

HEARINGS ON H.R. 12047, H.R. 14925, H.R. 16175,
H.R. 17140, AND H.R. 17194—BILLS TO MAKE
PUNISHABLE ASSISTANCE TO ENEMIES OF U.S.
IN TIME OF UNDECLARED WAR

Part 1

INVESTIGATIVE HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

AUGUST 16-19, 1966
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Part 1

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1966

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 10:15 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; George F. Senner, Jr., of Arizona; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama. Alternate member: Representative Del Clawson, of California).

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Ichord, Ashbrook, and Buchanan, and also Representative Clawson, alternate member.

House members also present: Representatives James G. Fulton, of Pennsylvania; Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; Willard S. Curtin, of Pennsylvania; Chester L. Mize, of Kansas; James R. Grover, Jr., of New York; Earle Cabell, of Texas; William L. Hungate, of Missouri; and Elford A. Cederberg, of Michigan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Ray McCommon, Jr., Herbert Romerstein, and Philip R. Manuel, investigators.

Mr. POOL. The subcommittee will come to order.

Some subpoenaed witnesses have received copies of the opening statement; others have not. Will counsel call the names of those subpoenaed witnesses who have not, and ask that they come forward and receive copies, so that they will be able to follow it, as it is read, and will be fully informed as to the nature and scope of the hearings.

Just do it in order here. He will call your name out, and you come forward and you get copies of the opening statement.

I rise simply to associate myself with the statements that have been made to the committee, to protest as vigorously as I can the treatment that the committee has afforded Mr. Kinoy, and to remind the committee that Mr. Kinoy has not merely been one of the counsel representing witnesses, his participation has been as chief counsel in arguing motions in court on behalf of these witnesses and it is not possible for them to have the same representation in his absence as with his presence.

I can see no justification for the treatment that the committee has afforded him, still less for proceeding to hear a witness whose testimony will be damaging to the clients we represent in the absence of Mr. Kinoy.

I withdraw from the representation of those witnesses.

Mr. POOL. Your objections are overruled.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman, my name is Joseph Forer, F-o-r-e-r, and I represent Mr. John Windrim Smith, who has been subpoenaed as a witness before the committee.

I wish to inform the committee that I feel obliged at this time to withdraw as counsel for Mr. Smith, at this time, because I do not feel that I can adequately represent him because I feel intimidated by the treatment that has been given to Mr. Kinoy. I most regret having to do this. I have never withdrawn my appearance on behalf of a client in the middle of a proceeding when he needs me, as a client.

I may say that I have practiced before this committee longer than any of your people have been on the committee. I think Mr. Nittle can attest to that, since 1947.

Frankly, this has been an experience which has shaken me a great deal and which I simply cannot condone. So I wish to inform the committee now that I am withdrawing as counsel for Mr. Smith and I wish also to inform the committee that Mr. Smith has no other counsel since I was the only attorney representing him.

Thank you, very much.

Mr. DONNER. May I be heard?

My name is Frank J. Donner. I am a member of the bar of the United States Supreme Court, of the State of New York, and half a dozen Federal circuit court bars over the country.

I represent Mr. Anatole Anton and Stuart McRae, two witnesses that have been subpoenaed from California. I have no desire to frustrate or obstruct these hearings but, speaking as a lawyer, I cannot continue to participate in the hearings because the committee, in my view, has destroyed the right of counsel by the treatment of Mr. Kinoy.

I have notified my clients that I am withdrawing and I, too, want to tell you that they are now without counsel.

Mr. GUTMAN. May I be heard, Mr. Chairman?

My name is Jeremiah S. Gutman. I appear on behalf of subpoenaed witness, Stanley Nadel, as you know. I join in all the statements just made by previous counsel. It seems perfectly clear to me that it is absolutely essential for the proper representation of a witness subpoenaed before this committee that he be represented by counsel not only at the time that he is on the stand, but during the entire course of the proceedings here, so that he can be advised and may receive the benefit of consultation upon all questions which may arise at the time when he is being questioned by this committee.

All right, now, Mr. Nittle, do you have a next witness? Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Anatole Ben Anton come forward, please?

Would Anatole Ben Anton come forward?

You are Anatole Ben Anton?

Mr. ANTON. Yes.

Mr. POOL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ANTON. No; I was deprived of counsel.

Mr. POOL. Do you desire a counsel?

Mr. ANTON. I certainly do.

Mr. POOL. I will give you the same instructions that I gave the witness a moment ago, and that is, you will have until tomorrow at noon to either employ counsel of your choice or, if you can't find counsel, discuss it with the staff, and they will attempt to get counsel for you downtown.

Mr. ANTON. I would just like to repeat, Joe, that, as Mr. Nadel said, I would never trust an attorney that would——

Mr. POOL. You will have until tomorrow, and you can make your statement then.

Mr. ANTON. Thank you.

Mr. POOL. Next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Stuart McRae come forward, please?

You are Stuart McRae?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I am.

Mr. POOL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. McRAE. Not at present.

Mr. POOL. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I do.

Mr. POOL. You will have until noon tomorrow to employ counsel of your choice. If you do not avail yourself of that, you can discuss it with the staff. If they can help you in any way, we will be glad to help you out.

Next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Steven C. Hamilton come forward, please?

You are Steven C. Hamilton?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is right.

Mr. POOL. Do you have counsel?

Mr. HAMILTON. I would like to make a word of explanation about that, and that's that the question of force and violence has been brought up before this committee, and you know who initiates force and violence, and I think the Fascist manner in which this lawyer was carried forcefully from the courtroom today, the way this lawyer was carried out of this courtroom——

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, the witness can't have it both ways. If he wants to testify without the benefit of attorney, he should respond to questions. We are not going to let him have it both ways.

Mr. POOL. Do you have a counsel?

Mr. HAMILTON. I wouldn't ask a counsel to represent me here and be subject to the same kind of procedures.

Mr. POOL. Well, I will give you that instruction, then, and let the record show that I have instructed the witness to be here tomorrow with counsel of his choice. If he can't obtain counsel, that the staff will

Mr. POOL. You have your instructions. Have a seat. Call the next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Anatole Ben Anton.

STATEMENT OF ANATOLE BEN ANTON

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your name for the purposes of the record, please?

Mr. ANTON. I would rather do that after I have been sworn in, if you don't mind.

Mr. POOL. Counsel asked you to state your name.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your name?

Mr. ANTON. Since I am not under oath, I can say "James Bond."

Mr. POOL. All right, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Anton?

Mr. ANTON. Well, the fact is—what is your name? I forget it.

Mr. NITTLE. It does not matter. Proceed.

Mr. ANTON. The fact is, Lackie—

Mr. NITTLE. Address your remarks to the Chair, please. You are not addressing me.

Mr. ANTON. The fact is, Mr. Lackie, that no self-respecting lawyer, members of this committee notwithstanding, would come into this courtroom now. So under those conditions, I am without counsel.

I have to face you people.

Mr. POOL. Do you desire counsel? Do you desire counsel?

Mr. ANTON. Of course I desire counsel.

Mr. POOL. Have you tried to obtain counsel?

Mr. ANTON. The fact is that every counsel that has an intelligent position vis-a-vis this committee certainly would not violate the agreement of the lawyers to withdraw from this committee and certainly would not come in.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you wish, sir, to testify before this committee today without the benefit of counsel?

Mr. ANTON. Is that Mr. Willis?

Mr. ICHORD. I would remind the gentleman that the gentleman was in the committee earlier yesterday and that I thought this committee had some very important business to proceed with and that was the consideration of the Pool bill that would establish a criminal penalty for such actions that this witness, it has been testified, has been committing in certain areas in the United States. Such testimony is certainly within the jurisdiction of this committee.

The gentleman's counsel has withdrawn from the case. I do think that, in all fairness to this witness, he should be given an opportunity to obtain additional counsel.

But I do feel, sir, since you have been making so many statements, that the business that is pending before this committee is so important that we do not have time to listen to a bunch of clowns.

(At this point Mr. Clawson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ANTON. I am not the clown, I will have you know. But listen, Ritchie, really—

Mr. POOL. Let's have order. Wait just a minute.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I would move that this witness be continued over until November 15 under his subpoena, to give him ample opportunity to obtain counsel.

Mr. ANTON. No, that could not be. No lawyer would come into this—

Mr. POOL. Let's have order in the hearing room. Just be quiet until we ask you to say something.

Mr. ANTON. Joe, if you don't mind, I would like to state for the record that I would testify—Joe, I mean—I have busy things. I am a busy man myself.

Mr. POOL. You look as if you are pretty busy.

The motion has been made that this man's subpoena be continued until November 15. All in favor say "aye," all opposed, "no."

The ayes have it.

Your subpoena is continued until November 15.

You can now be seated.

Call the next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Stuart McRae come forward, please?

TESTIMONY OF STUART ALLAN McRAE

Mr. NITTLE. Your name is Stuart McRae?

Mr. McRAE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you appear with counsel?

Mr. McRAE. No, I do not. The actions of the committee deprive me of the counsel of my choice. I will testify without counsel. I feel no need of legal help in proceedings with such little respect for me.

Mr. POOL. Is it your statement that you do not desire counsel?

Mr. McRAE. I do not desire counsel that will enter this room under these conditions, there being no counsel that I can trust. I will proceed alone.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Ichord, would you like to make a motion?

Mr. McRAE. I wish to testify.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you wish to testify at this time?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I do.

Mr. ICHORD. Then I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be sworn.

Mr. POOL. Is that the desire of the witness to testify at this time without counsel?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, willingly under protest.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony—let's have order—you do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McRAE. I so affirm.

Mr. POOL. Do you affirm that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. McRAE. I so affirm.

Before proceeding, I have a statement I would like to read.

Mr. POOL. Counsel wants you to identify yourself first.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name for the purposes of the record?

Mr. McRAE. My name is Stuart Allan McRae.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you live?

Mr. McRAE. I am in a transit condition at the moment. My room right now is Room 306 Congressional Hotel.

Mr. NITTLE. What was your residence prior to coming here?

Mr. McRAE. 573 Center Drive [Palo Alto, California].

Mr. NITTLE. What was the date and place of your birth?

Mr. McRAE. January 29, 1944.

Mr. POOL. Counsel, he wishes to make a statement.

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I wish to make a statement. It is not a long statement.

My name is Stuart McRae. I am a student at Stanford University and I make this statement in protest against my appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Frankly I am incredulous at having been subpoenaed by this committee. I have broken no law. By what right does this committee, whose entire history has been plagued by bigotry, racism, and patriotic bigotry—

Mr. POOL. Just a moment. You can make a statement in objection to the proceedings, but limit it to objections.

Mr. McRAE. These are objections, vigorous objections. Let me say at the outset that I, like millions of other Americans, am convinced that the committee is unconstitutional, and is un-American as—

Mr. NITTLE. May I confer with the chairman a moment?

Mr. POOL. Yes.

You may proceed.

Mr. McRAE. Showing my support, I wish to indicate my support of the injunction against the committee on the basis it is unconstitutional according to the first amendment. But if this were one of the committee's garden-variety witch hunts, I would refuse to cooperate in this unconstitutional circus. This hearing has an enormous importance for the ever growing army of Americans, both adults and students, who are determined to resist Johnson's undeclared war in Vietnam.

I have a responsibility to stand up to this committee and to speak out against its transparent effort to intimidate resistance to the war, and I do not wish to permit a sinister crowd of the committee to shadow and besmirch me.

I have done nothing of which I am of the slightest ashamed and surely nothing which requires criminal sanctions. I am here on trial for sending money to the International Red Cross, for relief which is administered by the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, to alleviate the suffering of victims of brutal American bombing.

Am I to be harassed in believing in the ideals of the American Red Cross?

Senator Robert F. Kennedy has asserted that such aid to the suffering, whoever they are, is in the oldest American tradition. For acting on my convictions as an American, as a man, I have been dragged across the entire country to participate in the low comedy of this congressional sideshow.

But unfortunately we must take these hearings and the Pool bill seriously, for in addition to the general suppression of dissent, the subpoenaing of young people to these hearings represents a negative attempt by an agency of the Government to intimidate and suppress the peace movement.

It is clear to me that this hearing represents an attempt to smear the peace movement as red or subversive. More than this, it represents an attempt to stifle the peace actions which go beyond the politely spoken dissent that the administration tries to ignore.

This will not stop me from my views to end aggression of the United States in Vietnam, in responding to the call of conscience to help the wounded and suffering, and in cooperating with all of those, regardless of their politics, who believe as I do about the war.

It is my hope that that sector of the American public will find some solidarity encouraged to bring a possible end to this brutal carnage. That is the end of my statement.

Mr. POOL. All right, Counsel, go ahead with your questions.

If you have stated any objections there, they are overruled.

Mr. McRAE. I would expect nothing other than that.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. McRAE. It is a normal education. I have attended 6 years of grade school, elementary school, 3 years of junior high school, 3 years of high school, and 3 years at Stanford University.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the years of attendance at Stanford?

Mr. McRAE. I attended Stanford from September 1962 through June 1964, and again from September 1965 to June 1966.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior thereto, were you a graduate of the Highland High School at Albuquerque, New Mexico?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you serve as cochairman of the Stanford Medical Aid Committee?

Mr. McRAE. I am very proud to say that I did this activity.

Mr. NITTLE. When was that committee formed?

Mr. McRAE. There was no formal date of formation in that it was quite a fluidly organized committee. I believe it was in the month of October 1965.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at that time file in the Office of the Dean of Students at Stanford a constitution for, or charter of, the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam?

Mr. McRAE. May I ask you if that was turned over to you by the university authorities?

Mr. NITTLE. I asked you a question: Did you file a charter for the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam with the Office of the Dean of Students at Stanford on or about October 28, 1965?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I did.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, although the witness is here without counsel, I would like to make completely sure he understands his full rights, that he may invoke the fifth amendment to any question asked.

I would like to make sure that he understands this because I think it is our duty, even though he is not represented by counsel, that he has

waived that right, to inform him here, where he feels that a question might tend to incriminate him, he does have this right which is recognized totally by this committee.

Mr. ICHORD. To make that more explicit, Mr. Chairman, if the witness feels that the answers to any question might tend to incriminate him, that it would subject him to criminal proceedings—and this, of course, is not a trial, but merely an investigative hearing—the witness does have the right to rely upon the self-incrimination clause and decline to answer the question upon those grounds.

Mr. POOL. The witness is now so instructed in accordance with what Mr. Ashbrook and Mr. Ichord have just stated.

That is for your information, for your guidance.

Go ahead.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were you invited to join in the formation of this group?

Mr. McRAE. I was originally invited by the numerous pictures in various newspapers of the country, of various atrocities and burnings of people that the United States has carried on.

This was my recruitment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you invited to form this Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam with Anatole Ben Anton?

Mr. McRAE. No one invited me to form this committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you discuss it with Anatole Ben Anton prior to the filing of the charter with Stanford?

Mr. McRAE. This line of questioning disgusts me fully. I will not say anything about anybody else on the grounds that this violates the trust of free association guaranteed by the first amendment. I will not answer questions referring to anyone else. This is disgusting; I am not going to come to that level.

Mr. POOL. That is not responsive and not a sufficient reason for you not to answer the question. Do you have any further objections, any other ground or objections, to answering the question?

Mr. McRAE. I would like to know the relevance of the question and I challenge the question as a violation of the first amendment.

Mr. POOL. State the relevancy of the question, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information, Mr. Chairman, that this organization, the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam, was formed by Anatole Ben Anton, a member of the May 2nd Movement, together with Stuart McRae.

Mr. ICHORD. Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, one of the bills pending before this committee is H.R. 12047. Section 402 of the bill prescribes a criminal penalty for anyone who solicits, collects, receives, or gives to another, any money, property, or thing for delivery to any hostile foreign power, agency, or nationals thereof.

So it would definitely be within the purview of the resolution establishing this investigative hearing.

Mr. POOL. Without objection from any members, I rule that the question is relevant.

Go ahead and answer the question.

Mr. McRAE. Since you have subpoenaed Mr. Anton, I think it only decent that you ask him about his own activities and don't try to implicate me.

Mr. POOL. I direct the witness to answer the question or state a valid legal objection. We have informed you of the fifth amendment. Do you want to take the fifth amendment?

Mr. McRAE. Are you qualified to speak for the gallery?

Mr. POOL. We have informed you of the defense you might have if you want to answer the question. If you want to avail yourself of that, you now have the opportunity to do so.

Mr. McRAE. I will not answer that question. You subpoenaed Mr. Anton. You can ask him this question. You are trying to put me in the position of being of the same low character as the witnesses, the first witnesses.

Mr. POOL. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. McRAE. You can tear the tongue from my mouth before I answer the question.

Mr. POOL. Take the next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I speak to the Chair?

Mr. POOL. I would suggest, Counsel, before you go to the next question, that you inform the witness, if he fails to respond to the question or give a valid reason for not answering the question, of the penalties that he could incur under the contempt proceedings.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, could I be recognized for a moment?

Mr. POOL. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, since the witness is not represented by counsel, I think he should be fully informed.

I will state to the witness that this member is a member of the Missouri Bar and also of the bar of the United States Supreme Court.

The witness testifying before this committee cannot be compelled to testify if he feels that the answer to that question would incriminate him.

The Supreme Court in numerous cases has held time and time again that the rights guaranteed an American citizen under the Constitution, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, are not sufficient grounds to refuse to testify before a congressional committee.

The courts have also held the same time and time again in regard to amendment number 4, amendment number 6, amendment number 7, amendment number 8, amendment number 9, and amendment number 10, which I believe one of the witnesses yesterday sought to invoke.

The amendment that is a sufficient grounds, provided that he feels the answer would incriminate himself, is the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

You have the right, if you feel that it would incriminate you, to refuse to answer on those grounds. Otherwise, the cases do hold that you should be compelled to answer.

Mr. McRAE. The only way answering this question would incriminate me is to make me stoop to the level of an animal. I am not going to that level.

Mr. POOL. With that instruction that Mr. Ichord has just given you and the information he has given you for your benefit, I direct you

for the last time to answer the question, the previous question, the last question asked.

Mr. McRAE. I will answer any questions about myself. If you want to know about other people, you can ask them. You have the power to subpoena anyone you wish. I am not going to be reduced to this level. Direct me again.

Do you wish to go for six on this?

Mr. POOL. I can't hear you.

Mr. McRAE. I said do you wish to go for six on this? The Supreme Court has slapped down the last five contempt decisions.

Mr. ICHORD. I will state to the witness that the sixth amendment covers trials, and this definitely is not a trial. The witness is not under trial before this hearing. There is a possibility that the witness could be in contempt of this committee, but I would further explain that although the Congress does have the power to exercise contempt itself—it has been done in the history of the United States Congress, but it is not doing it at the present time as the procedure is to go through the courts.

Always, the Congress votes a contempt citation which is only similar to a complaint. Any witness that would be cited for contempt would still have a right to go before a grand jury.

A grand jury would have to return an indictment and then, of course, he would be entitled to a trial. I think that is the best I can explain it for the witness in layman's terms. I think he is sufficiently informed at the present time.

Mr. POOL. I direct the witness to answer the last question asked him.

Mr. McRAE. I will not answer this question on the grounds that it nauseates me and I am liable to vomit all over this table.

Mr. POOL. Next question.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the major effort at Stanford in the way of raising funds for this committee which you served as chairman?

Mr. McRAE. The effort of my committee for aid to the victims of U.S. aggression was to collect money to be sent to the International Red Cross to be used by the Red Cross of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of the people of South Vietnam then for use in alleviating the suffering of the people who are bombed and murdered by the indiscriminate bombing of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hold a rally on November 2, 1965, at White Plaza, for the purpose of making collections for this purpose?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, we did. The rally was quite successful, I might add.

Mr. NITTLE. The reports are that you received 40 pledges of blood and a certain amount of financial support. Did you receive 40 pledges for blood donations?

Mr. McRAE. Yes. That was a little less than we hoped for, but we got a few a little later on. I think 40 is approximately right.

Mr. NITTLE. How much money did you collect for this purpose at that rally?

Mr. McRAE. I don't remember how much at that rally. I know how much we eventually sent to the International Red Cross. We collected money over a period of time.

Mr. NITTLE. Is your committee for medical aid still in existence?

Mr. McRAE. No; as a matter of fact, it was dissolved. Each year the student organizations of Stanford University, to maintain their status, must reapply. So far this has not been done.

Mr. NITTLE. When was this organization dissolved, then?

Mr. McRAE. I don't know the date. I don't know when it becomes effective.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. McRae, could you pull the microphone a little closer to you? The acoustics are poor in this room. It is particularly difficult to hear you up here.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the total collection that you made for this organization during the time you had been associated with it?

Mr. McRAE. This was approximately somewhere over \$300.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you communicate with the American Red Cross with regard to the propriety of the collecting of this blood and money?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, we did. We informed the American Red Cross of what our planned activity was and received a letter commending our humanitarian attitude from some official of the American Red Cross.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you receive further information from the American Red Cross with regard to your plans?

Mr. McRAE. Later under the pressure of the furor caused by the initial statement by the American Red Cross, then it showed its true colors and came around and showed up its humanitarianism, so called, and declined to help us in our activity, though I must say in the first letter they directed us it was very good that we were dealing with the International Red Cross and that is what we should do.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McRae, I hand you a copy of a check or a draft drawn on Wells Fargo Bank at San Francisco, California, dated December 7, 1965, and made payable to the order of the International Committee of Red Cross, the purchaser being the Stanford Committee for Medical Aid, Box 7672, Stanford, California.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you purchase that draft at the Wells Fargo Bank on December 7, 1965?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I did purchase this draft in the name of the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. And at the time you purchased that draft, did you appear there with representatives of another medical aid group known as the Medical Aid Committee, Post Office Box 1128, Berkeley, California?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you aware that they likewise were purchasing a draft from the Wells Fargo Bank for the delivery of a similar amount to the International Committee of the Red Cross?

Mr. McRAE. Yes. We thought \$500 was a nice, round, conceivable number, that it would be very appropriate for the two groups to send each a check for \$250 to the International Red Cross.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Nittle, are you offering that in evidence?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. POOL. If there is no objection, it is so ordered.

(Check marked "McRae Exhibit No. 1" follows.)

McRAE EXHIBIT No. 1

PURCHASE STANFORD COMMITTEE FOR
MEDICAL AID BOX 7672
STANFORD, CA 1PORNIA

U.S. RATE 250.00
COMMISSION \$1.00
AIR MAIL .15
251.15

No. 118997

WELLS FARGO BANK

FORMERLY WELLS FARGO BANK AMERICAN TRUST COMPANY

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY 138

DECEMBER 7, 1965

OFFICE

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF RED CROSS U.S. \$250.00

PAYEE

UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWO HUNDRED FIFTY AND NO/100

DRAWN

UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

ORIGINATOR

OFFICE COPY

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

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware that the Medical Aid Committee of Berkeley, California, was also a group of the May 2nd Movement?

Mr. McRAE. I was aware that May 2nd was involved, not the sole membership of the Medical Aid Committee. Because it—the May 2nd agrees with some activity I undertake. I am not going to run and hide.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, following December 7, 1965, make any other payments to the International Red Cross?

Mr. McRAE. I relayed a check for \$50 to the International Red Cross that was made out directly to them.

Mr. NITTLE. When was that?

Mr. McRAE. I don't know the date.

Mr. NITTLE. Approximately how long after December 7, 1965?

Mr. McRAE. A week or two.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McRae, are you a member of the Young Socialist Alliance?

Mr. McRAE. No, I am not.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance?

Mr. McRAE. No, I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me, Mr. McRae, the Constitution of the Stanford Young Socialist Alliance as filed with the Office of the Dean of Students on December 15, 1965. Attached thereto is a membership list of the group.

Mr. McRAE. Excuse me. This is not to be construed as a membership list. The conditions under which I signed this were to enable some friends of mine to register as a group on campus so that they could present materials and speeches.

This was in the interests of free speech. I am not aligned to this group. I am not opposed to this group. But I am not a member.

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. POOL. Would you identify this document?

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you this document and direct your attention to the last page of it, which is captioned "Stanford YSA members." It appears to be a continuation of the prior page on that subject: your name, "Stuart McRae," appears thereon.

Mr. McRAE. In view of the fact that the YSA has a rather rigorous membership procedure, they keep records nationally, I am not on those records. I signed this—see it is written in pencil "members." I was not aware even at the time that this meant membership. I am not a member of this group. I don't care whether you wish to call me that or not.

Mr. POOL. But you are identifying that signature?

Mr. McRAE. This is my signature.

Mr. POOL. We understand your explanation. I just wanted to identify it.

Are you offering that in evidence?

His statements are in the record, of course.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

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

McRAE EXHIBIT NO. 2

ASSOC. DEAN OF STUDENTS

DEC 15 1965

O & A, STANFORD

CONSTITUTION OF THE STANFORD YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Young Socialist Alliance.

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The Young Socialist Alliance is formed in response to the need for a youth organization capable of bringing revolutionary socialist ideas to a new generation. Socialism means that for the first time in history man will control his own creation--society--rather than be controlled by it. The dynamic of socialism is a continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture, and every aspect of human life.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

1. Members of the Stanford community are eligible for membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.
2. Membership in the Young Socialist Alliance does not in any way imply membership in or affiliation with any other group, local, national, or international, whatsoever.
3. Membership in the Young Socialist Alliance may be obtained upon application to the organization by a vote of the majority of the membership.

ARTICLE IV: OFFICERS

1. There shall be elected an Organizer by majority vote, who shall represent the Young Socialist Alliance to the public.
2. The Organizer shall appoint a Finance Chairman, who shall collect and disburse all funds and shall keep an accurate financial record at all times and shall fulfill all requirements of that office set forth under Stanford and ASSU regulations. The Organizer may appoint himself or herself.

ARTICLE V: MEETINGS

1. The Young Socialist Alliance shall meet at least once each quarter. Special meetings may be called by the Organizer or by a majority of the members of the Young Socialist Alliance.
2. Meetings other than special meetings shall be called by the Organizer.

ARTICLE VI: ELECTIONS

Elections for all elective offices shall be held in Spring Quarter of each year. Newly elected officers shall take office immediately and serve until the election of their successors the following Spring Quarter. Officers will be elected by a majority of members present at a meeting called for the purpose at least one week in advance.

ARTICLE VII: FINANCES

All funds of this organization shall be deposited with the Students' Organization Fund and shall be handled by the Finance Chairman in the manner prescribed by the rules and regulations of the Fund and of the ASSU.

ARTICLE VIII: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

There shall be no second required for motions to be placed in consideration. A Quorum shall consist of the Organizer and a majority of the membership. All decisions shall be taken by simple majority vote except when otherwise specified in this constitution. The chairman of all meetings and committees has a right to voice and vote. The nay vote shall be taken first in calling the question. Roberts' Rules of Order (Revised) shall govern proceedings except where in

McRAE EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

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conflict with this constitution.

ARTICLE IX: BY-LAWS

By-laws may be adopted supplemental to and not in conflict with this constitution by a two-thirds vote at a meeting called for the purpose at least one week in advance.

ASSOC. DEAN OF STUDENTS

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O & A, STANFORD

McRAE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

MEMBERSHIP LIST—STANFORD YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

1. ~~Fred Safier~~ Fred Safier - 321-9635
 2. ~~John Zerzan~~ - John Zerzan
 3. ~~Mike Pincus~~ - Mike Pincus
 4. ~~Richard Lemon~~ - Richard Lemon
 - 5.
 - 6.
 - 7.
 - 8.
 - 9.
- (or Lemon)

Officers

Organizer - Fred Safier
Finance Chairman - Fred Safier

Faculty Advisor -

Kenneth I. Mills - Ken Mills
Philosophy

ASSOC. DEAN OF STUDENTS

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O & A, STANFORD

^{LIAI}
STANFORD YSA MEMBERS

S. Stuart McKee - Stuart McKee

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O & A, STANFORD

Mr. McRAE. May I ask how you got these records?

Mr. POOL. We don't answer questions like that.

Mr. McRAE. I think there is a basic question of freedom involved and I want to know whether these records were subpoenaed or whether the Stanford administration turned these records over.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused.

Mr. McRAE. Thank you.

I might add this has been a very educational experience.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

We will have to vacate this room at 3:30 and it is now 3:30. The committee is recessed until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Pool, Ichord, Ashbrook, and Buchanan; also Representative Clawson, alternate member.)

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., Thursday, August 18, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Friday, August 19, 1966.)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 3

HUAC ATTACKS PEACE MOVEMENT

America is retooling its war machine. Wage ceilings have been fixed; anti-strike policies have been adopted; credit-ratings have been cut. And most important, the government attempts to split and destroy political protest at home.

THE BERKELEY PEACE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN ATTACKED.

Using HUAC as their weapon, the government is seeking to intimidate and suppress an anti-war movement which has been unique in its ability to articulate and mobilize dissent.

The following were subpoenaed and must be in Washington DC. on August 16.

Anatole Anton, Stanford anti-war movement, Cuba Trip '63
Steve Cherkoss, VDC Anti-draft Committee; PLP Organizer
George Ewart, VDC, and PLP Student Club
Steve Hamilton, VDC, PLP, PROC expelled student
Stewart McRae, Stanford Anti-war Movement
Jerry Rubin, VDC Leader, Cuba '64, Scheer Campaign
Steven Smale, Cal Math Professor, VDC Leader
Windy Smith, VDC Steering Committee, DuBois Club

HELP RETURN THE ATTACK

Come to a PUBLIC MEETING, SUN, NIGHT, Aug. 7, 7:00,
WHEELER AUDITORIUM
Discuss plans and strategy for DEFENSE of our friends.