

# TESTIMONY OF KARL DIETRICH WOLFF

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

MARCH 14 AND 18, 1969

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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**J. G. SOURWINE**, *Chief Counsel*

**JOHN R. NORPEL, JR.**, *Director of Research*

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## RESOLUTION

*Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony given by Karl Dietrich Wolff in executive session on March 14, 1969, and the record of executive session of the subcommittee on March 18, 1969, at which Mr. Wolff was summoned to appear, be released from the injunction of secrecy, printed and made public.*

**Dated : March 26, 1969.**

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# TESTIMONY OF KARL DIETRICH WOLFF

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1969

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice at 10:20 a.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Present: Senator Strom Thurmond.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel, and John R. Norpel, Jr., director of research.

Senator THURMOND. The committee will come to order.

Mr. TIGAR. For the record—

Senator THURMOND. Just a minute. The hearing this morning was for the purpose of receiving testimony from Karl Dietrich Wolff, to whom a subpoena was issued signed by James O. Eastland, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate.

I believe the return on this subpoena shows it was served on the Karl Dietrich Wolff at First and Constitution Streets, Washington, D.C., at 10 a.m., on the 14th day of March 1969. So Mr. Wolff has been duly subpoenaed to appear here at this time.

I observe that he is not here but I believe there is a gentleman here who alleges he is his attorney, is that correct?

Mr. TIGAR. That is right, sir.

Senator THURMOND. What is your name?

Mr. TIGAR. My name is Michael Tigar, T-i-g-a-r, 1000 Hill Building, Washington, D.C. Here—

Senator THURMOND. Is Karl Dietrich Wolff going to respond to this subpoena and testify?

Mr. TIGAR. We have an application to make, Mr. Thurmond, Senator Thurmond, if we may, we would like to spread it on the record at this time.

Senator THURMOND. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, if I may intrude, I should like to ask one question for the record before this statement is made. Would the chairman permit this?

Senator THURMOND. Go ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Tigar, there is no contention on your part that Mr. Wolff's appearance this morning is conditional, is there?

Mr. TIGAR. I am not making any contention other than the one which I am about to make.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want you to tell the committee whether your client—

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Sourwine, I am not under subpoena here. I am here representing Mr. Wolff to make an application. If I am permitted to make it I shall, otherwise I am going to leave.

Mr. SOURWINE. Without your client making an appearance?

Mr. TIGAR. I have just stated—

Mr. SOURWINE. Does your presence here constitute an appearance by him or a proper response to the subpoena?

Senator THURMOND. I rule it does not. Is your client going to appear here and testify pursuant to this subpoena?

Mr. TIGAR. We have an application to make, Senator, which we would like to make at this time, that this hearing be thrown open to the public. The idea of having a secret proceeding, particularly with respect to a controversial public figure, is, we contend, and I am contending on Mr. Wolff's behalf, alien to the notions of American jurisprudence. This is not a case such as Yellin against United States or the cases decided by Judge Youngdahl in this district as reported at 227—Federal Supplement 227 in which a person wishes to shield himself from the glare of hostile publicity that may be generated by hearings such as this. Mr. Wolff wishes to have this hearing open to the press and to the public so that everyone can see what it is that this committee is about and what it is that he has to say in response to the questions that are going to be propounded by this committee. Therefore, we would propose at this time that the hearing be open to the public.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I speak to the motion, sir?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would call Mr. Tigar's attention to the fact that this committee is bound by a resolution of the full Committee on the Judiciary with respect to the hearing of witnesses in executive session before they are heard in public session, and I would suggest that if it is the disposition of the Chair to grant this application, that we have at least a perfunctory compliance with the rule by having a session of a few minutes with the witness which would identify him in executive session and then go into the public session so as to comply with the requirement of the full committee's mandate.

Senator THURMOND. Does that meet your approval?

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, I would have to consult with Mr. Wolff about that. But if the Chair wishes to rule in that regard and would indulge me for the matter of 90 seconds, I would be in a position to inform you.

Senator THURMOND. I think we are bound by the rule of the committee that we would have to, as it was expressed by counsel—

Mr. TIGAR. If it is the ruling of the Chair that, Senator, that the questions in executive session be limited to identification and that then the committee would go into public session, then as I say, if the committee would indulge me for 90 seconds or so, I could consult with Mr. Wolff on that.

Senator THURMOND. Does counsel agree to that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I would have no objection to a public session. The basic purpose of the rule as the Chair knows, is for the protection of the witness. There is also a secondary purpose which is the protection of other persons whom the witness might improperly name. I do not think under the circumstances this morning there is

any danger of that from this witness and his testimony undoubtedly will concern primarily himself and his own activities. I would see no objection to having a public session if we comply with the full committee's rule and do have an executive session first.

Senator THURMOND. All right. We will grant the request on the condition that the witness come first and be identified in executive session, and with such questions as may be propounded to him at that time prior to full session.

Mr. SOURWINE. I believe that the full committee room is available this morning if the Chair wishes to move the hearing there for the convenience of spectators.

Mr. TIGAR. We would prefer that, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. I think that would be better to do that. It is a larger room and would be more commodious and convenient, I think. We will excuse you.

Mr. TIGAR. Will you indulge me for 90 seconds, Senator?

Senator THURMOND. To consult with your witness and bring him back.

(A recess was taken.)

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Wolff, this is Senator Thurmond, and Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you do?

Senator THURMOND. Good morning.

Mr. SOURWINE. Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Senator THURMOND. You have been subpoenaed to testify here. Are you ready to testify?

Mr. TIGAR. Senator Thurmond, are you speaking now with respect to the application that was granted just a moment ago?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I speak off the record, please, for just a moment?

Senator THURMOND. All right.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. May we go back on the record?

Senator THURMOND. All right. Mr. Sourwine, do you wish to proceed now?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. If the witness may be sworn.

Senator THURMOND. Hold up your hand. The evidence that you will give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TIGAR. He would prefer to affirm, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. Does he object to taking the oath?

Mr. TIGAR. No, Senator. He does not object to taking the oath but if you will understand, as I understand the rules of the committee, he is permitted either to swear or to affirm and he would prefer to affirm. It is just a personal preference on his part.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator THURMOND. Then the witness does affirm that the evidence he gives here will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your name is Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a citizen of West Germany?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it is by your choice that the remainder of your examination by the committee is to be in public session?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You desire this?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, I do desire this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions for this executive session.

Senator THURMOND. Well, since he desires that, and no objection of the counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the motion will be granted and we will immediately move the place of the hearing from this executive room out to the public hearing room adjoining.

Mr. TIGAR. What room is that, Senator?

Senator THURMOND. Right in here.

(Whereupon, at 10:35 a.m., the hearing went into open session.)

## TESTIMONY OF KARL DIETRICH WOLFF

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FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1969

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond, presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel and John R. Norpel, Jr., director of research.

Senator THURMOND. The subcommittee will come to order.

This hearing was moved from the executive room at the request of the witness and his counsel to this room to give it public hearing. In this public hearing we are pleased to have anyone who cares to attend.

There will be order. Outbursts, expressions, are not permitted. And I direct the police if there are any disorders or outbursts that occur, that they will remove such persons from the room.

The hearing will now proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. You asked that before, did you not?

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a new session, Mr. Wolff. And if you will identify yourself for the record, we will then let the record show that you have already appeared in executive session and that you are under oath.

Mr. WOLFF. What do you do this for? You remember me and I remember you. Do not be silly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. Come on. Let us quit all that kind of — about. You know who I am and I know who you are and now let us get this thing started.

Senator THURMOND. Is your name Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. You know just the same.

Senator THURMOND. You refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. I do not refuse to answer the question. But it should be clear that I have no interest at all to sticking to rules you try to make up just for the fun of it. I should like to point out that already having made this meeting public, it is only serving the purpose to show quite clearly that this meeting can only have the purpose of obfuscating the function of the committee meetings like these have for the ruling class in the United States. After the attempts of HUAC,<sup>1</sup> all the

<sup>1</sup> House Un-American Activities Committee, now titled the House Internal Security Committee.

grand jury indictments and the Joe McCarthy-John McClellan Permanent Investigations Subcommittee to harass, intimidate, and repress the American movement, what is the purpose of me having been subpoenaed? They want to make the public—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you want an answer to that now?

Mr. WOLFF (continuing). Forget there are social causes for conflict.

When 3,000 high school students occupy Lindsay's office in New York, they look for Columbia students whom they think must have incited it. When there is a citywide high school strike in Los Angeles, the outside agitators must be found. When there is massive student unrest on the campuses, let us lie to the people that one of the reasons is perhaps the agitation by a German SDSer. By focusing on the myth of the outside agitator they attempt to obscure their own role in exploitation, oppression, and murder at home and abroad. I, for one, prefer the outside agitator to the outside murder. After the French Government attempted to discredit Daniel Cohn-Bendit as being an outside agitator, the masses replied, "We are all German Jews, we are all undesirable."

When people try to move in a direction of self-determination in this country and in West Germany, you and people like you tell them, "You are tools of alien interests." Therefore, these witch-hunting committees drag out the time-worn specter of an "internationalist conspiracy," as if it were unnatural that people throughout the world should join their struggles for liberation from hunger, exploitation, war, and oppression. We need not conspire. This is our job. Our goals and methods are public. Their desire to label us a conspiracy is just a psychological projection. It is they who conspire, through NATO's Nixon and De Gaulle and Kiesinger, incorporated, to safeguard the Fascist coup d'etat of the colonels in Greece. It is they who conspired through the CIA to overthrow the Iranian Mossadegh government, the revolutionary government in Guatemala, to cite only two examples, and there will be a lot more. It is they who conspire to organize genocide against the people of Vietnam who are seeking self-determination. It is they who conspired through these committees in collaboration with grand juries and police apparatuses to crush the black liberation movement.

In this specific situation there is the case of the bandit Dodd and his conspiracy with the most reactionary elements of the West German ruling class. Dodd is on the committee which has subpoenaed me, and his history of corrupt financial and political peddling with Gen. Julius Klein is ample proof enough of why he would like to see me harassed. Considering this close relationship, it is not surprising that I was subpoenaed after German Embassy officials monitored my lectures at U.S. universities. Dodd is part of a conspiracy to repress those who oppose the returning elements of fascism in West Germany.

We certainly remember, Mr. Senator, we certainly remember how committees like yours here cited Bertold Brecht and Eisler and how they were treated by the House committee, HUAC. Even though it is almost too flattering for a German to be placed by you in the tradition with Bertold Brecht, we certainly do remember your McCarthyite efforts to create fear of an internationalist conspiracy in the population. Today you cannot hide any more. It is the oppressive minorities like you who are, as a matter of fact, conspiring and ruining our countries, Mr. Senator.

Sartre—Jean Paul Sartre—a few years ago, refused to visit the United States and many of his reasons are still valid today. The policy of the imperialist government of the United States has only become more aggressive and more brutal. The information to which the American population has access about the political developments which take place in the world has become no better. Still, the majority of Americans are being lied to every day by mass media who decide which is the news that is fit to print. Perhaps I should have paid more attention to Hans Magnus Enzensberger, the famous German poet, last year when he explained fully why he was leaving Wesleyan College and the United States of America for Cuba, first free territory of the Americans.

But you see, Mr. Senator, our movements do not give in to harassment any more. The necessity of stopping the Internal Security Subcommittee and fellow bandits like you is not just a verbal commitment any more. My lawyers have advised me that it would be constitutional for me to plead the fifth amendment. The U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is not a body before which I could at all incriminate myself. It lacks legitimacy. To have spoken to people in this country about the dangerous move to the right in "free world" countries the emergence of a new institutional fascism both in West Germany and the United States, which does not need the goosestep or the black uniform of the SS, to have talked about the necessity to break the international conspiracy of NATO, and to have been subpoenaed for all this, this proves that I have done the contrary of incriminating myself—I have spoken the truth, and you should listen to it now, and it has offended.

The U.S. Government, of course, would prepare red carpet receptions for the main propagandizer in the Nazi-occupied territories, West German Chancellor Kiesinger. They, of course, have only immigration's harassment and illegal arrests for me. They show us who is allying with whom when they speak of American-German friendship in West Berlin or in Washington. In West Berlin their brand of German-American friendship consists of the news that the Secret Service might shoot unpredictably when the President of the United States sneaks in and out of the city like a thief. In West Germany this kind of German-American friendship consists of the Springer Press having a total blackout of news about the situation in the U.S. ghettos. The least thing I could do here—I have tried to do—is bring the message that the victories of the movement in the United States are considered our victories, that the repression against the radical movement in the United States which is being stepped up is repression against us. The economic and political interdependence of our societies has made international solidarity more than just a moral duty to speak up for the oppressed anywhere.

You, Mr. Senator, and your like, are just a bunch of criminal bandits. I have certainly not come here today to serve any of your dirty purposes.

We know that we are not alone.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that conclude your prepared statement, sir?

Mr. WOLFF. That concludes my prepared statement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you answer—

Senator THURMOND. Just let me ask this. Go ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you please answer the question as to whether you are Karl Dietrich Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. After this statement it is obvious that I am Karl Dietrich Wolff.

Mr. SOURWINE. OK.

Senator THURMOND. At your request and that of your counsel, we moved this hearing from an executive hearing in closed session to an open session. I observed in this statement you just gave that you used indecent and foul language.

Mr. WOLFF. Sure. Sure, I did. You see, obscenity was always one of the weapons of the oppressed, but Flaubert was illegal, Diderot was illegal, was a pornographer. That was always one of the weapons of the oppressed. Of course, down South you do not know but that was always one of the weapons of the oppressed.

Senator THURMOND. Now, if you continue to use indecent and foul language, we shall go back in closed session and continue the hearing there.

Mr. WOLFF. That is what you think.

Senator THURMOND. You may proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

When and where were you born, Mr. Wolff?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, you have my application for a visa. I know that you have the records. And I know how closely the Immigration Service in the United States has been following me and I think it is pretty useless to cite again here that I was born on February 27, 1943. You know it and I know it and we should try to get down to business. You should at least be open about what you, really, want to do here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, at the beginning we want to be sure that we have you accurately identified. It is at the moment for the record, I will state that committee does not have your application for a visa.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, then, you have a photocopy.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have given us—we have no photocopy.

Mr. WOLFF. There is no cooperation at all; no.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have given us the date of your birth. Will you tell us where it was?

Mr. WOLFF. If it helps you any to find the truth about what you are all about, I might perhaps tell you that I was born in Marburg, in Germany.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you. Will you tell us if you are married, and that is the last personal question that we have as a matter of identification.

Mr. WOLFF. I am not married.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us for the record, please, the correct name of the German SDS and spell it for the reporter so she can get it accurately?

Mr. WOLFF. I am not sure if I understand you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I will explain. In this country we have an organization called SDS—

Mr. WOLFF. Oh, you do?

Mr. SOURWINE (continuing). Which stands for Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. WOLFF. Oh, it does?

Mr. SOURWINE. We are informed that there is in Germany an organization which uses the initials SDS.

Mr. WOLFF. It does?

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to find out what those initials stand for in the German language and then what the German translates to in English. We do not understand that this is the same organization. We want the record to show what the facts are. Will you help us, please?

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, at this time the witness has informed me that if you are to begin questioning in detail in this manner he is going to require the services of a translator because while his ability in English extends to the ability to read out a statement such as this, he is not confident sufficiently of his fluency in the language to be able to deal with your line of questioning upon which you have embarked.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that at any time that the witness does not understand the question, he may indicate that fact and the question will be rephrased or otherwise put in such form that he does understand it.

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, if I may—

Mr. SOURWINE. It seems quite clear to counsel that the witness has an excellent command of the English language.

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, if I may speak to that point, the witness is here by virtue of a subpoena. He is here under an affirmation which was administered to him not 50 feet from this place, which makes his testimony here under penalty of the perjury laws of the United States, and for a false answer he could go to jail for a very long time to come.

Under those circumstances, it seems to me not only unwarranted but unfair to insist upon his answering the question in a language with which he is not fluent, a situation not at all dissimilar from that of a vague and overbroad oath which a witness is presented and asked to sign, a constitutional issue with which I am sure this committee is familiar, at least its counsel is familiar, by virtue of the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in Cramp against the Board of Public Infrastructure and terminating most recently in Elfbrandt against Russell.

I, therefore, submit that the position of Mr. Sourwine and his insistence really upon Mr. Wolff answering without the benefit of a translator is unwarranted.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I speak to the point before the Chair rules? This room is reasonably full of people. All of them here have heard Mr. Wolff read a lengthy statement rapidly and in a manner which was quite understandable to all of us, a statement in the English language. Mr. Wolff has answered a number—

Mr. WOLFF. I might like to point out—

Mr. SOURWINE. Please, sir.

Mr. WOLFF. I might like to point out that I am able to speak—

Senator THURMOND. Just a minute. If the counsel—

Mr. WOLFF (continuing). Speak some English and I know what I say in English, but I am not always sure that I really understand you. You see, bunches of bandits like you are difficult to understand and especially in English.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since the witness has admitted that he knows what he says in English and since he is not responsible for what I say—

Mr. TIGAR. He is responsible for making an accurate answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since the witness has an excellent understanding of English as well as an excellent command of the language, I ask that the petition for an interpreter be overruled or denied.

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, Milton Cross announces the Texaco symphony every afternoon, every Saturday afternoon, and reads out foreign language texts with a fluency that is an amazement to those of us who listen to the Texaco operas on Saturday, and yet, I am certain that Mr. Cross does not speak with fluency all the languages which he is able to read to the delight and amazement of spectators.

Senator THURMOND. I observe that counsel seems to be able to communicate fully and completely with the witness. As I understand, the question was this. In this country there is an organization known as the SDS, Students for a Democratic Society. The question was a very simple one, just to give us the name of the similar organization in Germany.

Mr. TIGAR. Senator, I do not have to answer any questions.

Senator THURMOND. Can you advise the witness to answer that question?

Mr. TIGAR. I do not have to answer any questions under penalty of perjury. That is, at least important questions.

Senator THURMOND. I understand, but I am asking counsel, will he not cooperate to the extent that he asks the witness to do that. If not, we will propound the question and he can refuse or not as he sees fit.

Mr. TIGAR. Your question again, Senator?

Mr. WOLFF. And please, very slowly.

Senator THURMOND. There is an organization in this country known as SDS, Students for a Democratic Society. The question is to please give us the German name of the organization in that country corresponding to the one in this country.

Mr. WOLFF. Can you tell me what this organization Students for a Democratic Society is, which you are linking up with an organization in West Germany?

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, the only linkup is the initials. Let me lay a foundation if the Chair will permit.

Senator THURMOND. On this question of interpreter, I would like to ask this. How long did you live in the United States?

Mr. WOLFF. Are you asking—

Senator THURMOND. I am asking you—

Mr. WOLFF. How long—

Senator THURMOND. How long did you live in the United States? Tell us when you lived here.

Mr. WOLFF. I have been in the United States for 14 days now.

Senator THURMOND. And did you live here previously?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I was an exchange student in the United States in 1959-60.

Senator THURMOND. You were here 2 years, then?

Mr. WOLFF. No; 1 year.

Senator THURMOND. One year?

Mr. WOLFF. School year.

Senator THURMOND. I observe you speak English quite well. You enunciate quite well. You seem to understand English words quite well. I see no need for an interpreter for a man who speaks as well as you do. And I refuse to postpone this hearing on account of the request for an interpreter.

Mr. TIGAR. Is the application—

Senator THURMOND. It is obvious to everyone who hears you speak that you understand the question, that you understand what is being asked of you, and it is simply a matter of you answering the question.

Counsel may proceed.

Mr. TIGAR. Senator, are you denying the application for an interpreter?

Senator THURMOND. Yes; I am denying the application for an interpreter.

Mr. WOLFF. That is typical of you, you know. The same things you always do, you know.

Senator THURMOND. I think it it purely an effort to delay and there is no need for it in my judgment, and I am sure anyone who hears this man talk—

Mr. WOLFF. It is typical—

Senator THURMOND. He understands fully what we are saying.

Mr. WOLFF. It is typical of the way you always rob peoples of their language. That is exactly the way you have robbed the black population of this country of their language, by telling them they understand English perfectly, but robbing them of their own culture. You see, there is problems involved in language and in understanding which you might know, perhaps. Perhaps you are proud of your southern accent, too. Well, perhaps I understand better some things—especially what you intend to ask me—when I have a translator. I know it is typical of you and it is good you denied our proposal to have a translator because it shows what you are all about. You are trying to impose your language even on foreigners that is the same kind of culture imperialism you are having in any other field, you know. And you know it. You know it very well.

Senator THURMOND. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff, are you aware that there is in Germany an organization which uses the initials SDS?

Mr. WOLFF. I am aware of the fact that there is an organization in West Germany which uses the initials CIA and which is working in Germany, as it does in the United States, as it does in Iran, and as it does in Guatemala, and as it does in Bolivia and as it does in Colombia, and as it does in South Vietnam. I am aware of that fact.

Mr. SOURWINE. This answer is not responsive. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. WOLFF. It is the most adequate answer I can give you.

Senator THURMOND. Will you answer the question that was propounded to you?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered.

Senator THURMOND. Your answer was not responsive.

Mr. WOLFF. It was very responsive.

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question that was asked you?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered as well as I can. I answered as well as I can.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a member, sir, of an organization in Germany which uses the initials SDS?

Mr. TIGAR. What conceivable relevance, Mr. Sourwine, does that have to any legitimate purpose for which this committee was established?

Mr. WOLFF. As far as I understand, I was subpoenaed to appear here to be questioned about the circumstances of my entry into the United States of America and of my activities while in this country and now you please come down to business or I am going to leave, you know.

Senator THURMOND. Will you answer the question counsel propounded or do you refuse to answer?

Mr. WOLFF. I tell you you should come down to business.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, maybe this would be—

Senator THURMOND. Would counsel repeat the question one more time?

Mr. SOURWINE. With the Chair's permission, maybe this will be helpful, sir. To answer Mr. Tigar's question, and I do hope you understand, Mr. Tigar, that you were here for the benefit of such advice as you may give your client but you are not here to participate in the hearing.

Mr. TIGAR. I do not care to, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. But the question you did propound could be interpreted as going to the issue of the pertinency of the question that was asked the witness. And for that reason I will explain that it is a foundation question in a sense. If Mr. Wolff is willing to admit that he belongs to an organization in Germany which is called SDS, the next question is whether that organization has any connection with the organization in this country known as Students for a Democratic Society. I do not know what the fact is and I want this record to show what the fact is.

The committee has an interest in Students for a Democratic Society and its activities in this country.

Mr. WOLFF. That is really very interesting. Well, I would like to tell you at first that even though being a law student I have also studied political science, I am not ready to help you prepare a political science analysis to help you compare different student organizations in the Western World. I have come here subpoenaed to testify about the circumstances of my entry into the United States and about my activities while in this country and that is what I am ready to do. If you had told me before that you wanted me to testify on grounds of my political scientific knowledge, then I would not have had to appear and I would not have appeared. So, you better ask questions which are pertinent to the question and then I will answer and if you continue to try to have unpaid labor by me done, as relates to questions of political scientific knowledge, then I will not answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you then refuse to answer this question? If you do, we will go on to the next one.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I answered before and I think I answered exactly in the way which was relevant to your question.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not answered the question as to whether you are a member of an organization in Germany which is known by the initials SDS.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, if you are going to start to ask questions everyone as he likes, I might start to ask you if you are a member of the CIA. I mean that is not the question up here. I could ask this gang leader up here if he is a member of the CIA or if he collaborated with the CIA but this is not relevant here. That is not what we have come here for.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question which has been asked is relevant and pertinent, sir. You are only delaying the proceedings.

Senator THURMOND. I ruled that the question is relevant and pertinent and that it should be answered. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. Are you a member of the CIA? Have you collaborated with the CIA?

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. Are you a member of the CIA? Have you collaborated with the CIA?

Senator THURMOND. I would like the record to show that the witness refuses to answer the question. I again give him one more chance to answer the question. Will you answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. Are you a member of the CIA or have you collaborated with the CIA in the absurd machinations throughout the world?

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Counsel, he refuses to answer the question. You may proceed with the next question.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your present immigration status?

Mr. WOLFF. I am not a student in America now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, let me break it down. Are you in the United States legally?

Mr. WOLFF. I suppose so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that you came to the United States with a multiple-entry visa?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you paroled into the United States upon your entry with inspection regarding your admissibility deferred until you reached San Francisco?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then, at San Francisco was parole extended and the inspection deferred until you reached Chicago?

Mr. WOLFF. No. At first the harassment continued in San Francisco. There had been a three-page memorandum on me on the border prepared by your CIA and this memorandum had not arrived in San Francisco immigration office yet when I came there, and so they again referred me for further inspection 3 days afterward. So there was further harassment 3 days afterward and only then they referred me for further inspection to Chicago, telling me that technically I had not been admitted to this country and that, of course, it might be possible that I could leave the country without formally having been admitted.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then, at Chicago was inspection again deferred to New York?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you under obligation to report to the Immigration Service in New York yesterday, on the 13th of March?

Mr. TIGAR. The witness has difficulty understanding the question. I have no difficulty understanding it. Mr. Sourwine, it calls for a legal conclusion on the part of the witness and, therefore, is improper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good. I will break the question down. I have no desire to ask him to make a legal conclusion.

Can we establish that inspection was deferred until New York?

Mr. TIGAR. We have.

Senator THURMOND. Let him answer the question. Let the witness answer the question, not the counsel.

Mr. TIGAR. Senator, the difficulty is that Mr. Sourwine's initial question asked for a legal conclusion expressing a very difficult question, embodying a very difficult question of immigration law, and the witness is not only—

Mr. SOURWINE. I will withdraw the question.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Sourwine rephrased the question and he asked another question which has not been answered.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will rephrase it. Were you asked or instructed or told to report to immigration authorities in New York on or before the close of business on the 13th of March of this year?

Mr. WOLFF. Your question leaves out a lot of details. As you perhaps remember, this witch-hunting conspiracy committee subpoenaed me yesterday already and I was here in Washington and, of course, made it a bit difficult to know what exactly is going on in the power structures of the United States when even U.S. Senators start to hide away, you know. Even today there is just one of them here and I mean the question is what authorities and what machinations are going on in this country? Who is subpoenaing who? Who is controlling what? Who is controlling and how?

Senator THURMOND. Will you answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered.

Senator THURMOND. Your answer is not responsive.

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Will counsel repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. I will answer the counsel's implied objection on grounds of pertinency by stating that this question goes to the issue of whether the witness is in the United States legally at the present time. This is something the committee wants to determine for the record. There was a complaint that I had asked the witness himself—

Mr. WOLFF. Perhaps it would be—

Mr. SOURWINE (continuing). To determine that issue and I think that complaint was well founded. Now, I am trying to limit the question to the facts.

Mr. WOLFF. Perhaps it would be a point of interest for this public to know when you started to work for the U.S. Immigration Service.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question—

Senator THURMOND. Your response had nothing to do in answering the question. Will you answer the question of counsel? Listen again. I am going to ask him to repeat it.

Mr. WOLFF. I answered.

Senator THURMOND. Will counsel repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you told or requested to report to immigration officials in New York on or before the close of business yesterday, the 13th of March, 1969?

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. It has been explained.

Senator THURMOND. The question is pertinent. The question is clear. And the witness has a chance to answer it. Does he answer or not?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered before. I asked this guy up there if he had started to work for the U.S. Immigration and I asked who is having

authority in this country and I asked what has been going on here, who is passing out subpoenas and who is running this country. That is what I ask.

Senator THURMOND. You are not to ask questions.

Mr. WOLFF. Ask questions—sure I ask questions. You think you alone are going to ask questions? Do you think that is your job to ask questions only and this population is just being lied to by you all the time? It is high time that people start to ask you questions. Do not behave like a bigot like that all the time. It is high time that people start to ask you questions about your role in supporting the CIA everywhere in the world, about your role in opposing any civil rights legislation in this country, about your role in supporting the aggression in South Vietnam. It is high time we start to ask you questions.

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. You are a bandit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the record show that the witness continues to demonstrate quite clearly that his command of the English language is excellent and fluent. This man needs no interpreter.

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. You are a bandit.

Senator THURMOND. I would like for the record to show that the witness has been given several opportunities to answer the question propounded by counsel and has refused. Mr. Counsel, proceed with another question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you on yesterday, the 13th of March, have any personal contact with the Immigration Office in New York City?

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency?

Senator THURMOND. The Chair rules that the question is pertinent and should be answered.

Mr. WOLFF. I already answered.

Senator THURMOND. Does the witness refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered before. I mean, we know by now that you always think some answers of mine are responsive and some others are not and we are tired of you making those decisions. Perhaps we should start to ask the public, take a vote if they think my answer was responsive, if they think this was a good answer or if they do not. We should let the people decide.

Mr. SOURWINE. The record will show what the answer was and the decision on whether or not it is responsive does not rest with the people who are spectators here today.

Mr. WOLFF. I cannot hear you.

Mr. SOURWINE. The record will also show—

Mr. WOLFF. Speak up a bit, you know.

Mr. SOURWINE (continuing). That the committee is treating you with courtesy and that you are not responding with either courtesy or calmness. Once more.

Mr. WOLFF. You see, we know about the—we know about the kind of way you treat people. As Teddy Roosevelt said, with a big smile and a big stick behind your back, and you treat people with courtesy here and the next day if you think it endangers your interest you might just decide to kill him off. That is what is happening to Black Panthers in this country all the time. Seventeen Black Panthers have

been killed in this country during the last year. Eighteen people have been killed in the black ghetto and the Chicago—alone in the last year in Los Angeles. You see, we know how you treat people when—do not try to fool us like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say black panther, do you mean people? The witness has talked in apparently one breath about black panthers and about certain people. I want to know if you were changing from a discussion of an animal species to a discussion of people?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I would like to say one thing to that. I prefer panthers to pigs.

Senator THURMOND. I shall ask the spectators to maintain order and quiet. I will tell the policeman that, if anyone does not, to remove him from the room.

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, I think that you might also ask counsel for the committee to restrain himself. That was the most overtly racist statement I think I have heard in the Halls of this body since Bilbo and Rankin departed.

Mr. WOLFF. One should also say something about your conception of publicity. Publicity does not mean that the people just watch on and listen in and that they are just behaving apathetically. That does not mean publicity. Publicity in a true democracy was always meant to mean that people can participate, that people can take part in discussion, that people can take part in decisionmaking. You seem to think these people are just your audience and afterwards they can grant you again what you do here by casting their votes in crap elections. That is not the problem here. You see, you have to realize—perhaps you have already and you are reacting to it oppressively—you have to realize, Mr. Senator, that in this country there is a movement nowadays which realizes that democracy only works in the long run if you practice it, and that means you practice it every day, that means you practice it at the place where you work and live, and that means that you practice it not only in elections which are not meaningful at all any more, taking a vote, let us say, between Wallace, Adolf Tietjens, Kiesinger, De Gaulle, Nixon, Humphrey or any one of those idiots, but that you take votes at a place where it is meaningful where you can bring about change, where you affect your own life.

You see, that is what is meant by publicity. We do not think that people just sit here to stay silent, and you behaving like a dictator. That is not the problem of publicity.

Now, I did give you a lecture in political science and I really should not have because you are not worth it.

Senator THURMOND. We have received a number of lectures from you this morning. Now we want the answers to the questions. Will you answer the question counsel propounded a few moments ago or do you refuse?

Mr. WOLFF. But, you know that I never refuse.

Senator THURMOND. Will you answer the question of counsel, I repeat?

Mr. TIGAR. Is there a pending question, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. There is a pending question. Counsel, would you state it again and give him one more chance to answer it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is whether on yesterday, the 13th of March, you had any personal contact with the Immigration Office in New York City?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered that question before. This question is not pending any more.

Senator THURMOND. Now, do you answer that question or do you refuse?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered it before.

Senator THURMOND. You have not answered the question. You have another chance. Do you refuse?

Mr. WOLFF. Wash your ears.

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. Wash your ears.

Senator THURMOND. I would like for the record to show that the witness has been given a number of opportunities to answer the question and has refused. Counsel will proceed with the next question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you yourself yesterday go to the offices of the U.S. Immigration Service in New York City? Do you understand that question?

Mr. WOLFF. No, I do not understand that question.

Mr. TIGAR. That is the same question as before, Mr. Chairman. We object to it on the grounds that it is an attempt to compound the penalty, if any, for refusing to answer by asking the same question in different forms.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, the original question was whether he had any contact. This question asks him if he went there in person. It is not the same question.

Senator THURMOND. The question is simple. Did you go to the Immigration Office in New York yesterday?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered before and I ask this guy up there whose name I forgot now, if he had started to become an officer of the U.S. Immigration Service and he did not answer to that question and I think we should continue now.

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer that question?

Mr. WOLFF. I think it is high time we continue to get down to business.

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Let the record show that the witness has had several opportunities to answer this question and has refused. Counsel, you may proceed with the next question.

Mr. SOURWINE. When do you plan to return to Canada?

Mr. WOLFF. I did not hear the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. When do you plan to return to Canada?

Mr. TIGAR. That assumes a fact not in evidence.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman—

Senator THURMOND. Counsel is not to answer questions. The witness is to answer questions.

Mr. TIGAR. Mr. Chairman, when the question is in the form "have you stopped beating your wife," it is improper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman—

Senator THURMOND. The Chair rules that the question is in order, that it is a proper question, and orders the witness to answer. Will he answer or not?

Mr. WOLFF. I do not have to answer when I take my next exam at universities, or how much money I earn. I do not have to answer you at what university I am going to speak next. I do not have to answer you what is going to be our next action. I do not have to answer you.

Senator THURMOND. The witness has refused to answer the question.  
Mr. WOLFF. No. I am not done yet. I am not done yet with my answer. Let me finish.

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOLFF. Do not always interrupt me.

Senator THURMOND. You do not answer the question.

Mr. WOLFF. I am starting to answer. If you do not interrupt me all the time like I am answering. Come on, now.

Senator THURMOND. Will you answer the question propounded?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, if you do not interrupt me all the time. I am answering fully. You know I am very responsive and I answer at length and I try to have the best English possible, OK?

Senator THURMOND. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. No, no. I am just now answering. I would not ask you when you planned your next coup d'etat by the CIA and I do not think you have any right to ask me what I am going to do next. I can tell you, though, and I invite you to this lecture. I speak at New York University tonight at 8 o'clock and perhaps it would be a good lesson for you to listen in about the reemergence of neonazism in West Germany and to understand what parallel there is to some developments in the United States. Perhaps that would be a good lecture for you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, if this hearing does not begin going faster than it is going now, we will still be here at 8 o'clock.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I will not be. I will not be.

Senator THURMOND. Let the record show that the witness has had a number of opportunities to answer this question and has refused. Mr. Counsel, proceed with the next question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps we can get some facts into the record by a device which I do not like to use but which may speed things up.

With the Chair's permission, I will ask a number of leading questions stating what the committee's information is and giving the witness an opportunity to correct it if this information is wrong.

Mr. WOLFF. Do not ask questions like that, you know. I will not run into your traps like that. Of course, I will not.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is not a trap, sir.

Mr. WOLFF. It is, of course, not a trap. The whole committee is not a trap. The whole committee does not consist of bandits, of course not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

It is the committee's information that Mr. Wolff, this witness, holds German passport D-0944806, which will expire March 25, 1969. Do you challenge that statement of fact?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us what the correct fact is, please?

Mr. WOLFF. It is number B-09—

Mr. SOURWINE. B as in Benjamin?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes. You see, that is important; is it not?

Mr. SOURWINE. It is important, yes, sir. That is why we are asking the questions, to be sure the record speaks true.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, certainly.

Mr. TIGAR. Let the record reflect that the myth of infallibility has been exploded.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I could ask that counsel be instructed that he is not here to participate in any way except to help his client and his voluntary remarks of that nature are not desirable.

Senator THURMOND. Counsel, you are admonished that you are here to advise your witness and not to answer questions.

Mr. TIGAR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, Mr. Wolff, for correcting the letter. Were the numbers in the passport correct? 0944806?

Mr. WOLFF. Would you repeat it?

Mr. SOURWINE. 0944806.

Mr. WOLFF. I think that is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the expiration date is March 25, 1969?

Mr. WOLFF. I do not know about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is the committee's information that your visa registration number is A-17998586. Do you challenge this?

Mr. WOLFF. I do not know what the visa registration number is. I can read you my visa. It says:

Number 002681 FRN, Consulate General of the United States of America, Frankfurt, Germany, Nonimmigrant Visa, Classification B-2, Date 13 January 1969, Valid if Presented before 13 January 1970 for multiple applications of admission to the United States; issued to Wolff, Karl Dietrich, Saul Moskowitz, Consul, gratis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir. That saves several questions.

Mr. WOLFF. You see how responsive I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir, thank you.

Mr. WOLFF. One thing we have to debate, though, is why I got the visa at all. You see, I was refused a visa three times before. For instance, I wanted to go to that Columbia conference of—this International Students Conference at Columbia in September and I was refused a visa then, and I know that you are up to trying to get someone in the Immigration Service now because he seems to work for you but you should first perhaps ask why I got the visa at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; why did you get it?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I have only one explanation. I got it on the 13th of January and that was a lameduck administration then. And anyone can draw any conclusions he wants from that.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you first apply for a visa?

Mr. WOLFF. Oh, I did several times. I was always refused.

Mr. SOURWINE. You applied more than once before you got it?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did apply in September; did you not?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of last year?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you denied a visa at that time?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will say it is the committee's information that the question of granting you a visa at that time had been referred to Washington and that the determination was made in Washington that a visa should be granted, and that you discontinued your application for it and did not renew it until January. Is this in error?

Mr. WOLFF. This is in error because, of course, I wanted the visa to make it possible for me to go to the International Students Conference at Columbia University, and then they referred the whole thing to the State Department, and I do not know when an answer came in but, anyway, it did not come in early enough for me to go to that Columbia conference.

Mr. SOURWINE. The answer may have come in after the Columbia conference and before the end of the year.

Mr. WOLFF. I did not go before the end of the year because I am not interested to go to this country all the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next time you went back, after the Columbia conference, the next time you went back to the U.S. Consulate General in Frankfurt was in January of this year?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your application at this time was granted?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you. It is the committee's information that your address in Germany is 6 Frankfurt V.—that is the letter V, the capital letter V, with a period after it—Stein-Strasse, 53, Marburg, Germany; is this correct?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, if this man up there, if he tells me his address, I might tell mine, too. You see, if people like you publicly announce my address then I would like to know his.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will put the question another way. Do you care to challenge the accuracy of the address I just read?

Mr. WOLFF. I want to know his address. You see, if you make public my address in Frankfurt to have it easier for people to bombard me and throw Molotov cocktails at my apartment which has happened before by one of your agents, then I would like to know his address so the people in this country can retaliate. That is your kind of policies, is it not?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, sir.

Mr. WOLFF. You tell me his address? You tell me yours?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff, it is the committee's information that you gave the Consulate General of the United States in Germany, in Frankfurt, an address at which you could be reached in the United States, care of Dr. Graubner, 707 North Linden St., Marshall, Mich. Do you care to challenge the accuracy of that?

Let the record show the witness does not respond.

Mr. TIGAR. Pertinency, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Does the witness refuse to answer?

Mr. WOLFF. I was asked if I challenged.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was not required to answer, Mr. Chairman. He was only given an opportunity to challenge if he wanted to.

Senator THURMOND. Let the record show that the witness did not answer the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff, Dr. Graubner was the—one of the individuals with whom you lived when you went to high school in the United States and you did go to high school in Marshall, Mich., is that not correct?

Mr. WOLFF. I suppose this is—that this is just one of the parts of your attempt to get people's names on the record to smear them, and I suppose you should quit this now. You see, other people who get into this country, they are not required to give 10 addresses at every stop they make. They enter this country and they can tour everywhere without giving any addresses and I think it is complete impertinence of the U.S. Immigration Service to have asked the lots of questions they have asked me. And I think you should quit trying to smear people like that.

Senator THURMOND. Does the witness answer the question?

Mr. WOLFF. I answered.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me break the question down, Mr. Chairman. Was it in Marshall, Mich., that you went to high school for a year?

Mr. WOLFF. Well, perhaps I should tell you about it. I was really in this country in 1959-60, and it was one of the most valuable experiences I have ever had. You see, I did not only go to high school. At the weekends I took part in the preparation of some of the first freedom rides down South and I worked with Quaker groups and some Socialist groups in Kalamazoo. And you see, at one meeting, the people started the meeting with the pledge to the flag. I felt the necessity to show them how hypocritical their pledge of allegiance to the flag, and after they finished with freedom and liberty, with justice and liberty for all, I told them that this is except for Jews, Negroes and all other nasty foreigners in this country, and it was then that they told me how can you say a thing like that after all the Germans did to the Jews.

It was really the most valuable experience for me to have been in this country and to have been in Marshall.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the answer is responsive, Mr. Chairman.

Now, have you seen Dr. Graubner of Marshall, Mich., since you have been in the United States?

Mr. Chairman, let the record show that the witness could not hear the question because his counsel leaned over to whisper in his ear while I was still asking the question.

Senator THURMOND. Repeat the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. The witness has the right to consult counsel, but counsel does not have the right to distract the witness when a question is being asked.

I will repeat the question.

Mr. TIGAR. That is unwarranted; Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I am willing to abide by the ruling of the committee with respect to participation of counsel. I am not, however, willing to have Mr. Sourwine have a roving commission to impugn my professional integrity.

Mr. WOLFF. But that is the way advisers and committees like that behaved always. That is the way Nixon became famous when he started to play up the Alger Hiss case. That is the way people make a political career in this country. We know that. That is the way to become a bigger bandit than one is already. You are planning to go into politics? You are trying to become a Representative, something like that? You should, probably. Why do you not run with Wallace next time? I mean racist enough you are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff, we are still in the preliminaries of our examination of you today.

Mr. WOLFF. I do not think so. I think it is fun.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are trying to get on with it.

Mr. WOLFF. Well—

Mr. SOURWINE. I will state it is the committee's information that although you gave Dr. Graubner's address as a contact where you could be reached in the United States, and although you stated on at least one occasion that you were being met in Marshall, Mich., by Dr. and Mrs. Graubner, the fact is that you were not met by them and that you have not seen them or contacted them in any way.

I will ask you is there anything incorrect about that statement?

Mr. WOLFF. I can tell you that all the addresses I gave were not correct, and that I hardly was at any of the addresses because I was not interested to be followed about all the time.

You see, tourists in this country usually are not being harassed like that and I saw no reason why I should be treated like that. I think it was just excellent to give you any addresses you might think serious and I think it really proved that I got here and I spoke at so many campuses which I probably could not have otherwise, that I did exactly the right thing at the right time.

You see, this country is obviously not interested in having people talk about neofascism in Germany because you are being lied to it in West Germany. Mr. Dodd, he is the guy who makes propaganda for all the old Nazis who are back in power for West Germany, you see, and he is on your committee. That is what he works for. We know that. We know that if you tell an immigration officer that you want to speak on a campus he immediately thinks, well, that is someone of those outside agitators.

As I said before, you do not see that there are problems in our society which are the same in West Germany and in the United States or at least very similar and you do not see that we are up to debate about them now and that we are up to realize that our interests are the same. You see, you have been conspiring for a long time. We do not need to conspire. And our efforts to create an internationalist consciousness at least has only started but people in this country will realize that the renewal of the NATO treaty this year means something to them, too. They will have to realize that they do not only send military advices to Guatemala and to Bolivia and to Chile and to Colombia. They are going to have to realize that the United States is involved in Europe just the same as it is involved in Japan. They will have to realize that the role NATO is performing in Europe is a most repressive one. They will have to realize that even the coup d'etat which was planned by Secret Service German generals in Italy in 1963 was safeguarded by the regional NATO command, that even De Gaulle, who seems to be an enemy of NATO, conferred with the NATO generals in May when he came to Baden-Baden to talk to General Massou.

People are starting to realize that is a kind of involvement of the ruling class in this country where the power leads in Western Europe which will have to be fought. They realize this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff, it is the committee's information that you also advised U.S. consular authorities that in the United States you could be reached care of Lynn Costello, 127 East 15th Street, New York City, N.Y. Is there anything incorrect about that information?

Let the record show that the witness has not responded.

Senator THURMOND. Does the witness refuse to answer? Does the witness refuse to answer?

(The witness clapped his hands and made a remark in German.)

Mr. WOLFF. You know what it means?

Senator THURMOND. Let the record show that the witness refuses to answer after given several—

Mr. WOLFF. It means U.S. murderers, Liberate Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that is the second time you have mentioned Vietnam, Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. Third. Third time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. But the first time was not on the record. The first time was when you were testing the microphone. And the phrase you used to test the microphone was to sing into it victory for the Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

(The witness again claps his hands.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask you if by that you were expressing your own views and your own wishes.

Mr. WOLFF. No. I am not only expressing my own views and my own hopes. I am expressing the majority views of mankind and of the majority of mankind. You see, the peoples—

Mr. SOURWINE. That is enough, sir.

Mr. WOLFF. I am not ready yet. I answer fully. The peoples of the world have started to get moving. They have realized that the only way to stop the U.S. imperialists is to fight them. And as the peoples in the third world destroy imperialism from the outside, we are destroying from the inside.

You see, today the fate of the Vietnamese revolution is crucial not only to the Vietnamese people. It is crucial for the liberation movements all over the world. And you see, the kind of psychosis which exists in the United States which does not realize that the U.S. imperialists are getting thrown out everywhere in the world, that they get defeated everywhere, and that they are close to being thrown out into the sea in Vietnam even, shows how badly you have erred. You are up to the wall now.

It is clear that a nation which has been lied to about the objectives of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. puppets, be it Diem or be it Ky, the Hitler admirer, that such a nation will not be able to make the correct decisions.

People do not know what they are voting on. They are not being told. They are being lied to. We have to realize that only then people have become conscious in this country about what is going on in Vietnam, when they started to be affected directly.

You know, when you send someone to Vietnam to die there for your dirty purposes, then you will start to think and people have started to think and people have started to desert and people are being draft dodging.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wolff—

Mr. WOLFF. You see, we know that this is one of the few signs in U.S. society and we need more. We have to realize—

Mr. SOURWINE. Please—

Mr. WOLFF. I am not done yet. I am not done yet. Shut up now. I am not done.

People in the United States will have to realize that either U.S. imperialism—

Senator THURMOND. You are not conducting yourself here in a proper manner.

Mr. WOLFF. If you—

Senator THURMOND. Yelling—

Mr. WOLFF. If you do no let me finish I will leave, you know.

Senator THURMOND. Let the record show the witness is screaming and yelling and talking impertinently to the counsel and presiding officer and the Chair asks the witness to restrain himself and answer the questions propounded.

Mr. WOLFF. I think it is good enough.

Senator THURMOND. Ask the next question, Counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. The witness appears to be about to leave. I would ask the Chair to tell him he is not excused.

Senator THURMOND. The witness is not excused. The Chair requests him to return and finish answering questions.

Let the record show that the witness refused to answer the questions propounded by the counsel of the committee and by the Chair, that he continually lectured in response to the questions propounded, that he screamed and yelled and hollered and he appeared to put on an exhibition to attract attention. He appeared to use the witness stand here as a forum to expound his views against involvement of the United States in Vietnam and other subjects, and that the witness then in the midst of the hearing arose and walked out, followed by 25 to 50 of the people who were his followers or admirers who came into the room with him.

In view of the witness' departure from the room along with his counsel, the Chair will now recess the hearing until further notice.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the hearing was recessed until further notice.)

# TESTIMONY OF KARL DIETRICH WOLFF

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1969

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:10 p.m. in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond, presiding.

Present: Senator Strom Thurmond.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel.

Senator THURMOND. The committee will come to order.

It is my understanding we have issued a subpoena for Mr. Wolff, that is, Karl Dietrich Wolff, calling for his appearance in this room today at 3 o'clock.

I note that it is now 10 minutes past 3 in the afternoon and Mr. Wolff is not here.

Mr. Sourwine, do you have any information of the whereabouts of Mr. Wolff?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no direct information but I have been informed at secondhand that Mr. Wolff has left the United States, and I have no reason to believe that he plans to return.

It is true that Mr. Wolff was served with a subpoena, and I ask that the text of this subpoena and the return thereon be included in the record at this point.

Senator THURMOND. It will be so ordered.

(The document follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, *Greeting:*

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, on Tuesday, March 18, 1969, at three o'clock p.m., at their committee room, 2300 New Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20510, then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, pursuant to S. Res. 366, 81st Congress, 2d Session, as amended and extended and S. Res. 46 agreed to February 17, 1969; and more specifically with regard to the circumstances of your entry into the United States and your activities while in this country.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Robert G. Dunphy, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine.

(Signed) JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,  
and Internal Security Subcommittee.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS

I do appoint and hereby empower any United States marshal to serve this subpoena and to exercise all the authority in relation thereto with which I am vested by the within order.

ROBERT G. DUNPHY,  
Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States.

RETURN ON SERVICE OF WRIT

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Southern District of New York

Internal Security Subcommittee

*vs.*  
Karl Dietrich Wolff

Clerk's No. ....  
U.S. Marshal's No. ....

SERVICE COMPLETED OR ENDEAVOR TO SERVE

I hereby certify and return that I served the annexed subpoena on the therein-named Karl Dietrich Wolff by handing to and leaving a true and correct copy thereof with (if endeavor—describe what was done in endeavoring to serve) him personally at (if endeavor—show addresses where endeavors made) 10 West 4th Street, New York, N.Y., in the said District at 8 p.m., on the 14th day of March, 1969.

\* \* \* \* \*

(Signed) ANTHONY R. MARASCO,  
United States Marshal.

(Signed) By JOHN J. BROPHY,  
Deputy.

Mr. SOURWINE. It might be well to let the record show, Mr. Chairman, that the committee has had no word from Mr. Wolff or his counsel since the service of the subpoena, which has just been entered in the record.

Senator THURMOND. Under the circumstances, this committee will stand adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, at 3:15 p.m. the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to call of the Chair.)

## MEMORANDUM

(The following staff memorandum subsequently was ordered included in the record:)

KARL DIETRICH WOLFF: ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES,  
FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1969

Karl Dietrich Wolff applied for a visitor's visa in August 1968, at the American Consulate General, Frankfurt. In his application, Wolff stated that he had been invited by the New School of Social Research in New York City. Wolff apparently abandoned his intention to visit to United States in September, but subsequently applied and visa was issued on January 18, 1969, at Frankfurt. It is a one year, multiple-entry visa.

It was determined by a competent authority, according to report, that Wolff was not a Communist, did not belong to any class prohibited from entry into the United States or ineligible for a visa, and that he should, therefore, be issued a visa.

Karl Dietrich Wolff's German Passport is D-0944806 which is to expire on March 25, 1969. His Visa Registration Number is A 17998586. The addresses he gave at which he could be reached in the United States are: Dr. Graubner, 707 North Linden Street, Marshall, Michigan and c/o Lynn Castello, 127 East 15th Street, New York, New York. His address in Germany was 6 Frankfurt, V. Stein-Str. 58, Marburg, Germany.

He is described as a white, male, 5'8", 180 lbs., born 2/27/43, West Germany citizenship, stocky build, fair complexion, light brown, long and bushy hair, has characteristic of wearing partially brimless glasses.

Wolff is a former National President of the Socialist German Students Federation, a militant leftist oriented student organization in West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. He attended the 9th World Youth Festival, Sophia, Bulgaria, and current travel to the U.S. and Canada designed to raise funds for legal assistance for individuals arrested during demonstrations in Germany.

Was noted that Wolff was seated with Cohn-Bendit and the latter's attorney in court room during Cohn-Bendit's trial in Frankfurt, Germany during January 1969. Daniel Cohn-Bendit is one of the leading student revolutionaries in Europe.

Wolff entered the United States on 2/25/69. He was not legally admitted to the United States but was placed in a parole status.

On 2/25/69 Wolff gave a speech at the Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Washington. He professed to be a Marxist and stated that the U.S. is run by racists and imperialists.

On 2/26/69 Wolff spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society before the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

On 2/28/69 Wolff spoke at a meeting of the Radical Student Union which is a recognized campus organization at the University of California at Berkeley, California. In referring to the German SDS, he advocated the creation of incidents in court, objecting to military service, fighting with police and opposition to NATO forces in Europe.

On 2/28/69 Wolff spoke at a meeting in the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco, Calif. He described draft dodgers and deserters as American heroes. He noted that the purpose of a university strike in Germany was to make it impossible to teach any course not approved by the German SDS.

On 2/28/69 he spoke at a meeting at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. He criticized U.S. policy and the House Committee on Internal Security.

On 3/1/69 Wolff spoke at the SDS Regional Office in Los Angeles, Calif. and commented that INS was attempting to deport him which might shorten his stay in the U.S.

On 3/3/69 he spoke at a meeting sponsored by the SDS at California State College in Los Angeles. Emphasized the need for organizing high school students with young workers and college groups.

On 3/3/69 Wolff spoke at Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, Calif. During speech he noted that car was stopped by the Los Angeles Police Department. Suggested "sit-in" in retaliation to Los Angeles Police Department. At the meeting he used term "pigs" when referring to LAPD. Charged also that the CIA is "meddling" in West Germany.

On 3/4/69 Wolff spoke briefly after film showings at Ash Grove, 8162 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

On 3/5/69 Wolff departed San Francisco at 12:15 p.m.

On 3/6/69 Wolff spoke at a rally at the University of Colorado in Boulder, Colorado.

On 3/7/69 Wolff arrived Lansing, Michigan aboard North Central Airlines Flight #974, which had originated in Chicago at 4:25 p.m. and arrived at 7:40 p.m. While travelling he used the alias W. Benjamin, did not have reservation and paid for ticket in cash. Appeared that night in Wells Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing. Meeting sponsored by SDS; he was introduced by a MSU-SDS member and spoke of power of SDS to shut down any university in West Germany at will.

On 3/8/69 during meeting at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor stated his speaking tour of the U.S. had been arranged by Bernardine Dohrn, a national officer of the SDS. Spoke of need to build an International Revolutionary Alliance.

That same day he went to the Detroit area and visited apartment of Dena M. Clamage, white, female, associated with SNCC, Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam and SDS. Dena Clamage had visited Cuba in February of 1968 and has written pro-Cuban articles.

On 3/9/69 Wolff and Clamage went to home of John Watson, Negro militant editor of "South End" (Wayne State University publication) and a self-proclaimed "revolutionary."

On 3/9/69 and 3/10 he appeared at the University of Detroit and Wayne State University. Both meetings were SDS sponsored.

Wolff departed Detroit, Michigan on 3/10 via Northwest Orient Airlines, flight #302, again using the alias W. Benjamin, destination Washington, D.C.

During the evening of 3/10 he spoke at American University, Washington, D.C. and stated that democracy in West Germany is only effective for those in power and there is no meaningful choice between President Nixon, De Gaulle, Kiesinger, Wilson and Humphrey. He noted he had met with the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party and members of several unions while in Detroit. He again advocated coordinated effort to overthrow the ruling class.

On 3/11/69 he spoke before a group at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Remarks made that asking people to do things does not do any good and it comes to a point where one has to fight.

On 3/12/69 he spoke at a rally at Columbia University, New York City. General theme of speech was revolution, but statements were toned down. Stated U.S. students not working together as in Germany and time has passed of just sitting and discussing matters and they should act.

It should be noted that funds were collected during these meetings amounting to an average of \$30.

Wolff's traveling companion was noted as one Adelheide Reichleg, a white female.

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