communist government of North Vietnam and also U.S. representatives to discuss the peace talks then taking place?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Could the counsel please break up that question into several parts? I believe there are a number of parts in that. I can't answer the question in its complicated form.

Mr. ICHORD. Did you travel to Europe, Mr. Greenblatt, in June of 1968—this year?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, I did.

Mr. ICHORD. Go ahead with that question.

Mr. SMITH. With whom did you travel?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I traveled to Europe alone for the purpose of making some consultations with various people about issues relevant to the war in Vietnam, to the state of the talks which have been billed as "peace talks" in this country, but which, in fact, in my conclusion, were not peace talks, but were merely delaying tactics by representatives of the Government of the United States.

This was the basic purpose of my travel. While there, I made consultations with many people, including the Ambassador from the United States, Mr. Harriman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Including Colonel Lau of North Vietnam?

Mr. KATZ. How do you spell that, sir?

Mr. ASHBROOK. L-a-u.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I believe I did meet a Mr. Lau, a Colonel Lau, in Paris.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Greenblatt, did you ever see this letter?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. KATZ. Let the record show this is a photostat. We would like to see the original of this.

Mr. ICHORD. The record will show that it is a photostatic letter.

The question is, Have you ever seen the original of which that is a photostat?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, may I read the letter into the record?

Mr. ICHORD. Counsel will be directed to read the letter into the record at this time.

Mr. SMITH. The letter is dated June 4, 1968, addressed to "Dear Col. Lao;"<sup>1</sup> [Reads:]

This note is to introduce to you Mr. Robert Greenblatt, the coordinator of the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. He works closely with myself and Dave Dellinger, and has just returned from Hanoi.

If there are any pressing questions you wish to discuss, Mr. Greenblatt will be in Paris for a few days.

We hope that the current Paris discussions go well for you. The news from South Vietnam seems very good indeed.

We hope to see you this summer in Paris or at a later time.

Good fortune!

Victory!

It is signed "Tom Hayden."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, the record will show that we presume Colonel Lau to be one of the North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris.

<sup>1</sup> Correct spelling "Lau."

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will take judicial notice that Colonel Lau is—just a minute.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, we can now state positively that—

Mr. ICHORD. Wait just a minute, Mr. Counsel. You have a question pending.

Mr. GREENBLATT. What is the question pending?

Mr. ICHORD. Read back the question, Mr. Reporter, that I directed to the witness.

I will restate the question as best as I can recall.

Did you ever see the original of this photostatic copy?

Mr. GREENBLATT. To the best of my recollection, I believe I did see the original to the photostatic copy I have been shown.

Mr. ICHORD. Did you have the letter in your possession?

Mr. GREENBLATT. At one point, yes, I did.

Mr. SMITH. Did you present the letter to Colonel Lau?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I don't believe the occasion ever arose. I met, as I testified earlier—I met Colonel Lau, along with many other people in Paris, Vietnamese, Americans, Parisians, and others concerned with the great problems revolving around the American aggression in Vietnam.

I was introduced to Colonel Lau, or introduced myself—I don't recall now the exact nature of the first confrontation, exactly where it took place.

As I recall, I did not have occasion to use the letter of introduction. I introduced myself, and this is my answer. I don't recall using the letter, but I would have had no hesitation in using it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Then, Mr. Greenblatt, for the record, it was a letter of introduction, the purpose of which was to introduce you to Colonel Lau, which you did not find necessary to use?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I believe the photostatic copy shown me is explicitly about what it is, and it describes itself.

Mr. SMITH. Did you have a second letter of introduction with you?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have various documents with me. If the Chair could show me, your counsel could show me—

Mr. SMITH. Did you have the original of this photostatic copy with you?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. KATZ. Just a minute.

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Mr. Counsel. Will the counsel read it.

Mr. KATZ. Before this letter is read, the letter, along with the other documents, was seized by agents of the United States Government back in June of this year. Mr. Greenblatt is presently facing, as a matter of fact—charges in the Federal court have been lodged against him.

Mr. ICHORD. What is the nature of those charges, Mr. Katz?

Mr. KATZ. In the narcotics area, but those documents were seized and are in the possession of the United States attorney or the Department of Justice.

Now, I note that Congressman Ashbrook on Tuesday indicated at page 150 of the record that it would be much better, or would be better, to use his exact words, not to comment too much on a pending case. This was in a different context.

Mr. ICHORD. Is there a pending case?

Mr. ASHEROOK. On that, but not on——

Mr. KATZ. The documents, sir, are in the possession of the United States Government.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I object to anything about that charge going into this record.

Mr. ICHORD. The gentleman will be seated or retire from the room.

Mr. KATZ. He is Mr. Greenblatt's attorney in connection with that charge.

Mr. ICHORD. You are Mr. Greenblatt's attorney?

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I am, and I do not want a word of it in this record.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule on that at this time.

Mr. SMITH. I request permission to read this——

Mr. ICHORD. Let the Chair have a copy of the letter.

(Document handed to chairman.)

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will rule on the objections raised.

The letter has no connection at all with any pending marijuana charge, but it is relevant in connection with the hearings.

The Chair would direct the counsel to again—or direct the witness to answer the question.

If you have in your possession the original of this photostatic copy——

Mr. KATZ. I vigorously protest, Mr. Chairman. This is a blatant denial of due process.

The Government, the United States attorney has the possession of these documents. He obviously intends to make use of it in a fashion we do not know. This man is facing serious criminal charges in the United States District Court in the Northern District of New York.

Mr. ASHEROOK. What serious charges, Mr. Katz? Maybe you can help them out.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I want to object both to this counsel and to the committee counsel. I think this is a violent disregard of this man's rights, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will pass upon that.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). You are ruling——

Mr. ICHORD. That is a matter of opinion. You have repeatedly charged that the Chair is raping the Constitution. This has been done time and time again. This reminds me of the argument we used to have back in law school.

The question was: "Does the Constitution mean what it says, or does it mean what nine particular men on the Supreme Court at any one time say what it means?"

Mr. KATZ. We are talking about fundamental fairness.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will endeavor to protect the constitutional rights of the witness in this case.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I will take what the Supreme Court says——

Mr. ICHORD. Let the record show that the committee had not brought up any charge in connection with marijuana. It had never been stated by the committee, and the Chair sees no connection between this letter and any marijuana charge. So the Chair will rule that the question is a proper one.

I again direct the witness to answer the question.



MR. GREENBLATT. Mr. Chairman, I have repeatedly, through counsel and through personal inquiry, made requests of the authorities of the Government that have seized these materials for the return of various materials seized from me at that time, which I felt had no connection and which counsel felt had no connection with the charges lodged against me, materials that varied from documents, letters, address books, all the way to trousers, shirts, other articles of apparel, and so on.

I have been advised by the representatives of these Government agencies that all of this material, all the material that they seized from me, was being held as evidence, evidence toward what was not revealed to me.

In the light of that statement and in light of that position of the representatives of the Customs and of the Department of Justice, I feel that I cannot be responsive to this question, because it would be in violation of due process accorded me. It would, in fact, jeopardize the proceedings that are now lodged against me.

I again urge the Chair to, if it is possible—for the Chair to reconsider or to consider its ruling and perhaps to deviate from the historical policy of this committee to violate the constitutional rights of witnesses appearing before it, and so rule in this instance.

MR. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I might add, Mr. Chairman—

MR. ICHORD. Mr. Counselor, you are out of order. Will you please sit down.

Mr. Counselor, if you cannot be seated—

MR. KUNSTLER (from the audience). If you are going to make a decision without the relevant material, go ahead.

MR. ICHORD. You are interrupting these hearings, Mr. Counsel.

MR. WITNESS. I think the Chair ruled on this very point, either earlier in the day or yesterday, and pointed out the case of *Hutcheson versus United States*, where, if it was not the purpose of the legislative investigation to aid the Government in the prosecution of any suit—and I can assure the witness that that is not the purpose of the Chair or of this committee—but this is relevant to the hearing at hand.

The Chair will have to rule that the question is in order. I must direct you again to answer the question.

MR. GREENBLATT. If the Chair please, I must recall that the instructions that I received from the Chair, in my opinion, I think, on their face contradict the specific directions and advice that I received from the Justice Department. I must stand on my original statement. I would like to advise the Chair at this time that I still stand completely willing to testify before this committee, before this hearing, to be sure, under duress and under the objections that I raised earlier. But, nevertheless, I am willing to testify on my own activities and on my own troubles.

But I cannot and will not give up or sacrifice the legitimate rights that I enjoy, and that all Americans enjoy, before this committee or before any other branch of Government in this country.

I am willing to talk about the places that I have been to, the purposes of why I went to those places, activities that I have participated in in this country and outside this country. I think that to do so will simply bring before the American public the nature of the ills and the horrendous difficulties and tragedies that the policies of this Gov-

ernment have inflicted on Americans and on people outside of this country and on people in Vietnam particularly.

And I think that such testimony will also substantiate the need for my having participated in those activities. Therefore, I am willing to testify on those grounds. But I cannot answer this question for the reasons I have already cited, and I must refuse to do so.

Mr. ICHORD. Just a minute, Mr. Ashbrook, and then the Chair will recognize you.

The Chair would advise the witness again that this is a legislative investigation to explore all possible connections between organizations in this country and foreign powers, whether they, insofar as the Chicago riots are concerned, are related to instigating, planning, and organizing.

It is not my purpose to penalize a witness. I realize that he does face some charges. It is not the purpose of this committee to punish the witness. However, I do feel that in the interests of this investigation, trying to determine the facts about the disturbances in Chicago, that I must direct you again to answer the question, under possible penalty of contempt.

Mr. KATZ. To testify about documents now in the possession of the United States Government, the Department of Justice, under an open charge, where an indictment may be returned by the grand jury, enlarging the crimes charged in the complaint, and to counterpose the possible legislative assistance that these letters will have—it is a predudice to this defendant.

Mr. WATSON. May I ask counsel a question?

Mr. ICHORD. I would remind you that I am not asking the witness to take the fifth amendment.

Mr. KATZ. You would be delighted if he would, I am sure. He won't.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair doesn't care whether this witness takes the fifth amendment or not. It is not the position of this Chair that a person before this committee who takes the fifth amendment automatically means he is guilty. If he feels this letter would tend to incriminate him, he has that right.

I am sure you have explained to your witness the significance of the fifth amendment. But I can only enforce the Rules of the House of Representatives and the rules of this committee. And it was because I thought it was to obtain the objectives of this investigation that I directed him to answer the question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. It seems to me the Chair has stated repeatedly that it is not the policy of this committee to use the fifth amendment for the sake of innuendo, and yet it seems to be the policy of this committee to solicit people to use the fifth amendment.

Every time anyone raises any objection whatsoever to the possibility of answering some question, the Chair also advises, "Use the fifth amendment."

I would like to suggest to the Chair that there are other amendments, other rights, and other laws governing the legal actions of men in this country besides the fifth amendment, without impugning the legitimacy of that amendment.

The Chair has repeatedly said that this committee—that no one is on trial before this committee. I respectfully suggest that everyone

is on trial before this committee. The very procedure of this committee puts everyone before it on trial and the very country on trial.

Mr. ICHORD. That is a statement of opinion.

Mr. ASHBROOK, did you have a question?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Perhaps I should redirect the witness to answer the question.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). I direct him not to answer. You may hold me in contempt. As his attorney on that charge, I direct him not to answer that question. I stand ready to be responsible for that statement. You may hold me in contempt.

Mr. ICHORD. I think the record will show what has happened. He didn't invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). It has nothing to do with it.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I again resent the Chair bringing in the fifth amendment. That is the only number he is familiar with.

Mr. KATZ. We are invoking due process—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has explained his position on the fifth amendment.

Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. For purposes of asking a question, this letter very clearly indicates activities which are within the legitimate purview of this committee. The postscript says: "Greenblatt can be trusted for discussions of the conference and to transmit any messages. He works very closely with Dellinger." It is written in hand, of course, signed "Albert."

Are you refusing to discuss these facts? It certainly seems to me that these actions are within the purview of the committee and are relevant to these hearings.

Mr. KUNSTLER (from the audience). This letter has been seized from him, and it is an admission that he had the letter at the proceeding, and that violates his rights.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The activities—

Mr. GREENBLATT. Ask me about the activities and see if I am willing to answer those questions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It says you are—

Mr. ICHORD. Read the entire letter.

Mr. ASHBROOK [reads].

Sorry that communication has been so badly disrupted, but I know the cause is just. Enclosed in [sic] copy of message to NLF sent to Prague via DRV embassy.

Do not know if you have received Alex's report on trip of Phillippe to USA. \* \* \* I hope to be in Europe somewhere around the middle of June. Will contact you then through whatever channels are possible. If not, someone will be coming.

It is signed "Albert." It is signed not in hand, but typed "Albert."

As I said, the postscript indicates Greenblatt can be trusted for two things, for discussion of the conferences and to transmit any messages.

We wanted to talk about activities. How about talking about the discussion of the conference and transmitting any messages? That is what this committee is interested in.

Mr. KATZ. If you put your question, we will see what the answer is.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Did you transmit any message pursuant to this?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Pursuant to what?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Pursuant to this letter—

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have already explained to this committee my reasons for not discussing the letter or that document whatsoever. If you wish to phrase questions to me without regard to that letter, then we can deal with it, I think, in those terms.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Let us get specific. In Paris did you see T-u-o-n-g B-y to discuss a projected conference in Paris rather than in Cuba, as apparently had been determined before in some of these meetings? Did you meet with Tuong By in Paris?

Mr. GREENBLATT. To the best I can understand your pronunciation of that name—

Mr. ASHBROOK. I spelled it for that reason.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I did meet with a member of the delegation in Paris, a member of the delegation who was there for the conference with the American delegation. I believe that that was the name given to me. I met with such a man in Paris.

Mr. ASHBROOK. On June 16 in Prague, Czechoslovakia, did you meet with Tran Van An and Phan Van Chung, who were representatives of the Viet Cong?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. GREENBLATT. Again, I believe that around that time, since I am under oath and I don't have documents about the dates before me at the present time, I do not want to say whether it was the 16th, the 15th, or the 17th.

Mr. ASHBROOK. About that time?

Mr. GREENBLATT. During that period of time I did, in fact, journey to Prague because I was interested to meet, if possible, with representatives of the National Liberation Front, the people who are spokesmen and representatives of the people in South Vietnam, trying to remove the American aggression from that country and trying to work for an improved structure for the people in that troubled land.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is a response, and I appreciate your answer.

Mr. KATZ. I don't believe the witness finished.

Mr. ASHBROOK. He said he met on or about the time, which is what I wanted to know, June 16, or about that time.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I do not recall specifically at this time the names of the members of the National Liberation Front and in that regard I just can't answer.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is a responsive answer.

Did you discuss forthcoming conferences of Vietnam and American youth? Was that a matter of discussion among these gentlemen, who were Tran Van An and Phan Van Chung, but you don't remember exactly who?

Mr. GREENBLATT. One of the things I had been very concerned with, although it certainly wasn't the sole purpose of my visit—I explained that the purpose of my visit was to make what discovery I could about the situation in Paris, to make what discoveries I could with regard to the state of the talks going on in Paris at the time, and with regard to the state of war and the state of siege that the Vietnamese people were under.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Was there a discussion—

Mr. GREENBLATT. At the same time, I did have occasion, while meeting with the Vietnamese, to try to explore what other occasions and opportunities there might be for people from this country, as many people as possible from this country, to come into contact with and to meet directly as many people from the troubled country of Vietnam so that we could have a better understanding, more of an understanding, of the nature of the life there, of the nature of the suppression there, and of the nature of the suffering in Vietnam.

To this end, I had whatever discussions I had the opportunity to have with the Vietnamese to see if such trips were possible. If it were, indeed, possible, given the nature of the war against the Vietnamese people, given the nature of the ravages that the people were under during the time of war, whether it was possible on their behalf to meet with Americans sometime in the future.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Then you could generally say you did discuss forthcoming conferences between the Vietnamese and the Americans?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I discussed the various kinds of meetings, and the number of meetings did, in fact, take place. There were delegations of other Americans that went to Paris to meet with Vietnamese.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Further, did you agree that the youth attending the conference would be limited to what was referred to as hard-core activists, with any groups or gullible activists totally excluded?

Mr. GREENBLATT. We discussed what the nature of such a conference would be. We discussed the kind of people that the Vietnamese would be able to bring to such a conference.

Mr. ASHBROOK. What about the people that we would be able, in the sense of Americans, to bring to such a conference? That is what we are interested in, not the Vietnamese.

Mr. GREENBLATT. You imply there were some kind of decisions made as to what the composition of the conference there would be. There were no decisions made. We made it absolutely clear that it would be—

Mr. ASHBROOK. Wait a second.

Mr. KATZ. Let the witness finish.

Mr. ASHBROOK. He is going far afield.

Is it not true that at this conference there was actually a discussion? You are saying there was not. There was actually a discussion of American organizations which could logically be used. Were not the names of the SDS, the Youth Against War and Fascism, War Resisters League, national antidraft groups, SNCC, Southern Student Organizing Committee, Student Mobilization Committee, National Mobilization Committee, and the DuBois Club, just to name several mentioned there, as the type of organizations which could be utilized?

Is that a correct or an incorrect statement?

The witness is saying that there was no indication given. It is our information that there was a very clear indication given of the type of youth organizations in particular in this country which could be utilized for this purpose.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. GREENBLATT. I believe I did describe the nature of the discussions I had there, the nature of the talks that I had. Mr. Ashbrook is saying that he has an indication that this was not, in fact, the nature of the talks.

I would like to know what the indications are. I am not quite sure I understand what the indications are and what the source of these indications is.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Greenblatt, wasn't this, in fact, this meeting we are referring to, a meeting at which the preparations for meetings which were actually held in Budapest, Hungary, attended by a group of Americans organized and led by Dave Dellinger?

Wasn't this, in fact, where this meeting was set up, and these specific groups that I mentioned were indicated at that meeting as American antiwar youth groups, et cetera, who would participate?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I pointed out before that I am willing and have been willing to discuss my part in various activities. If now Mr. Ashbrook wants to link this up to something that was organized by Mr. Dellinger, I suggest that you ask Mr. Dellinger about things that he organized, if indeed he organized them.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Did you not specifically at this meeting in Prague agree to supply the Viet Cong reports on the following subjects: work of the antidraft movement, especially since the Tet offensive and President Johnson's decision not to run for reelection, and also reports on antiwar agitation or experiences of the organization at work among the armed members of this country?

That is a specific question not on Mr. Dellinger's activities, but on your activities.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Would you repeat that?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Did you not agree at the meeting in Prague to supply the Viet Cong reports on the following subjects: the work of the antidraft movement, with special emphasis on activity since the Tet offensive and President Johnson's decision not to run, and also reports on the antiwar agitation or experiences of organizations at work among the members of the Armed Forces?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Let me reiterate again for Mr. Ashbrook and for the other members of the committee, as I have said earlier, that there were no agreements, as such, made. These were exploratory discussions of the kind of meetings that could conceivably be held, the kind of information or discussions that we could have.

I think it is perfectly clear and perfectly obvious that not only Vietnamese, but people across the world and people in this country, have been interested in the kind of work that the antiwar movement and the antidraft movement have been doing in this country.

We have been willing in the past, and I will be willing in the future, to discuss the nature of these activities, the nature of these movements, to end the war in Vietnam, to end the repressive draft, and to end the militarism in this country.

I am willing to discuss these matters and have discussed them in front of conferences involving many kinds of people, all kinds of people. I would specifically be willing to discuss these with Vietnamese, who are the most immediate objects of this military machine at the present time. I think it would be perfectly appropriate to do so.

I may very well have expressed at that meeting, as I have at so many other meetings, my willingness to discuss these matters.

Mr. KATZ. Mr. Ashbrook, I think I suspect that you are reading from materials probably supplied you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the U.S. attorney for the Northern District of New York.

I would point out how essentially unfair it is for a man under criminal charges to be forced to reply, to answer the questions that you have prepared for you by the prosecuting agencies.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You are dead wrong, I would say, Mr. Katz; absolutely wrong.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has ruled on that, Mr. Katz. There are no pending charges against the witness now in the chair in regard to these matters being questioned about.

Mr. KATZ. Sir, documents were seized by the U.S. attorney and somehow have found their way before this committee.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Katz, would you explain? We are not talking from documents. We are talking from our understanding of what transpired at meetings which at no place is reflected in any documents in the FBI, the Justice Department, or this committee.

Mr. KATZ. You just made up all of those?

Mr. ASHBROOK. If I made them up, he is answering responsively to my questions, if you were listening.

Let's go to the next one. I think you answered, circuitously, the last question, that you did, in fact, agree to make available this information.

Did you agree also to make available to the Viet Cong recordings on tapes or discs and to send them to the Viet Cong office in Prague for transmission to North Vietnam?

That is a simple question.

Mr. GREENBLATT. None of these questions are simple, because I think they touch on very complex matters, in addition to the complexities of the legal matter. They touch on the very nature of the war in Vietnam and touch at least with innuendo on what is legitimate—

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is a simple question that can be answered yes or no, without dissertation.

Mr. GREENBLATT. If Mr. Ashbrook can answer the question, I suggest he do so. I tried to answer the question in the way I think it should be answered.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair has been very liberal in letting you go afield, Mr. Greenblatt.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Perhaps the Chair is indeed being liberal.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I will rephrase the question. Did you agree also at this meeting in Prague to which we have been referring, about which there are no documents, did you agree also to make available to the Viet Cong recordings on tapes or discs and send them to the Viet Cong office in Prague for transmission to North Vietnam?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have said already several times that there were no explicit agreements, Mr. Ashbrook. You seem to imply that there was some kind of contractual agreement. There were no agreements made at this meeting.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Let's change the word "agreement." Did you suggest that you could make available to the Viet Cong recordings on tapes or discs which, in turn, could be sent from Prague to North Vietnam? Did you suggest that this would be possible? Not that you contracted.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have said on many occasions, and again I cannot recall exactly what I said on that particular occasion, that I will

do everything that I can find legitimately within my power to try to bring an end to the illegitimate and illegal policy of this country in its war against the Vietnamese people and in its war against their struggle for liberation.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Including sending records to Prague?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Including, Mr. Ashbrook, if you will, going to Hanoi, which I also did, which I am sure you will get to, including, if you will, speaking to the Vietnamese people and telling them the very things I am telling you right now.

If I were willing to do that, I would certainly be willing to give them matters of the public record. These are all matters of public record: the activities of the antiwar movement, the activities of the antidraft movement, our appeals to the people in this country that they do what they can to bring pressure, legitimate pressure, on the Government of the United States to bring this war to an end. And I would be willing to give these materials to anyone in the hope that they would read it, in the hope that this would have some kind of an effect on them and have some kind of effect in bringing this war to a speedy conclusion, and bringing the American soldiers who are dying there unnecessarily back to this country to fulfill their normal lives without having to serve in the oppressive Armed Forces of this country.

Mr. ASHBROOK. If I am to assume from your answer that you did either agree or suggest that you could make them available, whatever your terminology, would you tell us, then, what were these recordings, in fact, that you were going to send to Prague?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I don't know what assumptions you are making or you would like to make on the basis of my answer. I believe that I answered the question that you put to me in the best way that I know and that I believe possible.

Mr. ASHBROOK. As I recall, you said if you were willing to do all these other things, obviously you would be willing to do this. I assume from that you are saying to my previous question that you did suggest or agree, not a contractual agreement, to use your words, you did suggest or agree that you would make available to the Viet Cong recordings on tapes or discs which would be sent to the Viet Cong in Prague and from there for transmission to North Vietnam.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Again, this is—

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. If I made a wrong assumption, straighten me out. Your exact answer, as I recall it, was "If I was willing to do these other things, obviously I would be willing to do that."

I took that to be somewhat of an affirmative answer to the question. Maybe I was wrong.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I don't think you were wrong. As I said, I would be willing to send—and would, if I had in my possession right now, be willing to send—to the Vietnamese people, by whatever means I was able to do so, if the only way to send the kind of documents and the kind of recordings—if I may answer the question—the kind of documents and kind of recordings which are matters of public record which represent the nature of the American aggression in Vietnam and the reasons for that aggression in Vietnam and the fact that there are many millions of people in this country who are opposed to this Gov-



ernment policy, that this country not be labeled in the eyes of all the world as simply a repetition of other countries, the names of which, when I mentioned them the other day, for some reason the chairman became very concerned about, that there is not hopefully a repetition of Germany of the 1940's and not simply a repetition of Hungary in the 1930's and 1940's, which is still possible in this country, and with the people in this country who will fight this kind of genocidal war in Vietnam.

These are the kinds of materials, Mr. Ashbrook, that I would be willing to supply to the people of Vietnam and to anyone else, and will do everything in my power to supply such material.

Mr. ASHBROOK. One last question.

Mr. ICHORD. You stated your position, if I may interrupt, very strongly, Mr. Greenblatt. Do I understand that you support the North Vietnamese in the war?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I support the position that all people have a right to make their own decisions within the confines of their country, that they have the right to be free of invasion and aggression by other countries. I believe that the United States is fighting an illegal and illegitimate war against the people of Vietnam. I suggest to the Chair that I am, if you will, almost an expert witness by the nature of my own history and by the nature of my own experiences of what it feels like to be the victim of aggression and to be the victim of militarism.

Yes, I do sympathize with, and I am very much concerned for the welfare of, the Vietnamese people, as I am concerned for the welfare of all people who are being subjugated and suppressed by the policies of whatever government subjugates or suppresses them or tries to annihilate them.

I think this is what is going on in Vietnam because of the policies of this Government.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you for your answer.

May I ask you this question, Mr. Greenblatt: Who is the Alex referred to in the letter which Mr. Ashbrook read?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. KUNSTLER. I object again. You are getting into the area of his prosecution. I direct him not to answer and open myself—

Mr. ICHORD. What prosecution, Mr. Kunstler?

Mr. KUNSTLER. The prosecution that you have bandied about in this room in the Northern District of New York, a serious criminal charge.

I now understand why the prosecution was instituted in the first place, as a conduit to this committee of certain documents.

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, you can take this matter up in the courts.

Mr. KUNSTLER. But I am directing him not to answer.

Mr. ICHORD. Let there be order.

I repeat the question. I direct the witness to answer.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I stated to this committee before, and I think it is relevant for me to repeat at the present time, that I am willing to speak and I think I have, as Mr. Ashbrook has noted, and be responsive about my own activities and my own conduct.

I have in the past before this committee, and will continue to, refused to answer questions which will embarrass or which are being brought forward so as to expose for exposure's sake other people I

have been associated with, and that in particular, in this instance, making reference to these documents will, in addition, have the possibility of prejudicing litigation.

But the first part of my statement I think will apply in other instances that will come before this committee, that I am not in a position to speak about the activities and the actions of other people.

I think that the committee has apparently the very, very pervasive ability to get ahold of records, to get ahold of information, without the help of any of the witnesses. I suggest that most of the questions I have been asked, if not all of the questions that have been put to me, the committee at least assumed it had the answer to before it was put to me.

I suggest that the committee bring those people to this hearing and let them speak for themselves.

Mr. ICHORD. We may or may not have the answer, Mr. Greenblatt. We will go to another question.

Who is the "Albert"?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I believe I have already stated my position on this. The same applies as to the question previously.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Greenblatt, how long have you been the coordinator of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have been associated with the Mobilization Committee. I was a cochairman or a coordinator of that committee from the beginning of the formation of that committee. I helped, and I am very proud to say that I helped, found the committee, along with other people who were concerned with the war in Vietnam.

I cannot pinpoint the date at which time I used the title again to identify myself as coordinator of the committee as opposed to identifying myself solely as cochairman of the committee. My functions did not substantially change.

Mr. ICHORD. Who is the other cochairman?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I think that question, Mr. Chairman, is a matter of public record. I don't understand why it is necessary for me to name those people.

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will not press you on the question.

Mr. Counsel, have you further questions?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. Greenblatt, in the course of your spring 1968 travels, which included visits to Hanoi and Paris, did you not also stop on the island of Cyprus?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, I did.

Mr. SMITH. Is it a fact, Mr. Greenblatt, that you traveled to Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, for the purpose of taking part in an emergency meeting of the World Council of or for Peace, which is also known as the World Peace Council?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I did travel to Cyprus to participate in a conference. I don't know the official—I don't have before me right now the official title of the organization. I think it is something to that effect. I am not familiar, offhand, with the designation "emergency meeting" of that council.

I believe there was a conference of several days' duration, and I did travel to participate in that conference.

Let me explain that I was not a member of that conference. I was invited to give a report on some of my other travels, with the possibility of other matters that might come up. I was not an official member of that conference, and I traveled there to give that kind of report.

Mr. SMITH. Weren't you also aware when you made the decision to attend the meeting that the World Peace Council was created by, and is dominated by, the Soviet Union and that this fact is generally recognized throughout the world?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Let me say first that I will travel anywhere, in the words of another famous American, but I think I mean it—I am willing to travel anywhere to speak to anyone in any manner which can help bring peace to this troubled country.

Mr. ICHORD. Will the witness suspend for a minute? We have had a disruption in the committee room.

Let the Chair remind the audience you are guests of the committee. There must be order.

Go ahead.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Since there was disruption, let me repeat my answers. Perhaps it wasn't heard.

I am willing to travel anywhere to speak to anyone at any time on any matter that I believe has the slightest possibility of bringing an end to the cruel war in Vietnam and an end to the suffering, both to the Vietnamese and the American soldiers who are stationed there.

It was in that understanding that I traveled to this conference. I was not briefed by anyone. I was not particularly familiar with the full history of the conference. I wasn't interested all that much in the full history of the conference. I was very much aware, however, that participants in the conference, as participants in many other meetings that I have attended, might include, probably would include, people from around the world, people from different kinds of political opinions, and, yes, to mention the one word that seems to be anathema in this courtroom—

Mr. ICHORD. This is not a courtroom.

Mr. GREENBLATT. That is what I am told. I keep having the other impression. I have to respond by my own observations and my own impressions. I do feel a great deal is on trial here.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me ask you—

Mr. GREENBLATT. I have not completed the answer to the question.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I did travel there with the knowledge that there would be not only people from the Soviet Union there, but indeed card-carrying Communists would be there, also card-carrying everything else would be at that meeting.

There were card-carrying members of the American Express Credit Card Club. There were undoubtedly card-carrying members of the CIA and FBI in that meeting, an association I would much rather not be associated with than the Communist Party or any other political function, political grouping, anywhere in the world.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me ask you this question, Mr. Greenblatt.

Sergeant Grubisic appeared before this committee yesterday.<sup>1</sup> He testified that according to the minutes of an August 4 National

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Grubisic appeared before the committee on Oct. 1, 1968.

Mobilization Committee meeting, that you said that a curfew in Chicago would be clearly an oppressive measure, to be disobeyed, and that statement was made at that meeting.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. GREENBLATT. If the question specifically is whether I made the statement at that meeting, I think I would like to see a copy of the minutes of the meeting.

Mr. ICHORD. I have no copy of the minutes of the meeting. That was merely testimony of Sergeant Grubisic.

He said that you said at the meeting that the curfew in Chicago would be clearly an oppressive measure to be disobeyed.

My question to you is: Did you make that statement at that meeting?

Mr. KATZ. What proper legislative function can be served when you ask this witness to either confirm or deny what a Sergeant Grubisic would say? Is that an aid—

Mr. ICHORD. The Chair will explain to the counsel that it is a relevant question.

Mr. Greenblatt has traveled to various countries, including North Vietnam, Paris, and I believe he stated that he had traveled to Czechoslovakia.

Mr. KATZ. As do many other people.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I also stated, if you recall, that I traveled to Germany, I traveled to Hungary, I traveled to the United States.

Mr. ICHORD. You do have connections with foreign Communist powers. You have admitted those connections in your testimony here.

Mr. KATZ. What has that to do with a curfew in Chicago, testimony given by a Sergeant Grubisic?

Mr. ICHORD. The question is relevant as explained by the Chair. I direct you, Mr. Greenblatt, to answer the question.

Did you or did you not make that statement at the meeting of August 4?

Mr. GREENBLATT. May I hear the question again, please?

Mr. ICHORD. The question is: Did you say at the meeting of August 4 of the National Mobilization Committee meeting in Chicago that a curfew in Chicago would be clearly an oppressive measure to be disobeyed?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Mr. Chairman, I have been a part of many discussions in different places, on different circumstances, prior to Chicago, with things relevant to what might happen at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, where we were planning to go, many of us were planning to go, and asked thousands of American people to go to demonstrate our opposition in a legal and legitimate way to the policies of the Johnson government and specifically to policies of the Democratic Party.

In that connection, questions were raised as to what might be the response, the preliminary response, of the very Government officials, those Government officials that clearly wanted to continue these policies of war against the Vietnamese people and clearly wanted to continue the policies, or perhaps even increase policies, of oppression that had been used elsewhere in this country.

I am answering your question.

Mr. ICHORD. Proceed.

Mr. GREENBLATT. I would be very hard pressed to recall what words I used or what I said at any given meeting. However, this question specifically of curfew, the possibility that Mayor Daley of Chicago might use what he would consider his legitimate right, and which I think is an abuse of his right, of imposing various restrictions on the mobility and activities of people coming to petition the Government, people coming to petition their Government leaders, that he might use such techniques at his disposal to try to squash such dissent.

One of the possible uses or abuses of his power that had to be considered was the question of curfew, was the possibility of using curfew, because he could impose that and by the time we had tried to get any kind of relief from other forms of the Government, from the Judiciary, for example, it might well be past the time of the Democratic Convention.

So I am sure that at one time or another, perhaps at the meeting referred to, and in this context, I made my views known as to what the implications would be, probably would be, if Mayor Daley or any other official of the administration of the city of Chicago or of the State of Illinois imposed a curfew.

It was my feeling and still is my feeling that Mayor Daley, to use that example since it is a question of curfew in the city of Chicago that is at issue, would be perfectly willing to impose an illegitimate curfew in order to suppress the rights of people coming to that city to demonstrate.

In that eventuality, I would feel, and probably would say at various times, that I would not be willing to abide by an illegitimate curfew imposed in order to try to suppress dissent in this country.

Mr. ICHORD. It was your feeling that such a curfew should be disobeyed, then?

Mr. GREENBLATT. The kinds of curfew that I describe, the kinds of curfew that would be part of an attempt to deprive people from speaking up against the oppressive uses and abuses of Government in this country, it would be my feeling that such a curfew should be disobeyed, yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Gentlemen of the committee, it is now a quarter to 4, and the Chair has to catch a plane at 4:30 to return to Missouri. I do not think we can proceed any further.

Let the Chair announce at this time that these hearings have just begun, but because of the press of business and other engagements not only by the Chair, but also by other members of the committee, it is impossible to continue with these hearings prior to the elections on November 5.

Therefore, the hearings will be continued until December 2.

As far as the gentleman is concerned, Mr. Greenblatt, who has testified, you will be released from your subpoena, as well as Dr. Young, but for the other witnesses who have not testified, the subpoenas will be continued and you will be expected to be here at 10 o'clock on December 2.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:47 p.m., Friday, October 4, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Monday, December 2, 1968.)

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.)



# INDEX

## INDIVIDUALS

### A

	Page
Abel, Rudolf I.....	2270
Abernathy, Ralph.....	2347, 2352, 2369
Abt, John J.....	2270, 2311
Adelman.....	2376
Agnew (Spiro T.).....	2362
Al.....	2401, 2403
Albert.....	2481, 2488
Albert, Stewart (Stu).....	2401-2403
Alexander, Franklin Delano.....	2299
Alexander, Kendra Claire (nee Kendra Claire Harris; Mrs. Franklin Delano Alexander).....	2292, 2298, 2299, 2336, 2337
Alicia.....	2282
Anderson, John.....	2369
Aptheker, Bettina (Mrs. Jack Kurzweil).....	2256, 2257, 2268, 2371
Armstrong, Lucius.....	2300
Ayers, Bill.....	2360

### B

Baker, David.....	2321, 2323
Baker, Karl.....	2360
Banana.....	2394, 2395
Bayo, Dixie.....	2369
Becker, Norma.....	2258, 2373
Bedner, Marc.....	2360
Beinen, Irving.....	2348, 2351, 2356, 2360, 2363, 2364, 2369
Benson, John.....	2360
Bentley, Elizabeth.....	2270
Berman, Lowen.....	2345
Berman, Rebecca.....	2373
Bernhard, Karl.....	2369
Berrigan, Philip.....	2369
Bethune, Norman.....	2427
Bevel, James.....	2369
Bick, Barbara.....	2361, 2364, 2366
Bickler, Tom.....	2348
Bill.....	2285-2287
Birnbaum, Irving.....	2314
Bissinger, Karl.....	2369, 2373
Black, Carolyn.....	2292, 2293, 2298, 2305
Blackstock, Nelson.....	2369
Bleich, Herb.....	2305, 2369
Bloom, Abe.....	2360
Boardman, Betty.....	2348
Bock, Irvin A.....	2348
Booth, Paul.....	2272
Boyer, Mary.....	2348
Bradley, Thompson.....	2369
Braun, Joyce.....	2348
Brick, Allan.....	2360

	Page
Bristol, Jim	2369
Britts, Barbara	2348, 2351
Brody, Lenny	2360
Brophy, John T.	2414
Brown, Connie (Constance)	2278, 2289
Brown, Josh	2360
Brown, Robert McAfee	2369
Browne, Robert S.	2369
Brownell, Herbert, Jr.	2274
Budenz, Louis (Francis)	2306
Burchett, Wilfred	2366
Butler, Cecil C.	2278, 2286, 2288, 2289, 2447

## C

Cadwell, Arthur (alias Hangnail)	2393, 2394
Calvert, Greg	2292, 2298, 2369
Campbell	2361, 2383, 2384
Campbell, Joan	2360
Canter, David Simon	2260, 2261, 2354
Carlisle	2394
Carmichael, Stokely	2305, 2369
Cerutti, Gene	2351, 2352
Chambers, Whittaker	2270
Chertov, Pearl	2369
Chomsky, Noam	2369
Clark, Ron	2369
Cleaver (Eldridge)	2362
Cloke, Kenneth (Ken)	2270, 2276-2279, 2282, 2283, 2285-2289
Coe, John M.	2277
Coffin, William Sloan	2369
Coleman, Dovie	2292, 2298
Collins	2366
Connis, John	2354, 2355
Conrad, Richard D.	2348
Copstein, Seymour (also known as Plaven)	2270, 2271
Corbett	2394
Cornell, Tom	2292, 2298, 2369
Condert (Frederick R., Jr.)	2271
Consins, William, Jr.	2376, 2386, 2422, 2438, 2445, 2447, 2448, 2454, 2467, 2472
Craig, Sue	2369
Crockett, George B., Jr.	2277
Cronkite, Walter	2460
Cummings, Laird	2270, 2271
Cunningham, Dennis	2352

## D

Daley, Richard J.	2255, 2259, 2358, 2366, 2398, 2400, 2401, 2405, 2438, 2455, 2457, 2491
Dammann, Grace	2348
Darden, William	2292, 2298
Darrah, Rorry	2352
Dave	2286-2289
Davis, Rennard Cordon (Rennie)	2243, 2250-2252, 2273, 2275, 2278-2280, 2282-2289, 2292-2294, 2298, 2305, 2348, 2349, 2351, 2352, 2354, 2356, 2358, 2360-2364, 2375, 2383, 2384, 2386, 2389, 2391, 2396, 2428, 2429, 2432-2435, 2437, 2442, 2449, 2450, 2453, 2469, 2473-2475
Dawson, Kipp	2305, 2370
Dean, Max	2277
Dellinger, David (Dave)	2249, 2251, 2258, 2292-2295, 2297, 2298, 2303, 2305, 2317, 2324, 2347-2349, 2352, 2353, 2356-2358, 2360, 2361, 2363, 2364, 2370, 2376, 2385, 2387, 2389, 2391, 2396, 2398, 2409, 2410, 2432, 2437, 2449, 2466, 2475, 2476, 2481, 2484



	Page
Deming, Barbara	2360, 2370
Dickerson, Earl B.	2277
Di Gia, Ralph	2373
di Suvero, Henry (M)	2238, 2252, 2304, 2311, 2375, 2376, 2383
Dohrn, Bernardine	2254, 2278, 2282, 2284, 2285, 2287-2390
Donaldson, Ivanhoe	2370
Dostal, Ted	2348
Dowd, Douglas	2373
Dreyfus, Benjamin	2277
Drinan, Robert F.	2277
Duncan, Don	2292, 2298
Durham, Earl	2292, 2293, 2297, 2298, 2301, 2302, 2305

## E

Eberbach, Peggy	2370
Edgcomb, Gabrielle	2360
Edmonds, Eddie	2348
Egleson, Nick	2370
Egnal, Abe	2373
Emerson, Thomas I.	2277
Estes, Jim	2361
Evanoff, Al	2370

## F

Faulkner, Stanley	2277
Featherstone, Ralph	2370
Feinglass, Abe	2370
Fernandez, Richard	2370
Ferry, W. H.	2370
Foner, Moe	2370
Forman, James	2370
Fraenkel, Osmond K.	2277
France, Royal W.	2470
Frantz, Laurent B.	2470
Fred	2394-2397
Friedman, Paul	2257, 2305, 2370
Fronies, John	2321

## G

Gage-Colby, Ruth	2370
Gallagher, James Louis	2244-2273 (testimony)
Gannett, Betty	2267
Gardner Fred	2349 <sup>1</sup> , 2352 <sup>1</sup> , 2353
Gerassi, John	2370
Gerringer, Herman B.	2277
Ginger, Ann Fagan	2277
Ginsberg, Allen	2370
Gladstone, Irwin	2360
Glassman, Carol	2353
Gold, Richard M.	2361
Goldberg, Arthur	2278, 2289
Goldwater (Barry M.)	2263
Gonzalez, Corky (Rudolph)	2292, 2293 <sup>2</sup> , 2295 <sup>3</sup> , 2297 <sup>2</sup> , 2298 <sup>2</sup> , 2305 <sup>2</sup> , 2336 <sup>4</sup> , 2337 <sup>4</sup>
Goodman, Ernest	2277
Gorilla. (See Lucas, Charles.)	
Gorman, Patrick	2370

<sup>1</sup> Spelled "Gardiner" in this reference.

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly spelled "Gonzoles" in this reference.

<sup>3</sup> Incorrectly spelled "Gonzeles" in this reference.

<sup>4</sup> Incorrectly spelled "Gonzales" in this reference.

	Page
Gray, Jesse (Willard)-----	2305, 2370
Greenblatt, Robert (Bob)-----	2243,
2251, 2292, 2293, 2297, 2298, 2305, 2317, 2348, 2351, 2358, 2370, 2375,	
2376, 2383-2385, 2389, 2410, 2411, 2412-2422 (testimony), 2437,	
2449, 2450, 2475-2491 (testimony)	
Gregory, Dick-----	2314
Griffith, Pat-----	2370, 2373
Gripe, Donna-----	2351, 2361
Grizzard, Vernon-----	2292, 2298, 2305, 2321, 2324, 2352
Grogan, Pat-----	2360
Grosberg, Carol-----	2370
Gross, Alan-----	2360
Gross, Terry-----	2360
Grossman Jerry-----	2371
Grubisic, Joseph-----	2273-
2280 (testimony), 2282-2374 (testimony), 2401, 2437, 2489, 2490	
Grunauer, Abner-----	2370
Gurewitz, Helen-----	2348, 2361
Gutman, Jeremiah S-----	2376, 2377, 2383, 2386, 2387, 2411,
2422, 2438-2440, 2444-2449, 2454-2457, 2461, 2465, 2467-2475	

## H

Hall, Gus-----	2267
Halleck, Charles-----	2445-2447
Halliwell, Steven (Steve)-----	2278, 2289, 2364
Halstead, Fred-----	2292, 2296-2298, 2301, 2304, 2305, 2362, 2370
Hamerquist, Donald Andrew-----	2300
Hamerquist, Donald Lee (Don)-----	2292, 2296, 2298-2300, 2304
Hangnail. ( <i>See</i> Cadwell, Arthur.)	
Harman, J-----	2394
Harriman (Averell)-----	2476
Harris, Kendra Claire. ( <i>See</i> Alexander, Kendra Claire.)	
Haughton, Jim-----	2370
Hawley, Jim-----	2292, 2298
Hayden, Thomas (Tom)-----	2251, 2252,
2278, 2279, 2282, 2284-2286, 2289, 2292-2294, 2296, 2298, 2305, 2348,	
2350, 2354, 2358, 2360, 2361, 2363, 2370, 2376, 2392, 2396-2398,	
2437, 2476	
Hayes, Charles-----	2370
Hayes, Thomas L. (Tom)-----	2360, 2363, 2370
Healy, Joseph J-----	2273-2280 (testimony),
2282-2374 (testimony), 2401, 2437	
Heimbach, Wayne-----	2348
Hellman, Betty-----	2348, 2360
Henderson, Edward-----	2361
Hill, Richard-----	2348
Hodgett, Norman-----	2370
Hoffman, Abbie-----	2251-2253,
2361, 2367, 2376, 2391, 2392, 2395, 2397, 2400, 2413, 2420, 2421, 2437	
2445-2447	
Holland James G-----	2373
Holtzman, Eric-----	2370
Hoover, Herb-----	2348
Hoover, Herbert-----	2370
Hoover, J. Edgar-----	2255, 2306, 2398
Humphrey (Hubert H.)-----	2358, 2362
Hutcheson-----	2389, 2479

## J

Johnson, Arnold-----	2306, 2357, 2360, 2373
Johnson, Barry-----	2373
Johnson (Lyndon B.)-----	2263, 2267,
2275, 2284, 2294, 2295, 2297, 2349, 2358, 2363, 2399, 2484	

INDEX

v

	Page
Jones, Jeff -----	2371
Jones, Lew -----	2305, 2360, 2371
Joyce, Frank -----	2292, 2298
Judy -----	2401, 2403

K

Kalb, Phyllis -----	2257
Kalish, Arnold -----	2371
Kalish, Donald -----	2348, 2362, 2371
Kallen, Marcia -----	2360
Kampf, Louis -----	2360
Kaplow, Alicia -----	2278, 2289
Kasky, Frank -----	2394
Katz, Ken -----	2360
Katz, Sanford M. -----	2376, 2377,
2383-2385, 2412-2419, 2421, 2422, 2475-2478, 2480-2485, 2490	2371
Keating, Edward -----	2371
Kennedy (John Fitzgerald) -----	2270
Kennedy, Michael (J) -----	2238, 2243, 2308-2311, 2375, 2383, 2387, 2388, 2390, 2432
Kenny, Robert W. -----	2277
King, Martin Luther -----	2264, 2464
Kinoy, Arthur -----	2250, 2277, 2283, 2288, 2310, 2379, 2380, 2387
Klonsky, Michael -----	2254, 2255, 2348
Kowollik, Bob -----	2360
Krassner, Paul -----	2252, 2253
Krueger, Russell K -----	2300
Kunstler (William M) -----	2246, 2249
2250, 2283, 2288, 2310-2312, 2380-2383, 2386, 2387, 2391, 2392,	2395, 2396, 2398, 2409, 2446, 2447, 2473, 2478, 2479, 2481, 2487
Kurzweil, Mrs. Jack. (See Aptheker, Bettina.)	
Kushner, Samuel (Sam) -----	2306
Kushner, Sylvia (Mrs. Samuel Kushner) -----	2306, 2307, 2348

L

Lafayette, Bernard -----	2371
La Mont, Susan -----	2360
Lampe, Keith -----	2252, 2253, 2361
Larky, Hinda -----	2371
Lau -----	2476
Lefcourt, Gerald -----	2311, 2376, 2386, 2446, 2447
Lenin (V. I.) -----	2239, 2404
Lens, Sidney (Sid) -----	2292, 2295, 2297, 2360, 2361, 2363, 2467
Leonard, Debbie -----	2371
Lerch, Marilyn -----	2348, 2360
Lesnik, Richie -----	2360
Levenson, Joan -----	2277
Levitor -----	2302
Levy, Ben -----	2371
Lewis, John -----	2371
Likan, Barbara -----	2348
Liljenstople, Otto -----	2348 <sup>1</sup> , 2351, 2352 <sup>2</sup>
Livezey, Lowell -----	2348
Lobenstine, Clark -----	2373
Logan, George -----	2278, 2289
Lopez, Obed -----	2292, 2295, 2298
Louvallen, Willy -----	2360
Lowenthal, Wolfe -----	2321, 2354, 2391, 2392, 2396-2398, 2404
Lubell, Jonathan -----	2278, 2289
Lucas, C. Clement -----	2441
Lucas, Charles (alias Gorilla) -----	2393, 2394
Luckett, Joleigh -----	2371
Lutz, Sandy -----	2361
Lynch, Lincoln -----	2292, 2293, 2295, 2297, 2298, 2304, 2305, 2336, 2337, 2347, 2352, 2371
Lynd, Staughton -----	2371
Lyttle, Bradford (Brad) -----	2360, 2363, 2371

<sup>1</sup> Appears as "Liljanstople" in this reference.

<sup>2</sup> Appears as "Liljenhople" in this reference.

	M	Page
Maggi, Mike	-----	2360
Marcy, Sam	-----	2371
Martin, Key	-----	2371
Martin, William J.	-----	2391
Marx (Karl)	-----	2239
Mary	-----	2404
Matthews, Arthur	-----	2393
McAuliff, John	-----	2348, 2350
McCabe, Mike	-----	2372
McCarthy (Eugene J.)	-----	2354
McCarthy, Tim	-----	2356, 2360, 2363
McKiernan, Rose	-----	2348
McKissick, Floyd (B.)	-----	2372
McNamara (Robert S.)	-----	2262
McReynolds, Dave	-----	2372, 2373
McTernan, John T.	-----	2277
Meacham, Steward	-----	2292, 2296, 2298
Meacham, Stewart	-----	2372
Melish, Howard	-----	2306, 2372
Miller, Patti	-----	2372
Mitchell, Charlene	-----	2292, 2297, 2298, 2301
Mitelman, Paul	-----	2278, 2289
Molesky, Michael F.	-----	2464
Montgomery, Lucy	-----	2292, 2297, 2298, 2306, 2348
Moore, Lesley	-----	2348
Moore, Mrs. Philip W., Jr.	-----	2348
Morse, Linda	-----	2258, 2372
Morse, Wayne	-----	2265
Munaker, Sue	-----	2292, 2293, 2296, 2298, 2305, 2449
Muskie (Edmund S.)	-----	2362

## N

Nancy	-----	2401, 2403
Nathan, Otto	-----	2305, 2371
Needum, Patrick	-----	2458
Neuhaus, Richard ( <i>see also</i> Newhouse, Richard)	-----	2374
Newhouse, Richard ( <i>see also</i> Neuhaus, Richard)	-----	2373
Nevell, Edward	-----	2393
Nixon (Richard M.)	-----	2275, 2294, 2362

## O

Ochs, Richard	-----	2360
O'Dell, Hunter Pitts. ( <i>See</i> O'Dell, Jack.)	-----	
O'Dell, Jack (also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell)	-----	2306, 2371
Opper, Barry	-----	2400
Oswald, Lee Harvey	-----	2270

## P

Palmour, Jody	-----	2371
Peck, James	-----	2373
Peck, Sidney (M.)	-----	2247, 2292, 2294, 2296, 2298, 2348, 2362,
Peebles, Jack	-----	2371
Pepper, Bill	-----	2371
Perie (Victor)	-----	2270
Phan Van Chung	-----	2482
Phillipe	-----	2481
Pierce, Ruth	-----	2348
Pierson, Robert L.	-----	2389,
	2390-2403 (testimony), 2404-2409 (testimony), 2410, 2437	
Plaven. ( <i>See</i> Copstein, Seymour.)	-----	
Plaxton, Meg	-----	2348
Pope Paul VI	-----	2265
Potter, Paul	-----	2350, 2352

	Page
Powers .....	2394
Powers, Gary F.....	2261
Primack, Maxwell.....	2348
Prospect, The.....	2394
Purvis, Harry.....	2372

## R

Rabinowitz, Victor.....	2277
Radford, Ben.....	2348, 2405
Rapaport, Monroe.....	2372
Rapp (Herbert A.).....	2271
Reeves, Walter.....	2360
Rice, Charles.....	2372
Ring, Harry.....	2306, 2360, 2364, 2372
Ristorucci, Jose.....	2372
Robbins, Terry.....	2360
Roberts, Dennis.....	2282, 2287
Robin.....	2404
Robinson, Cleveland.....	2347, 2352, 2372
Robinson, Michael.....	2348, 2372
Robinson, Rod.....	2360
Rollins, James (Jim).....	2272, 2292, 2296, 2298
Rose, Don.....	2348, 2351
Rose, Evelyn.....	2372
Rosen, Fred.....	2292, 2298, 2372
Rosen, Sumner.....	2372
Rosenblum, Frank.....	2372
Rossen, John.....	2274
Rubin, Jerry.....	2246, 2251-2253, 2272, 2354, 2361, 2367, 2376, 2380-2382, 2387, 2391, 2392, 2395-2399, 2401-2405, 2437
Rupert, Paul.....	2292, 2298
Rusk, Dean.....	2263, 2271
Russell, Carlos.....	2292-2296, 2298, 2303-2305, 2336, 2337

## S

Sack, Emily.....	2360
Samuels, Ruth.....	2348
Sanders, Ed.....	2252, 2253
Sandow, Greg.....	2361, 2364
Schaap, William.....	2278, 2289
Schaffner, Jay.....	2348
Scher, Steve.....	2257
Schmidt, Eric W.....	2278, 2282, 2289
Schneir, Walter.....	2360
Schutz, Trudl.....	2360
Schwinn, Gerald.....	2360
Scribner, David.....	2277
Seale, Bobby.....	2392, 2396, 2400
Seigle, Larry.....	2360
Sharp, Malcolm.....	2277
Sheppard, Linda.....	2369
Shero, Jeffrey.....	2324
Shimabukuro, Kreg.....	2354, 2355
Shriman, Ruth.....	2348
Shroyer, David.....	2372
Shuttlesworth.....	2465
Shuttlesworth, Fred.....	2372
Silbey, Malford Q.....	2372
Simmon, Mark.....	2351, 2352
Simmons, Judith.....	2360
Simons, Mark.....	2306, 2314
Sinclair, Hamish.....	2348
Small, George.....	2372
Smith, Benjamin.....	2277

	Page
Smith, Bernice-----	2361
Sommers, Leland-----	2360
Spiegel, Joan-----	2348
Spiegel, Jack Drobny-----	2256, 2292, 2296, 2298, 2300, 2301, 2304, 2306, 2372
Spiegelberg, Eldora-----	2372
Spock, Benjamin-----	2272, 2372
Standard, William-----	2372
Stanton, Nona-----	2361
Stapleton, Syd-----	2348
Starsky, Morris-----	2372
Stearns, Nancy-----	2376, 2385, 2386
Stein., Edward Ted-----	2314
Stergar, Albert-----	2349
Stern, Thalia-----	2373
Steven-----	2404
Sudler-----	2429, 2430, 2442, 2453
Sutro-----	2376
Swordlow, Amy-----	2372

## T

Tanzman, Harriet-----	2372
Taylor, Maxwell-----	2263, 2264, 2266
Teitel, Josie-----	2360
Teitel, Marty-----	2360
Terkel, Ida-----	2306
Terzaghi, Ruth D-----	2373
Texler, Tibi-----	2361
Tillman, John-----	2360, 2363
Tran Van An-----	2482
Tuden, Arthur-----	2373
Tuong By-----	2482
Turner, Ruth-----	2373

## V

Van Tassel, Harriet-----	2278, 2286, 2280, 2376
Venus, Richard-----	2373
Vince-----	2403

## W

Walgren, Eric-----	2278, 2287, 2289
Walker, Doris Brin-----	2277
Wallace (George C.)-----	2362
Ware (Harold)-----	2270
Waskow, Arthur (Art)-----	2295, 2361, 2363
Webb, Lee-----	2278, 2289, 2361, 2363, 2373
Wechsler, James A-----	2406
Weinberger, Eric-----	2349, 2360, 2373
Weiner, Lee-----	2354, 2355
Weinert, Bertram-----	2373
Weisburd, Abe-----	2373
Weisburd, Deborah-----	2373
Weiss, Cora-----	2294, 2373
Wells, Aaron O-----	2258
Wells, Rosaland-----	2373
Welsh, David-----	2292, 2297, 2298
Widener, Alice-----	2269, 2270
Wiley, George-----	2292, 2295, 2298, 2303
Williams, Hosea-----	2336, 2337
Willis, Edwin E-----	2251
Wilson, Dagmar-----	2292, 2297, 2298, 2373
Wilson, John-----	2295, 2303, 2336, 2337, 2347, 2352, 2360, 2364
Winkler, Agnes-----	2350
Witt (Nathan)-----	2270
Wolius, LeRoy-----	2260, 2261
Wright, Herman-----	2277
Wulf, Melvin L. (Mel)-----	2238, 2261, 2311, 2376, 2410, 2438

## Y

	Page
Yarrow, Ted-----	2361
Yates, Bill-----	2373
Yeats, Liz-----	2349
Young, Andrew-----	2373
Young, Quentin David-----	2259, 2261
2376, 2386, 2387, 2389, 2410, 2411, 2422-2436 (testimony), 2437,	
2438-2465 (testimony), 2465-2475 (testimony), 2491	
Young, Ron-----	2360, 2373,

## Z

Zagarell, Mike-----	2268
Zeiger, Leni-----	2292, 2298
Zinn, Howard-----	2373

## ORGANIZATIONS

## A

Ad Hoc Committee for Peace' Sake-----	2245
American Friends Service Committee. ( <i>See</i> entry under Religious Society of Friends.)	
American Medical Association-----	2258

## B

Bethune Club. ( <i>See</i> Communist Party of the United States of America.)	
Black Caucus Chicago Convention-----	2245
Black Panther Party (known variously as Black Panthers, Black Panther Political Party, Black Panther Political Party for Self-Defense, and Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPSD))--	2245, 2336, 2391, 2392, 2405
Blackstone Rangers-----	2245, 2352, 2400 2404

## C

CADRE. ( <i>See</i> Chicago Area Draft Resisters.)	
CAPAC. ( <i>See</i> Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.)	
CLDC. ( <i>See</i> Chicago Legal Defense Committee.)	
CNVA. ( <i>See</i> Committee for Non-Violent Action.)	
CO-AIM. ( <i>See</i> Coalition for an Anti-Imperialistic Movement.)	
COFO. ( <i>See</i> Council of Federated Organizations.)	
CPUSA. ( <i>See</i> Communist Party of the United States of America.)	
CRV. ( <i>See</i> Committee of Returned Volunteers.)	
Catholic Peace Fellowship-----	2245, 2369
Center for Radical Research-----	2245
Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE)-----	2245
Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights-----	2300
Chicago Legal Defense Committee (CDLC)-----	2306, 2307, 2313-2316
Chicago Legal Defense Fund-----	2307
Chicago Outlaws-----	2407
Chicago Peace Council-----	2245, 2256, 2274, 2300, 2307, 2353, 2361
Cincinnati Action for Peace-----	2245
Clergy & Laymen Concerned (also referred to as Concerned Clergy and Laymen)-----	2245
Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC)-----	2245, 2247
Cleveland Draft Resistance Union-----	2245, 2248
Coalition for an Anti-Imperialistic Movement (CO-AIM)-----	2245
Coalition for an Open Convention-----	2245, 2349, 2431, 2434
Committee for Non-Violent Action, New England-----	2245
Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV)-----	2245
Committee To End Legalized Murder by Cops-----	2299

	Page
Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA)-----	2245, 2249,
2254, 2257, 2258, 2261-2268, 2270, 2274, 2299, 2301, 2304-2306, 2353,	
2357, 2425-2427, 2431, 2435, 2442, 2443, 2470-2473, 2489	
National Structure:	
National Committee-----	2256, 2300, 2301, 2307
Executive Board-----	2301
National Conventions:	
Sixteenth Convention, February 9-12, 1957-----	2301
Eighteenth Convention, June 22-26, 1966-----	2300
States and Territories:	
Illinois:	
Chicago:	
Bethune Club-----	2425
New York:	
New York City Area:	
City College of New York unit-----	2271
Executive Committee-----	2271
Concerned Citizens-----	2245
Conference to plan a National Student Strike for Peace, December 28-30,	
1966, Chicago, Ill.-----	2300, 2307
Connecticut Peace Coalition-----	2245
Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)-----	2258
Crusade for Justice-----	2245
D	
DCA. ( <i>See</i> W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America.)	
DRV. ( <i>See</i> Democratic Republic of Vietnam.)	
Democratic Peoples Assemblies-----	2295
Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)-----	2481
Detroit People Against Racism-----	2245
Dow Action Committee-----	2245, 2247, 2260
Dow Chemical Company-----	2247, 2362
E	
Episcopal Peace Fellowship-----	2245
F	
Fair Play for Cuba Committee-----	2274
Fellowship of Reconciliation-----	2245
Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee ----	2245, 2257, 2258, 2262, 2271
Fort Hood Three Defense Committee-----	2300, 2304
Free City Survival Committee-----	2245, 2253
Friends of Chicago Legal Defense (FCLD)-----	2316
G	
Greater Boston Coordinating Committee-----	2369
H	
Headhunters -----	2392-2397, 2407
High School Union-----	2246
I	
IWMRDC -----	2246
International Committee to Release Edridge Cleaver-----	2246
International Publishers-----	2266
International Student Strike, January 27-29, University of Chicago, Chi- cago, Illinois-----	2268
J	
Jefferson School of Social Science-----	2271
L	
LID. ( <i>See</i> League for Industrial Democracy.)	
Labor Youth League:	
Chicago chapter-----	2301
Latin American Defense Organization (LADO)-----	2246
Law Students Civil Rights Research Council-----	2287
League for Industrial Democracy (LID)-----	2254, 2324



Liberation News Service----- 2358

## M

MCHR. (*See* Medical Committee for Human Rights.)  
 MFDP. (*See* Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.)  
 Massachusetts PAN----- 2371  
 Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR)----- 2246,  
     2258, 2259, 2317-2319, 2361, 2386, 2423, 2424, 2426-2428, 2434, 2440,  
     2444, 2455-2457, 2459, 2460, 2464, 2467, 2468, 2473  
     Chicago chapter----- 2260  
 Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling, of the Central Committee for  
     Conscientious Objectors----- 2246, 2300  
 Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born----- 2300  
 Milwaukee Organizing Committee----- 2372  
 Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)----- 2285, 2347, 2352  
 Movement Press, The----- 2281  
 Movement for a Democratic Society----- 2246, 2248

## N

NBAWADU. (*See* National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union.)  
 NCNP. (*See* National Conference for New Politics.)  
 NMC. (*See* National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.)  
 NWRO. (*See* National Welfare Rights Organization.)  
 Nation of Islam (NOI) (also known as Moslim Mosque, Inc., and Black  
     Muslims)----- 2371  
 National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)----- 2246  
 National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)----- 2267  
 National Conference for New Politics (NCNP)----- 2246,  
     2261, 2270, 2272, 2298, 2304  
     Executive Committee----- 2270  
     National Committee----- 2270  
     New York chapter----- 2269, 2271  
 National Coordinating Committee To End the War In Vietnam----- 2259  
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc----- 2274, 2300  
 National Council of Churches----- 2361  
 National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF) (also known  
     as National Liberation Front of South Vietnam)----- 2254, 2324, 2481, 2482  
 National Labor Conference for Peace----- 2300  
 National Lawyers Guild (NLG)----- 2261, 2276, 2371  
 National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF). (*See* National Front  
     for the Liberation of South Vietnam.)  
 National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam (NMC) (for-  
     merly known as Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in  
     Vietnam) (*see also* November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in  
     Vietnam, for Human Rights, and Economic Justice)----- 2238,  
     2246, 2249, 2251, 2252, 2255-2260, 2262, 2272, 2278, 2303-2306, 2317,  
     2321, 2324, 2325, 2336, 2338, 2347, 2350, 2351, 2354, 2356-2358, 2362,  
     2364, 2369, 2391, 2405, 2419-2421, 2427, 2428, 2431-2434, 2442-2444,  
     2448-2451, 2454, 2455, 2465, 2466, 2476, 2483, 2488, 2490  
 National Unity for Peace----- 2246  
 National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO)----- 2246  
 Negotiation Now----- 2371  
 New England Resistance----- 2257  
 New Outlook Publishers----- 2267  
 New University Conference----- 2246  
 New York School for Marxist Studies----- 2304  
 New York Workers School, The----- 2271  
 Newark Black Power Conference----- 2268, 2298  
 Newsreel----- 2388  
 North Shore Women for Peace----- 2246  
 November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in Vietnam, for Human  
     Rights, and for Economic Justice (predecessor to Spring Mobilization  
     Committee To End the War in Vietnam) (*See also* National Mobiliza-  
     tion Committee To End the War in Vietnam)----- 2249, 2301

## O

Ohio Peace Action----- 2246

## P

PLP. ( <i>See</i> Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) (or Party).)	Page
Parent School-----	2246
Peace and Freedom Party-----	2246
Peace Area Action Council (Cleveland)-----	2246
People Against Racism-----	2246
Philadelphia Mobilization-----	2246
Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) (or Party (PLP))-----	2245, 2246, 2253, 2254, 2300, 2305
Progressive Youth Organizing Committee-----	2300

## R

ROC. ( <i>See</i> Radical Organizing Committee.)	
Radical Organizing Committee (ROC)-----	2246, 2256, 2257
Radical Organizing Committee—Philadelphia-----	2248, 2258
Radical Women-----	2246
Religious Society of Friends:	
American Friends Service Committee-----	2245
RESIST-----	2246
Resistance, The-----	2246, 2257
New York chapter-----	2257

## S

SAMA. ( <i>See</i> Student American Medical Association.)	
SANE. ( <i>See</i> National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.)	
SCEF. ( <i>See</i> Southern Conference Educational Fund.)	
SCLC. ( <i>See</i> Southern Christian Leadership Conference.)	
SDS. ( <i>See</i> Students for a Democratic Society.)	
SHO. ( <i>See</i> Student Health Organization.)	
SMC. ( <i>See</i> Student Mobilization To End the War in Vietnam.)	
SNCC. ( <i>See</i> Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.)	
SOS. ( <i>See</i> Summer of Support.)	
SSOC. ( <i>See</i> Southern Student Organizing Committee.)	
SWP. ( <i>See</i> Socialist Workers Party.)	
School for Democracy-----	2271
Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-----	2245, 2246, 2257, 2258, 2262, 2301, 2305, 2306, 2453
Solidarity Bookshop (Chicago)-----	2246
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)-----	2431
Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)-----	2246, 2306, 2372
Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)-----	2483
Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam (formerly November 8 Mobilization Committee for Peace in Vietnam, for Human Rights, and for Economic Justice) ( <i>see also</i> National Mobilization Com- mittee To the War in Vietnam)-----	2247, 2249, 2301
Student American Medical Association-----	2441
Student Health Organization (SHO)-----	2246, 2317, 2319, 2351, 2457, 2459
Student Health Organization—Cleveland (SHO)-----	2247, 2248, 2259
Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam (SMC)-----	2246, 2256-2258, 2267, 2268, 2272, 2300, 2307, 2483
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)-----	2281, 2305, 2483
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)-----	2238, 2246, 2253-2256, 2262, 2268, 2272, 2275, 2278, 2318, 2324, 2391, 2392, 2399, 2405, 2468, 2483
National Council-----	2255
National Interim Committee-----	2255, 2272
Radical Education Project-----	2468
Summer of Support (SOS)-----	2246

## T

Teachers Committee-----	2373
Teachers for Peace in Viet Nam-----	2246
Translation World Publishers-----	2260, 2261

## U

	Page
UBF. ( <i>See</i> United Black Front.)	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Government of-----	2489
United Black Front (UBF)-----	2246
United States Government:	
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)-----	2382, 2384, 2386

## V

Veterans Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee-----	2373
Veterans and Reservists <sup>1</sup> -----	2373
Veterans for Peace-----	2246
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam-----	2373
Vietnam Day Committee-----	2253
Vietnam Veterans Advisory Committee-----	2246

## W

WRDA-----	2246
WSO. ( <i>See</i> West Side Organization.)	
War Resisters League-----	2373, 2483
Washington Mobilization Committee-----	2373
Washington Mobilization for Peace-----	2246
W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)-----	2246, 2267, 2268, 2299, 2304, 2483
Founding Convention, June 1964-----	2300
West Coast Mobilization Committee-----	2373
West Side Organization (WSO)-----	2246
Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union-----	2246
Women for Peace. ( <i>See</i> Women's International Strike for Peace.)	
Women Mobilized for Change-----	2246, 2361
Women Strike for Peace. ( <i>See</i> Women's International Strike for Peace.)	
Women's Coalition-----	2246
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom-----	2306
Women's International Strike for Peace (formerly known as Women Strike for Peace, Women's Strike for Peace, Women for Peace, Women Stand for Peace)-----	2246, 2266, 2267, 2373
Womens Co-Ordinating Committee-----	2246
Workers World Party (WWP)-----	2246, 2262
World Peace Council-----	2488, 2489
World Youth Festivals:	
Ninth Youth Festival, July 28-August 6, 1968, Sofia, Bulgaria-----	2299

## Y

YIP. ( <i>See</i> Youth International Party.)	
YSA. ( <i>See</i> Young Socialist Alliance.)	
Yippies. ( <i>See</i> Youth International Party.)	
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)-----	2246, 2254, 2257, 2305
Youth Against War and Fascism-----	2285, 2483
Youth for New America-----	2246
Youth International Party (YIP) (commonly referred to as Yippies)-----	2238, 2246, 2252, 2253, 2272, 2321, 2391, 2392, 2394, 2395, 2397, 2399, 2400, 2405

## PUBLICATIONS

## B

Berkeley Barb (newspaper)-----	2401, 2402
--------------------------------	------------

## C

Case Against General Heusinger, The (book)-----	2261
Convention Notes-----	2292, 2293, 2303

## D

Daily World-----	2257, 2262, 2299
------------------	------------------

<sup>1</sup> Appears as "Vets & Reservists."

	E	Page
Evergreen Review-----		2388
	F	
Fifth Estate, The-----		2245
Freedomways (magazine)-----		2306
	G	
Guardian -----	2245, 2251, 2253, 2260, 2262	
	L	
Lawyers Referral Directory-----		2261
Liberation (magazine)-----		2246
	M	
Militant, The -----		2262
Movement, The-----		2274, 2281
	N	
National Guardian -----		2272
New Left Notes-----		2253, 2255
New Politics News (newspaper)-----		2261
	P	
People's World-----		2253, 2307
	R	
Ramparts (magazine)-----		2246, 2260, 2388
Ramparts Wall Poster, The (newspaper)-----		2349, 2352-2354
Rat (newspaper) -----		2253, 2318, 2324, 2350
	T	
Trial of the U-2, The (book)-----		2261
	V	
Viet Nam : Inside Story of the Guerrilla War (book) (Wilfred Burchett) --		2266
	W	
Washington Free Press-----		2253
Worker, The -----		2262, 2263, 2267
	Y	
Yale Daily News-----		2388









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