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NOMINATION OF CALLAWAY AND HILL

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

NOMINATION OF HOWARD H. CALLAWAY, OF GEORGIA,
TO BE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

NOMINATION OF ROBERT C. HILL, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
(INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS)

MAY 8, 1973

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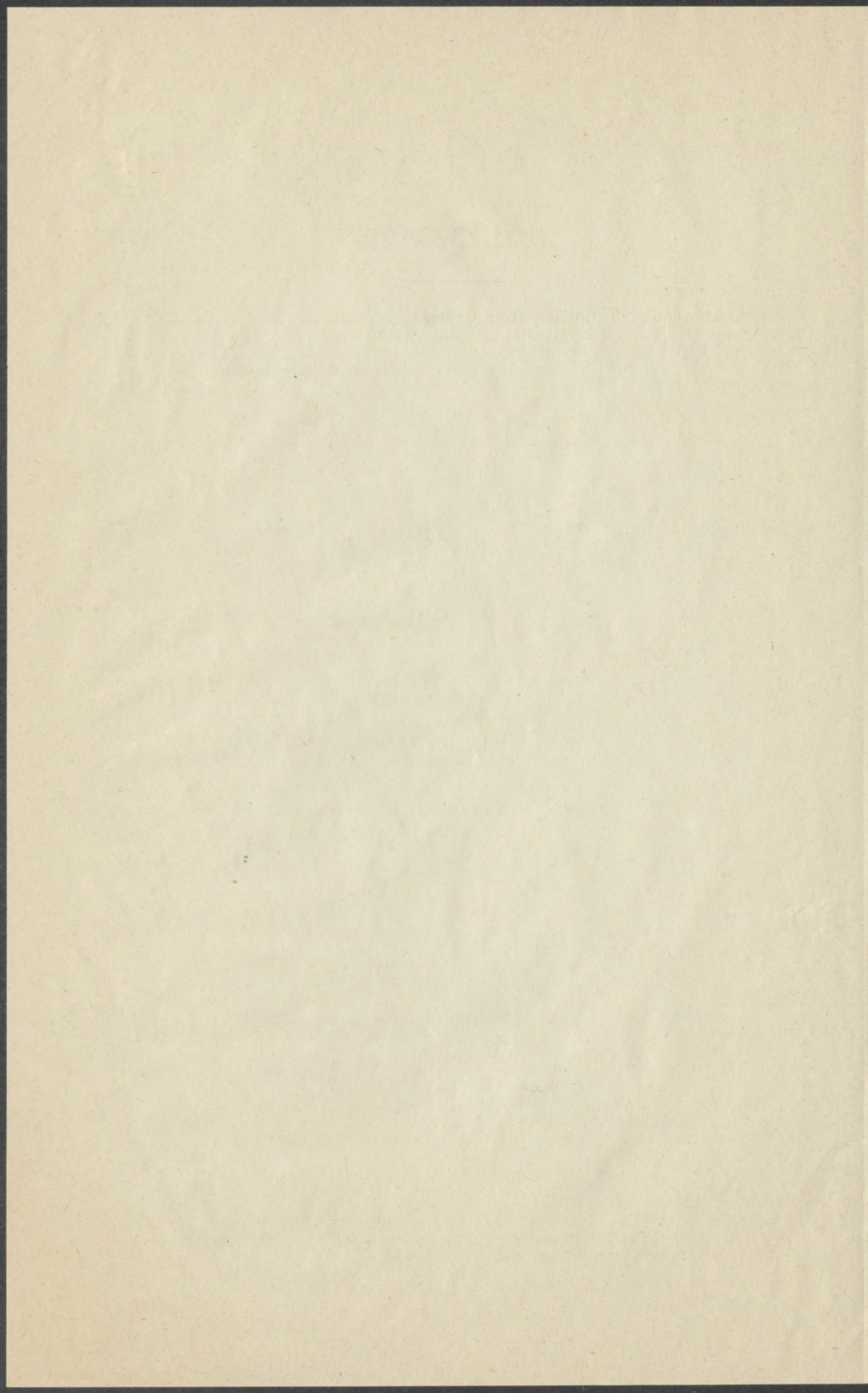
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NOMINATIONS

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1973

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 p.m., in room 212, Richard B. Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Stuart Symington (acting chairman).

Present: Senators Symington (presiding), McIntyre, Byrd, Jr., of Virginia, Nunn, Thurmond, Tower, Dominick, and Scott of Virginia.

Also present: T. Edward Braswell, Jr., chief counsel and staff director; John T. Ticer, chief clerk; Herbert S. Atkinson, assistant chief clerk; George H. Foster, Jr., Labre R. Garcia, John A. Goldsmith, Edward B. Kenney, Don L. Lynch, and Robert Q. Old, professional staff members; Nancy J. Bearg, research assistant; Doris E. Connor and Christine E. Cowart, clerical assistants.

Senator SYMINGTON. The hearing will come to order.

The first part of today's hearings will be devoted to an open session on two important nominations for the Department of Defense.

The first is that of Mr. Howard H. Callaway to be Secretary of the Army. Mr. Callaway comes before the committee with a distinguished background, including combat service in the Korean war. He has long been active in both business and civic enterprises in Georgia, and he was also a Member of Congress during 1965-66. At this point the chair would insert into the record a complete biographical sketch of Mr. Callaway.

[The nomination reference and report and biographical sketch of Mr. Callaway follow:]

NOMINATION REFERENCE AND REPORT

IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
May 2, 1973.

Ordered, That the following nomination be referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

Howard H. Callaway, of Georgia, to be Secretary of the Army, vice Robert F. Froehle, resigned.

May 9, 1973.

Reported by Mr. Nunn with the recommendation that the nomination be *confirmed*, subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

Howard H. Callaway was born April 2, 1927, at LaGrange, Georgia. He was graduated from Episcopal High School, Alexandria, Virginia, in 1944. In June of 1949 he received his BS Degree from the United States Military Academy, and a second lieutenant commission in the Regular Army.

Mr. Callaway served as an Infantry Lieutenant during 1949-1952. He is a veteran of the Korean War where he participated in three campaigns while serving as a platoon leader in the Far East Command. He was awarded the Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation and Combat Infantry Badge. His last two years in the Army were spent as an instructor at the Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia. He was honorably discharged December 19, 1952.

Mr. Callaway has long been active in a variety of business, political, educational, and civic enterprises. He was named Civilian Aide for the Third Army Area by former Secretary of the Army, Stanley R. Resor, December 30, 1970. He is Chairman of the Council of Trustees, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge; Former International President of the Young Presidents Organization; and Republican National Committeeman for the State of Georgia. He was the Republican candidate for the Governor of Georgia in 1966. He served in the 89th Congress and represented the third district of Georgia in 1965-1966.

Mr. Callaway is a former member of the Board of Regents, University System of Georgia; the National 4-H Service Committee and Trustee of the National Recreation Association. He is the President of Interfinancial, Inc. of Atlanta, and a Trustee of the Ida Cason Calloway Foundation of Pine Mountain, Georgia.

Mr. Callaway is married to the former Elizabeth Walton of Hamilton, Georgia. They have five children—Elizabeth (22), Howard (20), Edward (18), Virginia (16), and Ralph (13). They maintain a residence in Pine Mountain and Atlanta, Georgia.

Senator SYMINGTON. Also, Mr. Callaway has furnished a letter with respect to the so-called conflict of interest. He has indicated that he owns stocks in three companies on the so-called defense master list, and he emphasized that these stocks will be sold within 60 days following his confirmation.

The letter also states that there are several organizations in which Mr. Callaway is a director. He makes the request that he would like to remain the director of these organizations, although he would be on a leave of absence and make no decisions as director while serving in the Department of Defense. None of these organizations have any contracts with the Department of Defense. The chair notes that based on this letter, the proposal of Mr. Callaway does comply with the committee position on the conflict of interest question.

My distinguished colleague, the Senior Senator from Georgia, is here, Senator Talmadge.

It is my understanding, Senator, that you would like to make some comments with respect to this nominee.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, U.S. SENATOR FROM GEORGIA

Senator TALMADGE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before you to urge the confirmation of my friend and constituent of many years. Howard "Bo" Callaway, as Secretary of the Army. He comes from one of Georgia's most distinguished and well known families. I have known his family virtually all of my adult life. I have known Mr. Callaway for about 25 years. I deem him eminently qualified from the standpoint of character, experience and ability to be Secretary of the Army.

He is a graduate of West Point. He commanded a platoon in the Korean war, when his father became ill. Shortly afterward, Mr. Callaway returned to private duty. His father was a member of the Board of Regents at the time I was Governor of the State. He had glaucoma and asked me to appoint his son to the Board of Regents,

which I was pleased to do. He served in that capacity as probably the youngest man in the history of our State on the Board of Regents with a great deal of diligence and experience and he performed in an outstanding manner.

He has been associated in many private enterprises, always with distinction and real ability. I hold him in high esteem. I think he is well qualified from every standpoint. I urge the committee to speedily approve his nomination.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Callaway, we also have on the committee the junior Senator from your State, Sam Nunn.

Senator, would you care to make some observations on this nomination?

STATEMENT OF HON. SAM NUNN, U.S. SENATOR FROM GEORGIA

Senator NUNN. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I would like to join my colleague, Senator Talmadge, in urging the confirmation of Howard "Bo" Callaway as Secretary of the Army. I think it is an excellent nomination by the President. I think he is eminently qualified for this position by way of background, by way of disposition, by way of personality, by way of integrity, and I think he will do an excellent job.

He was also, in addition to many of the things that Senator Talmadge named, my Congressman from the third district for several years. He is from the Third District of Georgia, from over near Columbus, Ga. I am probably the only Senator here who has the honor of having him as my Congressman. He did a great job. He came back and ran for Governor of Georgia. He received a plurality of votes, and he has since then been engaged in, I think, very honorable endeavors.

I think he was chairman of the Freedoms Foundation for a couple of years. The people of Georgia know him well.

I think I speak on behalf of most of the people of Georgia, the vast majority, Democrats and Republicans, when I express to the committee, members of the committee, that we think a lot of "Bo" Callaway. We think he will be a credit to the State of Georgia, but most important to the United States of America and to the Army. I do with pleasure urge the committee to consider his confirmation and to support the same.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Congressman Mitchell, it is my understanding that you would like to be heard on this nomination.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, I would, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Would you come forward, please?

STATEMENT OF HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MARYLAND

Mr. MITCHELL. Senator, members of the committee, it is with a great deal of reluctance that I appear before this distinguished committee today to ask for a delay in confirming the nominee. I want to empha-

size that I am not representing any group, any organization. I am merely speaking for myself.

My appearance here should not be considered as any reflection of the work done by this committee, nor should it be considered as an attempt to impugn the reputation of the nominee. On the contrary, I only take this opportunity to lay before the committee my concerns. These concerns grow out of two major problem areas. The first problem area is the racial difficulties that the Armed Services now confront. The second really derives from the first, the volume of complaints I received from servicemen in Germany, those who were formerly in Vietnam, and those in military installations within this country.

The recent racial incidents in the military have received widespread national publicity. I feel strongly that the Secretary of the Army should have impeccable credentials as a military man, and I assume the nominee has these; impeccable credentials as an administrator, and I assume the nominee has these. And also, most importantly, impeccable credentials in the area of race relations. He should be the kind of person who, by virtue of that impeccable record, will command the respect and the confidence of all men in the Army—white, black, brown, Indian, Puerto Rican.

I wish to present to this distinguished committee some of the news stories and editorials concerning the nominee.

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Mitchell, would you want to read that or put it in the record?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would like to read a few.

Senator SYMINGTON. How long will it take?

Mr. MITCHELL. It will not take me very long, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Very well.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let me assure you that I do not accept blindly all that appears in the news media. However, the frequency with which articles on the nominee's racial attitudes have appeared cause me to be here today. Recently, we have paid and are still paying a terrible price for ignoring or scoffing at news reports on a particular subject. Therefore, I am here.

Let me read briefly first from Time magazine, July 15, 1967—and I assure you I will not read all of these:

Representative Howard "Bo" Callaway, 39, who two years ago was elected Georgia's first Republican Congressman since Reconstruction, officially announced his candidacy for the Governorship. A states' righter and segregationist of the George Wallace stripe. Callaway promised a "new Declaration of Independence" for Georgians, vowed to resist "the unwarranted onslaught of federal domination . . .

Let me read now from the National Review, dated October 18, 1966:

In August 1966, Callaway led a snapping debate that attached his own amendment to the omnibus civil rights bill. Carried by a voice-vote, the Callaway amendment locked the door against the Administration's plans and practice of forcing racial "guidelines" by gerrymandering the school districts.

May I continue by reading from the New York Times dated—well, I will not follow in sequence. Let me just pick out a few of these to express my attitude.

Senator SYMINGTON. Put in all of them you do not want to read.

Mr. MITCHELL. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to do this.

This is the New York Times, March 28, 1966:

Mr. Callaway who regards his victory in 1964 as much a "pro-conservative" mandate, as an expression of "anti-civil rights" sentiment, opposed President Johnson's bill that led to the Voting Rights Act of 1964 and is considered "safe" in civil rights legislation by segregationists.

I would like to read in its entirety—and it is a very brief editorial—from the Los Angeles Times, dated April 16, 1973:

A solution to the racial difficulties in the armed forces, as last fall's Kitty Hawk disturbance demonstrated, requires astute leadership that is sufficiently aware of the problem to command the confidence of men in the services. These qualities are especially relevant to the success of the new All-Volunteer Army—which I support—

With this in mind, it is puzzling to learn that Howard H. "Bo" Callaway of Georgia, an ex-congressman with a segregationist reputation, is under serious consideration to become Secretary of the Army.

I will read the last part of this editorial:

Callaway, reportedly passed over for a Pentagon job in the first Nixon Administration because of his racial views, may indeed have moderated his position in recent years. Even so, he would lack credibility as head of the Army in dealing with the service's race relations. Lack of faith in the fairness of the Secretary of the Army is a fatal defect in his qualifications.

I shall read just one more.

Charles Weltner, a highly popular Congressman serving then from Atlanta, encouraged the write-in drive—

That was for the blacks in the State of Georgia—

with the statement, "Callaway is the same as Maddox on race except in a slicker way. He uses code names such as 'property rights', which means 'we ain't gonna serve no niggers.'"

Negroes, including civil-rights leader Hosea Williams, warned that "Lester Maddox offers Georgia's Negroes blood in the streets, indignity, violence. This man is a living crime, an offense to God Almighty, a cancer which must be rooted out, but the statement continued "Georgia's Negroes also know that Howard Callaway is a silk-stockinged segregationist who is no better than Maddox."

I will submit all of the balance of these articles for the record.

[The articles follow:]

[From Time, July 15, 1967]

Other political developments:

Representative Howard ("Bo") Callaway, 39, who two years ago was elected Georgia's first Republican Congressman since Reconstruction, officially announced his candidacy for the governorship. A states' righter and segregationist of the George Wallace strip, Callaway promised a "new Declaration of Independence" for Georgians, vowed to resist "the unwarranted onslaught of federal domination" of the state's affairs. With no opposition in his own party, Callaway is given at least an even chance against the disorganized Democrats (Time, May 7), whose candidate in November will most likely be former Governor Ellis Arnall, 59, an outspoken liberal and a moderate in race relations.

[From the National Review, Oct. 18, 1966]

THREE RACES

(By Holmes Alexander)

For a Southerner speaking to Southerners, Congressman Howard H. Callaway sounded an unusual note last Independence Day when he opened his campaign for the Georgia governorship. Callaway chose to invoke not a Confederate hero and the Civil War but a Northerner and the American Revolution. It was Cap-

tain Parker of Massachusetts who told his troops at Concord, "*Don't fire unless fired upon. But if they mean to have war—let it begin here.*"

Callaway's reference was typical of his campaign and of the new attitude among Southern politicians which he embodies. A Republican and a West Pointer (Class of '39), Callaway sees his state besieged much as were the American colonies of 1775. "If one state must stand up to Washington and say, 'We will take care of ourselves,'" he told his listeners, "I say let it begin here—in Georgia."

In Washington the Supreme Court had decreed that Georgia must revamp its bicameral legislature to conform with the one man, one vote ruling. Out of Washington had come decisions for federal registrars to put illiterates on the voters' rolls, for the Commissioner of Education to withhold public funds in order to enforce biracial balances in school populations, for the Secretary of Health-Education-Welfare to undertake accreditation of Georgia hospitals for Medicare payments. The solution? A Georgia governed by a Republican for the first time in 103 years. Persuaded, a fledgling state GOP made Callaway its nominee.

Already, Callaway had distinguished himself as the first Republican congressman from Georgia in the twentieth century. His Third District, lying up against the Alabama border, contained some of the dozen or so Georgia counties that had been considered Republican territory for some time. Sooner or later the District was going to vote that way.

"Bo" Callaway's decision in 1964 to change his affiliation from the party of his ancestors to Republican brought together a man and his moment. The Callaways had long been big contributors to Democratic campaigns and had often received Franklin D. Roosevelt, a guest from nearby Warm Springs. Bo's gravitation to the GOP was part of a young businessman's migration during the Eisenhower-Nixon era. When Callaway became a fund-raiser and a delegate for Barry Goldwater, Republicanism was already a state of mind in Georgia. The talk was that Callaway could have gone to Congress as a Democrat. He was no renegade. He was a conscientious volunteer.

With Callaway to the 89th Congress came five GOP House members from Alabama and one from Mississippi, soon to be joined by the switchover of Watson of South Carolina. Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, as well as the border states of Tennessee and Kentucky, now had Republican representatives. For the first time in history the GOP was truly a national party. The Southern newcomers made up in verve and quality what they lacked in numbers and seniority.

"It's just not true that a freshman congressman can't get anything done," said Callaway. "He is the equal in standing to all except the House officers and the committee chairmen. If a freshman works at it, he can make a real contribution."

Callaway worked at it. He was assigned to the committees of Government Operations and Interstate-Foreign Commerce, putting him on subcommittees that studied military operations, freedom of information, labor-management relations in the airlines industries, truth-in-packaging legislation and foreign trade. He went twice to Vietnam, once at his own expense. He also paid his way to Russia.

Callaway's voting record (rated at 95 per cent by Americans for Constitutional Action) varied from the conservative private enterprise line a couple of times on local issues. He pronounced it "unwarranted" when the Agriculture Department transferred poultry inspection costs from the public to the chicken farmers. He voted for a military pay raise that was undoubtedly inflationary—a favor to the 2,000 families back home whose men were at war. With Robins Air Force Base and Fort Benning in his District, Callaway considered himself spokesman for the First Air Cavalry Division and many other units and individuals in Vietnam. It was his intervention that caused the Army to alter its somewhat callous manner of informing next-of-kin about battlefield deaths via telephone.

In August 1966, Callaway led a snapping debate that attached his own amendment to the omnibus civil rights bill. Carried by a voice-vote, the Callaway amendment locked the door against the Administration's plans and practice of forcing racial "guidelines" by gerrymandering the school districts. It is rare for a new member to amend a major bill, and the Washington *Evening Star* hailed him with a top-page editorial, which read in part:

The Callaway amendment to the House-approved civil rights bill of 1966 has not received the attention it deserves. For this amendment, if it becomes law, will or at least should preserve the neighborhood school concept which certain

federal bureaucrats will destroy if they can . . . the purpose of the Callaway amendment is to restrain and rebuke the commissioner of education, and we trust the message gets through to the proper authorities in the federal establishment.

Callaway had been in Washington less than a year when it became known that he was going after the governorship. Significantly, two other Southern newcomers chose to leave their seats and shoot for statewide posts that would give them authoritative, party-building positions: James Martin of Alabama, and Prentiss Walker of Mississippi who undertook the unhorsing of Senator James Eastland. Of the three, only Callaway seems to be riding for a predictable victory.

Good luck has something to do with it. With the single term of Governor Carl Sanders drawing to its close and former Governor Ernest Vandiver warned out of the race by his doctor, Senator Talmadge, also a one-time governor, tentatively moved in. He called upon the people to let him know whether he should come home to run at the sacrifice of his ten-year seniority in Washington. Contrary to cynical rumor, it was the general population of Georgia, not the business politicians, who swamped the Senator's office with pleas to stay put in his influential posts on the Agriculture and Finance committees. The consensus of these messages: the governorship had degenerated into a substation of the federal bureaucracy.

This was precisely Bo Callaway's point. A Republican in the State House was the only way Georgia could regain independent statehood. By summer's end Callaway was criss-crossing the state by bus and plane with the message he had keynoted in his announcement speech—let the fight begin here for liberation from the feds.

Northern reporters were incredulous to find that Callaway had tossed out the cliché issue of race. He was asking the entire citizenry, including 300,000 Negro registrants, to give the state a new start by kicking the Democratic habit. Moreover, he appeared to be in tune with the times, for a moderate Republican had been elected to the legislature from Fulton County, winning half the Negro votes in Atlanta. And more recently, a Republican ticket had won the mayor's office along with all six aldermanic seats in Savannah.

As matters stand now, we may never know if Callaway was born to statesmanship, and will have to wait to see if he achieves it. To all appearances, it is being thrust upon him by the motley nature of his opposition. In Lester Maddox, the segregationist show-off who sold his Atlanta chicken restaurant rather than serve Negroes, Georgia Democrats have indicated not so much a preference as a rebuke to Ellis Arnall, the New Deal governor of the 1940s, and to the Liberals supporting his candidacy, typified by the *Atlanta Constitution*. The adjective most applied by Democratic veterans to Georgia's mood is "angry," and Maddox's victory certainly bears that out. Georgia is angry at the civil rights craze, the riots, the anarchy, the heavy spending, the suffocating centralization, the bloody but unwon war, the Great Society and not least, Lyndon Johnson. But, short of a statewide crack-up, Callaway's got it made. Maddox pulled many votes that are expected to go Republican in November. Where Maddox promises unprogressive redneck rule, Callaway's undeviating promise is to give Georgia back to Georgians—than which the people seem to ask no more, and expect no less.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Apr. 16, 1973]

AN ARMY SECRETARY NEEDS CREDIBILITY

A solution to the racial difficulties in the armed forces, as last fall's Kitty Hawk disturbance demonstrated, requires astute leadership that is sufficiently aware of the problem to command the confidence of men in the services. These qualities are especially relevant to the success of the new all-volunteer Army.

With this in mind, it is puzzling to learn that Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Georgia, an ex-congressman with a segregationist reputation, is under serious consideration to succeed Army Secretary Robert F. Froehle.

In 1968, Callaway, a Democrat turned Republican and director of President Nixon's Southern campaign, said in Mississippi: "Perhaps we can get Gov. George C. Wallace on our side. That's where he belongs." Mr. Nixon found it necessary then to repudiate the comment, which was not an isolated expression

of Callaway's views. Elected to Congress in 1964 as a Republican, he said his victory reflected conservative and "anti-civil rights sentiment."

By 1971, Callaway apparently had become reconciled to desegregation but it was a reluctant reconciliation. He said in a newspaper interview that "if we could have our way (on the race issue) we'd like to have freedom of choice back . . . but the courts had made those decisions."

Callaway, reportedly passed over for a Pentagon job in the first Nixon Administration because of his racial views, may indeed have moderated his position in recent years. Even so, he would lack credibility as head of the Army in dealing with the service's race relations. Lack of faith in the fairness of the secretary of the Army is a fatal defect in his qualifications.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 28, 1966]

GEORGIA DEMOCRATS FEAR A G.O.P. RACE FOR GOVERNORSHIP BY REP. CALLAWAY

(By Gene Roberts)

ATLANTA, March 27—Georgia Democrats are worrying for the first time since Reconstruction about the possibility of a strong Republican bid for the governorship.

Their concern centers on Howard R. Callaway, who was elected in 1964 as the state's only Republican Congressman while Georgia was backing the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, 616,600 to 522,557.

Mr. Callaway refuses to say whether he will enter the race, but he is increasing the size of his staff and the frequency of his public appearances in the state. He has made no move to discourage a statewide petition drive for 125,000 signatures to put his name on the ballot.

A Callaway campaign would assure the Republican party of at least two strong challengers in seven governorship races this year. In Alabama, Representative James D. Martin, who was elected to the House in 1964, has already announced his candidacy for Governor and is regarded by many professional and amateur political analysts as the favorite.

HARDING SWEEP RECALLED

If a Republican candidate wins, it will mark the party's first governorship victory in the South since 1920, when the landslide Presidential victory of Warren G. Harding carried Alfred Taylor into the Governor's mansion in Tennessee.

Although few Georgia Democratic leaders will publicly concede that they fear a challenge by Representative Callaway, many privately regard him seriously.

"How can we not take him seriously after what Barry Goldwater did here in 1964?" said one Democratic politician. "In addition, Callaway [a West Point graduate and owner of Callaway Gardens, a state tourist attraction] is a very personable candidate."

"I can't really believe that Georgia will ever elect a Republican Governor," said another Democrat. "But he sure could make us spend a lot of money. We would have to wage a major campaign against him."

Politicians in both parties talk of private polls, which show that Representative Callaway's name is widely known in Georgia and that he would command an unusually high vote for a Republican.

One Republican poll is said to show that Mr. Callaway is running ahead of former Gov. Ellis Arnall and is favored by 45 per cent of the voters against former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, another leading Democratic contender.

Mr. Callaway's supporters consider this a respectable starting point for a Republican campaign in the state. They appear confident that intensive television exposures will strengthen the 38-year-old businessman still further.

Many Democrats as well as Republicans are saying that Mr. Callaway can count on votes from segregationist rural areas, especially from southwest Georgia where his Congressional district is.

Two well-known Democrats—former Gov. Marvin Griffin, who polled 35 per cent of the vote in his last political race, and Harry Jackson, president pro tem of the Georgia Senate, have announced that they will support Mr. Callaway if he runs.

Mr. Callaway, who regards his victory in 1964 as much a "pro-conservative" mandate as an expression of "antivil rights" sentiment, opposed President Johnson's bill that led to the Voting Rights Act of 1964 and is considered "safe" in civil rights legislation by segregationists. Negro registrations have been lagging here.

Meanwhile, it is widely believed that Senator Herman E. Talmadge will campaign for the Democratic candidate in an effort to hold white voters in line.

NIXON'S MAN IN DIXIE

(By Robert Sherrill)

When Howard Hollis ("Call me Bo") Callaway, was running for Governor of Georgia two years ago, one of the Republican moderates of Atlanta suggested that, to offset his reactionary segregationist reputation, he should take a Mayor Lindsay-like stroll through a Negro neighborhood. The solemn young millionaire refused. "No," he said, "the Negroes would just think I was playing politics." "Well, for God's sake, Bo," screamed his adviser, "what do you think you're playing?"

In that campaign, which was riddled with blunders, Callaway never really got around to giving an answer, but this year he has a chance to prove he knows all about political gamesmanship, or, if not that, he can at least show he knows how to survive the worst political chore of 1968: persuading the protest voters of Dixie—who don't just want to kick the opposition but insist on stomping it out of shape—that Republican Richard Nixon, not neo-populist George Wallace, is the best man for carrying out their passionate dreams.

Callaway is Southern Campaign Director for Richard M. Nixon, just as he was his chief pre-convention hustler, across the last-ditch battleline from Texas to South Carolina.

But, of course, the title is rather meaningless, and only an outside agitator like Nixon—including his dreams in the warmth of San Diego's post-convention strategy conferences—would think the Deep South could be organized. It was from San Diego that Callaway recently returned with his title and went to work in a region where, as he knows, political energies are formless and volcanic. Here, realistic politicians speak realistically of the chaos.

Asked what his crowd is doing in an organizational way, Roy Harris, chairman of the Wallace party in Georgia, replied cheerfully: "Now, that beats anything you ever saw. We don't exactly know what's happening organizationally. We got no organization in Georgia. Listen, we held a meeting at the Henry Grady Hotel in Atlanta. I got a bunch of ex-officials—an ex-Governor, an ex-Lieutenant Governor and what not—and we called this meeting and elected us officers and a staff executive committee and we formed the American [Independent] party. We have held a couple of meetings since, but the movement has just sprung up and we have had no opportunity to direct it. I guess there's nothing really to direct, before we could get the petitions printed [for putting Wallace on the ballot], people were calling me from all over Georgia, cussin' me about being slow. This thing has just mushroomed. It just rolled over us."

The Republican movement in Dixie can hardly be described as mushrooming or rolling over anybody. It gets its disorganization from intraparty jealousies. Who can see a Clark Reed of Mississippi or Jim Martin of Alabama or especially a Strom Thurmond of South Carolina taking orders from somebody in Georgia? Callaway can't. "The organization isn't closely knit at all," he says briskly, trying to get over the subject. "It's one that I may not be comfortable with, but I think it's right. I went to West Point, so I think in terms of a line organization with this fellow reporting to that guy and this fellow reporting to that guy. But sometimes, in a short political campaign like we've got here, that sort of thing just doesn't work very well. I'm supposed to be a coordinator, but the people from these other states can, and will, bypass me all they want to."

Aside from having a regional G.O.P. network that is so spotty that in some states it hardly exists at all, Callaway approaches his enormous job with only three workers in the Atlanta headquarters. He needs only a bandaged drummer boy to make the scene complete. Lacking effective command, or staff, or field officers, and knowing that his grassroots partisan army—wherever it is—is heavily outmanned by the enemy (Democrats for Wallace, Republicans for Wallace, Independents for Wallace, Democrats for Humphrey, Independents for Humphrey, and that venerable but now rapidly vanishing species, the "yellow-

dog Democrats"), Callaway stands before reporters in his Pine Mountain, Ga., bivouac and takes questions as to how things are going.

Q.—You have no hope of taking Alabama from Wallace, do you?

Callaway—Well, not at the present time. We don't write off anything, but, no, not at the present time. . . .

Q.—What about Mississippi?

Callaway—At the present time we'd lose Mississippi. But we're going to work hard and see if something happens.

Q.—At the present time, in fact, you'd lose Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and maybe Georgia to Wallace?

Callaway—At the present time I think that's right.

Being permitted to lead such a seemingly hopeless fight at such a young age (41) is no small matter, especially in Dixie where well-fought disasters are reserved for leaders of the highest caste. One can expect to achieve the position only if he has perfect breeding, heavy purse and inflexible perspective. Callaway has all of that.

And he has other qualities that make him, although far from being the most astute politician in the South, a logical choice to head up the young Goldwater graduates who dominate the G.O.P. machinery, such as it is, in that region. If one inquires of G.O.P. leaders in other states as to why they think Nixon selected Callaway, one is likely to be surprised at some of the first reasons given. For instance, Harry Dent, who was Senator Strom Thurmond's administrative aide for 12 years, before becoming chairman of the South Carolina Republican party, said, "Nixon knows Bo is chairman of the board of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge." This esoteric organization—founded in 1949 to "combat the increasing threat of socialistic Communism to the American way of life"—is surely unknown to most voters, but Dent insists that "anybody in a leadership position would know about that and be impressed by it." Mississippi's party chairman, Clark Reed, 40, a wealthy farmer, businessman and barge-line owner of Greenville, said the first thing that came to his mind as a good reason for Nixon's choice of Callaway is that "he is a graduate of West Point."

There are, of course, other reasons—Callaway gives half of his time to the G.O.P.; many Republicans look upon him as Georgia's royal pretender and therefore worthy of a top position in national party circles; he is a good speaker and tireless in helping G.O.P. groups in other states to raise funds—but the first reasons, West Point and Valley Forge, are not so weird as they might sound.

In a way they are actually quite accurate clues because they reflect the mentality of the class of '64, of which Callaway is the valedictorian. Super patriotism and military resistance to what they saw as the world Communist conspiracy—these were the chief concerns of that group in the South. "We weren't just for Goldwater," says Reed. "We were out to save the nation." The spirit of '64 is still very much the controlling passion. At the South Carolina state convention this year, the keynote speaker, James Gardner, who is a front-runner for Governor of North Carolina, shouted, "We're here for a crusade. We're talking about the very salvation of America."

In most of the states directed by Callaway—as Nixon knows and the local leaders admit—the right wing prevails. From the perspective of Dixie, that's the way the national party looks, too. "Seems to me," said Reed contentedly, "the whole party is what somebody like Gore Vidal would call right-wing extremists. Of course, I think it's quite moderate. It buys the philosophy that Goldwater, Reagan and Nixon fit into. I'd say that unquestionably the people who were in control of the party in '64 are in control today."

Although Callaway is considered an interloper by some of the old party-liners, he actually came in almost on the ground floor of the modern G.O.P.'s Deep Southern Wing, which is no more than seven years old in its oldest spots and in most places began to breathe only in the last Presidential contest. In the early sixties, a few important races all over the Deep South (W. D. Workman vs. Senator Olin Johnston in South Carolina, James Martin vs. Senator Lister Hill in Alabama, and John Tower vs. Lyndon B. Johnson and then vs. William Blakley in Texas) found the G.O.P. candidates in each case surprising everyone by pulling more than 40 per cent of the vote; in Tower's second race, he won the Senate seat.

For the first time, Republicans in Dixie knew they might do more than merely get on the ballot. The next step was a calculated gamble. John Grenier, a

Birmingham attorney who was executive director and head of the organizational phase of the Republican National Committee in 1964, recalls the Southerners' plot this way: "We set out to get a national candidate in 1964 who could break the Black Belt, where the whites automatically voted Democratic. You couldn't jar those people loose from the Democrats without somebody they thought was a segregationist. So we brought in Goldwater."

Goldwater broke the Black Belt, all right, but he drove out the Negro voters—most are still out—and Goldwaterism solidified the Southern party at an obliquely right angle that it seems unable now to modify. Ironically, Grenier, the Southerner most responsible for the selection of Goldwater, wanted to swing back this year to seek what he calls the G.O.P.'s "normal 30 per cent of the Negro vote," but he discovered that the forces he helped loose now are too strong to control and he has been swept out of a position of influence in Alabama.

As for just how much registered strength the G.O.P. has in the Deep South, the answer is: very little. Mississippi, for example, went 87 percent for Goldwater, but Reed estimates that the percentage of registered voters who call themselves Republicans would be only around 20 per cent, "and you'd have to give me 10 points one way or the other on that." Organizationally, the party is strong in Texas, Arkansas, South Carolina and Florida. In Georgia, the party moderates and conservatives have an uneasy truce. Ever since Jim Martin made the mistake of running against Lurleen Wallace in 1966, the formal Republican party of Alabama has been shattered. In Mississippi and Louisiana it hardly exists. The situation is not merely fluid, it is oceanic; as the tides of reaction come and go, the Southern G.O.P. can only throw out its nets and hope.

Across from his desk and facing him, Callaway keeps what not many men have in their offices—a lifesize bust of his grandfather. Fuller Callaway, himself the 13th child of a Baptist minister, is certainly worthy of this ancestral respect because he made everything possible. He got the Callaways into the textile business; his son, Cason, took over shortly after World War I and developed the Callaway Mills into a \$40-million enterprise before retiring at the age of 44 to build Callaway Gardens, now one of the South's largest resorts, not far from Warm Springs, where President Franklin Roosevelt liked to vacation.

Bo did not inherit the textile empire nor any part of it—he has never worked in textiles in his life—but he did inherit his father's conservatism; only, with Bo, it became more orthodox.

One of Georgia's key political figures who has been a friend of the Callaway family for years, recalls the evolution like this: "Cason wasn't just top man in the Callaway outfit; he was on the board of the Trust Company of Georgia, Georgia Power, U.S. Steel, Shell and one or two other corporations. He and Bob Woodruff of the Coca Cola Company were just about as close as two people could be. Of course, when his father died, Bo came into the picture, became a director on some of these same boards and fell right into all of these associations. And all of these people were Republicans, see?"

"Now, Cason knew how to be a Republican without letting it interfere with normal state Democratic politics. He would go along with us and help support the Democrats in the state because that was the best way to help his corporations. We kind of played along together. But Bo got carried away. He got in there with that Goldwater group and got all enthused and thought they were going to take over the Republican party and make it into something like Wallace has got. It was just a one-shot thing that he misinterpreted. Bo went too far. He became a party Republican. I can't understand it unless it's because he isn't with the corporations anymore."

For most of his life the courthouse habitues around Georgia didn't think Bo Callaway was acting strange at all, he voted Republican in Presidential years, of course, but at home he kept his credentials as a loyal member of the quasi-Democratic Talmadge gang, supporting it with work and money, and even as late as 1962 he was out front pushing the gubernatorial candidacy of that slightly soiled Talmadgeite, Marvin Griffin (today George Wallace's temporary Vice-Presidential running mate), who in the mid-fifties had presided over one of the most corrupt administrations in Georgia's history.

But then, in 1964, he began to hear Republican voices. John Grenier recalls riding out to the Atlanta airport with Callaway. "Most of the way, Bo talked about how he could best serve his country, and he said he thought maybe the best way would be to join the Republican party."

He quit his corporation directorships, joined the Goldwater ticket as a candidate for Congress, won, and spent the next two years happily casting votes against the higher education act, the elementary and secondary education act, Medicare, increases in minimum wage, rent supplements, Teacher Corps appropriations and anything resembling a Civil Rights Bill.

These were votes that the people in his district generally approved of, and he could probably have stayed in Congress for life. But in 1966 he decided to run for Governor ("You may think this is strange, but I didn't want to run for Governor. I loved Congress. I came back just to help the party").

He found that things had changed somewhat. Many who were once his political friends—powerful men, opinion-shapers on the right who counted him as a close and valuable ally when he was, as they are still, properly called neither a Democrat nor Republican but merely a protestor in national politics—now shunned him, feeling that he was making a giddy spectacle of himself. "I hated like thunder not to support Bo," says Griffin, "but he done gone over and got to be a gen-u-wine Republican and, while I supported Goldwater in '64, that word Republican happens to hold no Eastern greenhorn charm for me."

And Roy Harris, once the greatest manipulator of rural ballot boxes in Georgia and today best known as president of the super-segregationist Citizens Councils of America, shakes his head at the passing of an old friendship. "I guess Bo considers me a political enemy now. But when he became a Republican, that's when we parted. I was head of the Democrats for Goldwater, along with Himmy Gray, (now chairman of the Georgia Democratic party), but we didn't have anything to do with the Republicans. I don't think anybody in the South liked Goldwater any better than I did, and I don't know of anything about the man I admire, except that he is probably as honest as politicians get."

"But when he came along, he did vote against the Civil Rights Bill, so we could use him as a symbol and build a protest vote around him. I guess Bo didn't understand we weren't supporting *Republicans*. We don't want to build up a Republican party in the South because it would just be an echo of the Southern Democratic party. We're in a minority in national politics, and we have to play minority politics by sticking together and waiting until they've got to have us. If we get divided up foolishly between the Republicans and Democrats, we'll just get ground up between the two parties."

For that matter, Callaway was just as suspect and unacceptable to many pre-Goldwater Republicans who had been building the Southern G.O.P. slowly along more moderate lines until they were swept out of their party seats in 1964 by the Goldwater zealots whom the old-liners looked upon as bogus Republicans. Robert R. Snodgrass of Atlanta, once considered "Mr. Republican" in Georgia, but since 1964 merely a party onlooker, speaks in the tones of forced forgiveness that typifies this group. "Callaway? Oh, yes, well, very fine family and fine man person * * * ceptable individual."

At the same time, Callaway ran his gubernatorial candidacy in such a way as to develop some enemies in his very own peculiar way. There was Roscoe Pickett, for example, Republican National Committeeman at the time. He is a rough-hewn mountaineer sort of fellow whose manner and conduct offend Callaway, so when Pickett went to him at the beginning of that campaign and offered to do anything he could to help, Callaway gratefully suggested, "the best thing you can do for me is resign." Chalk up another flaming grudge. Today Pickett says of Callaway, "He ain't worth a damn."

Newsmen traveling with Callaway often found his military blitz routine unbearable; if he was scheduled to be in the next town in 10 minutes he was there—even if it meant that some of the reporters who had pulled out momentarily to phone their stories were left stranded. Callaway now admits that this was "dumb, if you want to use the word," and equally dumb was the screening process which kept political friends from reaching him. Not even his uncle, Fred Hand, a former Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives and a canny boondocks politico, could get through to him. "He was making plenty of mistakes that I could see and I wanted to help him," says Hand, "but I couldn't penetrate his organization. I simply couldn't call him. Seems a funny way to run a race." Since then uncle and nephew have drifted apart politically.

But perhaps the gravest and most illogical mistake of his campaign was made in his opening speech. Callaway had incorrectly assumed that the victor in the Democratic primary would be Ellis Arnall, a moderate ex-Governor and friend of the outgoing Governor, Carl Sanders, from whom Arnall could have expected

strong support. In anticipation of this tie between Arnall and Sanders, Callaway prepared a section of the speech to damn Sanders for fiscal mismanagement of state affairs.

However, when Arnall was beaten by Lester Maddox, the wild man of the Pickrick Restaurant, that section became completely irrelevant to the campaign because Maddox wasn't about to get any support from Sanders.

Callaway could not believe that these people, when the choice was between himself and Maddox, would vote for the latter. Look at Maddox: chasing Negroes out of his restaurant with ax handles and pistols, picketing the White House and finding "Commonists" (sic) under every other leaf of the Congressional Record; Maddox, the violent, raving, funny looking little high school dropout whose idea of high oratory was to ask a crowd, "when I sing 'God Bless America,' I really mean it—don't chew?" No, the liberal and moderate Democrats were stuck; they might not like him, but surely they would prefer to vote for a handsome, polished West Point graduate of quiet demeanor.

But the liberals and moderates fooled him. They launched a write-in campaign for Ellis Arnall. Callaway was dumbfounded; the only result of the write-in would be to elect Maddox. Why would they do it? He went to Eugene Patterson, editor of *The Atlanta Constitution*, to seek his support. The management of the Constitution are men whose sympathies lie generally with the National Democratic party; they believe that the world is round and that Atlanta is part of it; they also believe in obeying such things as Federal Civil Rights statutes. In their opinion, both Maddox and Callaway differed from them on all these points, although Maddox might do so more embarrassingly. It was because of this matter of style that Callaway felt he could expect the Constitution's editorial support.

He guessed wrong. What editor Patterson told him was, in effect, that four years of farce would be better than 20 years of cold-hearted error. "I told him," Patterson recalls, "that we could get rid of Maddox in one term, but that he was smart enough to set up the kind of mean Republicanism that might last for decades. I told him that I agreed with Woodrow Wilson, 'I do not fear a rascal, I do not fear a knave, I do fear a strong man with the wrong ideas.' Callaway is steely strong. He's a Bourbon. He's a rich man who inherited his wealth and thinks others should. If he had won, there's no telling what kind of power structure he could have built with the support of the segregationists and the uptown rightwingers."

Callaway substantiated Patterson's recollection of the conversation, but added unhappily—apparently supposing that Patterson had made his judgment off the cuff—"I think I could have changed his mind if I had got to him a week earlier."

Charles Weltner, a highly popular Congressman serving then from Atlanta, encouraged the write-in drive with the statement: "Callaway is the same as Maddox on race except in a slicker way. He uses code names such as 'property rights,' which means 'we ain't gonna serve no niggers'." In a joint statement, three prominent Negroes, including civil-rights leader Hosea Williams, warned that "Lester Maddox offers Georgia's Negroes blood in the streets, indignity, violence. This man is a living crime, an offense to God Almighty, a cancer which must be rooted out," "Georgia's Negroes also know that Howard Callaway is a silk-stockinged segregationist who is no better than Maddox."

The write-in vote was not impressive, only about 60,000 went for Arnall. But this was enough to deprive Callaway of a majority victory; the election was thus thrown into the Democrat-dominated Georgia Legislature, which proceeded to select Maddox as Governor; and Callaway retired to the office of a political friend on the fourth floor of the Capitol where, surrounded by sympathetic true believers, he wept.

Richard Nixon may consider Callaway's 1966 defeat ancient history now, of little importance, no more than a warm-up exercise for his No. 1 man in Dixie. But it was much more than that, especially in terms of Nixon's present race. Just as it is probable that Nixon would not have received the G.O.P. nomination without the steadfastness of the Deep South, it is also possible that whether or not he salvages something in that region in November may determine his chances for making the White House. The reputation and mental attitude of his campaign director for the region could be crucial.

Callaway's present reputation in political circles and his mental attitude have been shaped to a great extent by the results of 1966. He's wiser; he learned something invaluable to anybody who wants to stay in Southern politics: Never

underestimate the politician whose basic appeal is to the underdog, the redneck, the fundamentalist, and the kook.

As if he were making a unique discovery, Callaway now says of Maddox, "I tell you, he has a touch. He can identify with the common man as well as anyone I've ever seen. You know, he had hardly been in office—now get this, here's this guy who had been violent toward Negroes—and he hadn't been in office more than a week when the first Negroes to escape prison came to him for help. Those Negroes identified with Maddox as being for the underdog, and that was stronger than every picture in magazines of him hitting Negroes on the head with ax handles."

That kind of insight is one of the few benefits Callaway brought forward from the experiences of 1966. At the same time the defeat also seems to have left him gunshy. He is skittish about taking issue with the opposition. He keeps saying, "I don't want to make the mistake I did with Sanders. I don't want to do that again."

Maddox worked and voted for Goldwater last time; but he will work and vote against Nixon, for Maddox is a man who never forgives a slight, and he has never forgotten that Goldwater later said the Georgia Governor "should go back to selling hotdogs." Maddox, who specialized in fried chicken, not hotdogs, has already shown that he intends to make the party of Goldwater eat that "gutter remark," as Maddox termed it.

He is now reminding anyone who will listen that it was a Republican President who "invaded Little Rock" and appointed the hated Earl Warren to the Supreme Court, and that, as a result of these "Republican invasions and appointments, we've said to the Communists, 'sure, you may be free to help our labor unions,' and we've approved of murderers and rapists being turned loose free upon the American society to murder and rape again." The Republicans are equally responsible, Maddox charges, for the "killin' and lootin' and wreckin' and burnin' in our country."

Such accusations stir no angry rebuttal from Callaway: there might be a few potential Nixon supporters among Maddox's followers, so he keeps quiet. And after one of those rare occasions when he has intimated that Maddox is using state bank deposits for political power, or that he has made deals in judicial appointments, Callaway rushes on to assure his listeners, "But you notice I haven't criticized him. I think the state has enough problems without criticizing him."

When reporters squeeze him for his attitude toward politicians who compete with Republicans for the conservative vote, Callaway emits only sweet, bland juices.

Q.—Where, aside from disagreement over the need for a two-party system, would you say you disagree with Senator Talmadge? [Up for reelection this year. Talmadge will be opposed by a Republican.]

Callaway—Well, I'd rather not get into that because a lot of his supporters are supporters of the Republican party. I'm not trying to alienate Talmadge supporters right now.

Q.—Do you think Talmadge could fit easily into the Republican party?

Callaway—I think he could.

Q.—Do you think Roy Harris could fit easily into the Republican party?

Callaway—I don't think so, but I don't want to get into a position of alienating a lot of people by talking about why. I don't want to alienate any group of people except Hubert Humphrey.

Q.—Goldwater got the protest votes in 1964, and Wallace will get them this year unless you take them away from him. How do you intend to do it?

Callaway—Not by attacking Wallace. You don't gain much by that. We are on a positive basis with Nixon. We are on a positive basis with a man with a positive program. Some of these Wallace voters haven't thought beyond what happens if they get Wallace elected. To my knowledge, Wallace has never even been out of the country. Never in his life. Somebody said he had been to Canada once. Well, here's a man who might be in charge of all the foreign policy. Is he equipped to do it? I don't think they have really thought that far. [Callaway is wrong. Wallace served overseas during World War II.]

Q.—Well, what is the difference between the Southern G.O.P. and the Wallace party?

Callaway—I think the differences are quite substantial. On law and order, they both believe in law and order as firmly as they can believe in it, but I

think the Wallace group is more emotional about it. I don't think you will hear any Southern Republican saying anybody who lies down in front of his car will get run over. What we stand for is enforcement of the law no matter how much force is necessary.

Q.—What else?

Callaway—I don't think I have heard Wallace speak of fiscal responsibility, but again, I don't want to criticize him. I don't think the fiscal record of his state is the best, but I don't think it makes any sense to criticize him.

Q.—Why not tear him up?

Callaway—Nixon's not running against Wallace, he's running against Hubert Humphrey, and it just doesn't make any sense to get to nippin' off in the direction you're not goin'.

Callaway claims that the decision to avoid criticizing Wallace was Nixon's decision, not his; actually the decision was arrived at together by G.O.P. leaders in the South, who then passed on the stern "suggestion" to Nixon. The problem facing Southern Republicans, as South Carolina chairman Dent sees it, come to this: "The Democrats have written of the South Presidentially, so they are saying privately that they are for Wallace. That protects them in the other races. The only way we can compete is to refrain from criticizing Wallace ourselves. The only place we're going to add any votes is from people who are leaning to Wallace, and you can't get them to come back to Nixon by kicking their man Strom is out saying a vote for Wallace is a vote for Hubert Humphrey, and just for saying that, they've already threatened us, publicly, that if you keep saying that, we're going to kill all your local candidates. You laugh at that, but this is something to be considered. The reason Jim Gardner [candidate for Governor in North Carolina] went for Reagan in Miami was to appease the Wallace people back home. That way he could run as a Republican but out of the Nixon-Wallace conflict."

Callaway's caution in this instance is plainly not altogether his.

The emphasis on uplift and blandness may be good strategy, even in a region that takes pride in its negative powers, but it also is being tied in with the mistakes of 1966 to make Callaway seem an ineffective nice guy who is in the wrong business. His old friends, who now support Wallace, have set out to shake his reputation by ridicule or worse, pity.

Down in the wire grass corner of Georgia, Griffin is telling everyone with a chuckle and a shake of his head; "I feel kind of sorry for Bo. He's trying to organize somebody, but it's kind of hard to organize people who ain't even in the party. There ain't many Republicans around, you know. Mostly disgruntled Democrats down here. So it looks like Wallace is going to run first, Hubie'-Dubie's going to run second, and Lantern Jaw going to run third. Aw, I don't say that to criticize him physically, but you know Dick's wider at the jowls than he is at the temples. His head's built like an old-fashion lantern. Course, that may be the sign of determination and drive. Anyway, he gonna run third. Agnew's nomination ain't gonna have no effect at all. Nobody ever heard of him down here. I walked in a cafe the other day and I said, 'How about Agnew?' and this cracker yells back, 'Ag who?' Well, that's the way it is and I don't think Bo is the person to change it."

Roy Harris is more direct: "Bo is the nicest young fellow you ever saw. But he hasn't too much ability. Especially at campaigning. Why, [in his bid for Governor] he started out with all the polls showing he'd win two to one and he wound up getting a 3,000 plurality out of a million votes and he was getting weaker every day. He just doesn't understand people. He doesn't know how to touch people. He's got polish and a good family, but if it weren't for his money and his tie-ins, he wouldn't even have been mentioned in politics."

Griffin and Harris and their crowd—it's a large crowd, the Wallace backers, the far far rightwingers—are saying it from Augusta to Bainbridge, and they are exporting it to other Southern states. It's impossible to say to what extent they have undercut Callaway's influence as yet, but it is already plain that he does not mean to fight back.

The soap-opera questions arising from all this—will Bo stop turning Nixon's cheek? Will the far right be able to rescue Dixie from the far far right?—may be extremely important to this Presidential race, but there is one sizable group of Southerners who think a more important question for the long-range tone of Southern politics is, will the rivalry for the vote of extremists in 1968 be more or less damaging than the recruitment of extremists in 1964?

And since the question cannot be answered in a way that advances the South, many of the people in this group have simply chucked the whole business. Ellis Arnall is probably typical. Twenty years ago, shortly after he ended his term as Governor, he wrote a book, "The Shore Dimly Seen," around the theme that a new day was a hand for the South.

Getting clobbered by Maddox improved his eyesight however, and now he sees that what he once thought to be a shore, is really a reef. He retreated once again to the safety of his healthy corporation law offices, drew the blinds, and now refuses to comment on what the Callaways and Maddoxes and Wallaces and Thurmonds are up to this year, except to say, "The currents of Southern politics are so mysterious, so bafflings, that I have retired from politics and have decided to sit on the side and try to figure out what is going on. The currents change from time to time, but right now they again are going hard in the direction of racism. So I just don't know."

Former Representative Howard H. Callaway, the Republican gubernatorial candidate who was rejected by the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature in favor of Mr. Maddox, also came to the Capitol tonight to congratulate the winner.

Then, as his voice broke, Mr. Callaway told a group of his supporters that "perhaps we'll meet again in another day and in another race."

Mr. Callaway, a segregationist and economically conservative textile heir, ran ahead of Mr. Maddox by 3,039 votes in the November general election. But a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis Arnall attracted enough support from the electorate to prevent the new Governor from getting a majority of the ballots.

Under Georgia's Constitution, the state Legislature decides between the top two vote-getters in the event that no candidate gets a majority.

Fearing the results of any legislative election, attorneys for Mr. Callaway appeared before both the United States and the Georgia Supreme Courts to argue that the people, rather than the Legislature, should choose the next Governor.

However, both courts ruled against Mr. Callaway's supporters and the American Civil Liberties Union, which joined in the fight against the legislative election.

RULED OUT OF ORDER

In today's joint session of the House and Senate, Republicans and a handful of pro-Callaway Democrats continued their fight for a run-off election. However, their effort to introduce a resolution was ruled out of order by the outgoing Lieutenant Governor, Peter Zack Geer, a Maddox supporter who was today's presiding officer.

The Callaway supporters then tried to overrule Mr. Geer's decision, but their motion failed by a vote of 148 to 110.

It was clear at this point that Mr. Maddox would be the next Governor. In the balloting only 36 Democrats crossed party lines to join the 30 Republican Negroes—refused to vote for either segregationist.

Thousands of Georgians crowded into the Capitol hallways and packed the visitors' gallery, which looms above the Corinthian-style House chamber, to watch the legislative election—the second in the state since 1824.

As the crowds looked on, legislators spent eight hours canvassing the results of the general election before deciding on the Governor.

The official election returns gave 453,665 votes to Mr. Callaway, who has just completed a term as a United States Representative, and 450,626 votes to Mr. Maddox. There were 52,831 write-in votes, most of them for former Governor Arnall.

Mr. Geer declined to count 17,228 write-ins from Fulton County (Atlanta) and 1,118 from Cobb County on grounds that they had been improperly submitted to the legislature.

GEORGIA SEEN FACING A SHIFT IN POLITICAL POWER

[From the New York Times]

ATLANTA, Aug. 20—A highly conservative Republican Representative, who calls himself a progressive, and a liberal former Governor, who calls himself a

fiscal conservative, seemed to be moving this week toward collision in the Georgia Governor's race.

The Representative is Howard Callaway, who was elected in 1964 when Senator Barry Goldwater took Georgia into the Republican column for the first time. He is a handsome, 39-year-old millionaire, heir to a textile fortune.

The former Governor is Ellis Arnall, whose administration from 1943 through 1946 attracted national attention because of its structural reforms and racial moderation.

At 36, he was the nation's youngest Governor. At 59, after two decades out of politics, he is a corporation lawyer and, like Mr. Callaway, a millionaire.

CALLAWAY UNOPPOSED

Whether these two meet in the general election on Nov. 8 will depend on how well Mr. Arnall does in the Democratic primary Sept. 14. Mr. Callaway has no opposition among Republicans. He is being put on the ballot by petition.

Republicans said this week that the petitions had 121,000 signatures, substantially more than the 88,000 required. They also said the party would have about 150 candidates running against Democrats in November.

Republicans are running for Congress in all but one of the state's 10 Congressional districts. About 90 are seeking seats in the Legislature and more than 50 are running for local offices.

ARNALL UNDER ATTACK

Most of the Democratic candidates have been concentrating their fire on Mr. Arnall. He has ignored them, attacking Mr. Callaway and saying his Democratic opponents are "nice fellows," whom he hopes to unite against the Republicans.

Mr. Arnall is quietly putting together a peculiar coalition that so far has not drawn much direct criticism from his opponents. He is expected to receive the overwhelming support of the approximately 275,000 Negroes registered to vote in the primary.

He also has the endorsement of labor in the state, and a substantial portion of Atlanta's big corporate and banking interest is supporting him, though some of this support is expected to defect to Mr. Callaway after the primary.

Mr. Arnall, flamboyant, balding and rotund man, is aware that he is running at a time when the voters often prefer youthful, handsome men of more reserve. He keeps stressing that he is the "youngest man in the race," and has tried hard to attract the support of youth.

The more conservative Democratic candidates charge Mr. Arnall with being a liberal ("Georgia's Hubert Humphrey," one has said) who would bend to the White House.

The thrust of Mr. Callaway's campaign is not yet clear, since he is waiting to see which Democrat will oppose him.

His forces are busy with organization, however, and he has been projecting himself as a progressive interested in reforming state administration and ending one-party control of the state.

Increasingly he has used racial implications appealing strongly to segregation-minded white voters.

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The election of either Mr. Callaway or Mr. Arnall would shift political power in Georgia. Many Democratic officeholders are becoming aware that a popular Republican Governor could rapidly develop the Republican party at lower levels, where it is now extremely weak.

But the election of Mr. Arnall, too, would mean a sharp break in political lines. Mr. Arnall has always been outside the forces that have dominated Georgia's Democratic party in recent years. In a place of power, he probably would bring about substantial realignments.

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Mr. Arnall says he is a national, state and local Democrat "and anybody who doesn't like it can go to hell."

But he has said little of his liberalism and he has reminded voters that his administration was conservative fiscally.

He has sought to avoid any semblance of the kind of campaign that Alabama's Attorney General, Richmond Flowers, unsuccessfully waged recently for Governor. Mr. Flowers campaigned heavily in Negro communities and proclaimed his intentions to change Alabama's racial climate.

Mr. MITCHELL. In conclusion, Senator, let me say that I did not come here asking at this time that the nominee not be confirmed. I merely am asking for more time so that those of us around the country who might want to take a closer look may do so. I am not an unreasonable man. I know that the racial attitudes of a nation have the potential to change and I know that the racial attitudes of a man have a potential to change. If indeed, there is any validity to any of these comments, then it is quite possible that the nominee has significantly changed his position. But in light of the trouble that we are having in the Armed Forces, and particularly in the Army, I think it is the duty and the responsibility of the members of this committee and all of us who serve in the Congress to make absolutely sure, beyond any shadow of doubt that the nominee does not have racial attitudes inimical to the best interests of black Americans and other minorities.

I thank you for this opportunity of appearing before the committee.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Congressman.

Mr. Callaway, if you have any comments you would like to make at this time, we will be glad to receive them.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD H. CALLAWAY, NOMINEE, TO BE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

Mr. CALLAWAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee. I have no prepared remarks. I would like to say a few opening remarks, if I may.

First, of course, I am highly pleased by the nomination by the President. I have always had a deep love of the Army for the major part of my life and if confirmed, I will serve to the best of my ability.

One other point that I think you should know is that I have great respect for this committee. As a former Member of Congress, I have respect for both Houses of Congress and I want to promise that if confirmed, I will cooperate in every way with this committee and other committees of Congress.

I am open for questions, sir.

Senator SYMINGTON. Based on earlier discussion of your nomination, do you feel that if you were confirmed for this very important position—and especially in that Secretary of the Army Froehke recently emphasized before this committee two serious problems in the Army, one race, the other drugs you will give every American the same rights and privileges regardless of race, creed, or color?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Senator, I feel very strongly about that and I can fully understand Congressman Mitchell's concern. I think that in that concern, he did a service to the country in coming here and I hope that by airing this, we can fully assure everyone. Unless there are certain parts of his testimony that you would like to touch on, I do not intend to answer each allegation, even though I have an answer that I think will be satisfactory for each and every allegation.

I would like to make just a couple of points. From what I have read in the press, I understand that Congressman Andrew Young, who is partly my Congressman—I vote in the third district, as Senator Nunn said but I have been living in Atlanta, which is his district for the last year and a half—supports my nomination and he supports it primarily because he thinks a southerner and a Georgian who has been raised in the race area could be more practical in solving racial problems. Congressman Young has a long history of being identified with civil rights movements, and I think the fact that he supports and thinks I could do a good job speaks for itself.

Also, I would like to read an editorial which appeared in the Atlanta Daily World, which I believe is one of the largest circulation black newspapers in America. It is very short.

The title is "Callaway and the Army."

The announcement this week by President Nixon that he was nominating former Congressman Howard H. Callaway of Georgia as the new Secretary of the Army is good news. It is good news for most Georgians and it should be good news for most Americans.

In 1964 he was elected to the Congress from the Third Georgia District and in 1966 he won the plurality vote for Governor of Georgia but failed to get the office due to Georgia's law requiring a majority vote. The legislature elected the Governor that year.

We have followed closely Mr. Callaway's activities since he won public office in 1964 and we have found him to be fair on issues affecting our racial group. As soon as the law would permit lowering of racial barriers, at Callaway Gardens near LaGrange they were eliminated. Also the Gardens employ a large number of members of our race and the Callaway family has a record of aiding our people in getting better library facilities in LaGrange and the Callaway Foundation has made grants to Negro colleges.

As a West Point graduate and outstanding and successful businessman, Mr. Callaway, 46, is well equipped to fill the post for which he has been nominated.

Also Mr. Callaway, like us, believes in a strong America in order to protect our freedom.

Mr. Callaway's appointment should be a big boost for Atlanta and Georgia. It is our hope that the Senate will quickly confirm his nomination.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to add one more thing. It is my belief that in the area of which Congressman Mitchell spoke for equal opportunity for all Americans, and that is, of course, also in the Army—that there are many areas in which all reasonable people agree. There are some areas in which perhaps Congressman Mitchell and I might not agree. But there are many areas that all responsible Americans agree on. These are areas such as equal opportunity for all members

of the Army. If in fact, there is discrimination of white over black, all Americans agree this must be stopped wherever there is discrimination of any kind.

I would like to think that we could start working in those areas where there is no disagreement and with the utmost of resolution, see that discrimination stops. Now, when you get into other areas where there is less agreement, we have a tougher problem, but we begin working on that, too. The kinds of areas I am speaking of now is there is great disagreement in the Army as to whether there should be a quota so that a certain percent of blacks and whites should be in a given area; and many feel that this should be and many feel that it should not be. In these areas, there will have to be some give and take on both sides.

But my point again is I feel that we can push extremely hard in those areas where there is not disagreement, and I believe this is the real area that needs to be pushed; where there is a chance for all soldiers to be treated alike.

One other small point. In my judgment, the best way to achieve racial harmony is to see that commanders at all levels understand that it is a part of their command responsibility to treat all soldiers as soldiers. I believe this fundamentally.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Mr. Callaway.

Senator THURMOND?

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Callaway, I am very pleased to welcome you here today and I want to congratulate you upon your appointment and the President upon selecting you. I feel that you will make an excellent Secretary of the Army. You are not only a West Point graduate, but you have been successful in whatever you have undertaken. You have been successful as a businessman, you have been successful as a Congressman, and you have had vast experience which will be of great benefit to you and the Army.

One problem you are going to be confronted with soon is the all-volunteer force and whether it works. If it works, fine. We all hope it will work. But if it does not work, I hope you will have the courage to tell the President it is not working so we can follow some other course.

I personally would prefer to see every young man serve his country. I think he has an obligation to do so. But we do want to give the all-volunteer force a chance to work. If it does not, we will have to take steps to go back to the other system or find some system that will work.

The Soviets will know how good our Army is and it will not be long until after you are in office, you will know how good it is and I am sure you will take the necessary steps to improve it.

Army readiness does concern me very much. We are going to be depending on the Guard and Reserves more and more in the future, because when the regular establishment is reduced, we will have to depend on the Guard and Reserve more. To my mind, that means not a Reserve that is just called a Reserve, and a Guard that is just called a Guard to satisfy people or keep them on the payroll. But that means a force that is ready to fight. I think you are wasting money to maintain a Reserve or a Guard unless you give them the equipment and

provide the training and leadership to make first-class combat soldiers out of them. It is delusive and deceiving to the public to feel that they have protection when they do not. So I hope you will really see that the Guard and the Reserve receive the attention that they deserve, that they are required to come up to a high standard, and that they are provided the equipment, the leadership and the training that is essential to make them topnotch soldiers.

I want to say that I believe a lot of money could be saved by increasing efforts to get those being discharged to come into the Reserve and Guard. They have already had their training and that would save a great deal. I would hope you would look into that facet of it.

The Army has been taking a beating, I think, here on the Hill for the last few years. They have lost their two major weapons, the modern tank and the helicopter, but the Congress has indicated that it does favor a modern tank. We must have a modern tank for the 1980's, and I think the Congress also favors the assault helicopter. So, anything that you can do to expedite the production of the weapons that are decided upon in order to bring about economy and to put these weapons into the field as soon as possible will be a great service. On the weapons that we order today, it will be several years before they will be ready. Therefore, I think you have to give great insight and consideration to the weapons we are going to need now for 1980. The Soviets are going forward with modern tanks, they are going forward with assault helicopters, they are going forward with a great many things.

I believe the Army has a five-point program of weapon systems this year. I will not take time to go into all of them, but those are just two of the systems—the tank and the helicopter. All five of these systems are important.

I want to say that regardless of the equipment we are buying, none of it can be too effective if the infantry forces cannot advance on the ground. It is the Army that holds the ground. The Air Force is most important, the Navy is important, but we live on the ground and whoever controls the ground is going to control the Government and control the security of the people. So it is essential that we have a strong Army.

I just want to wish you well in your work and I predict you will make a great Secretary of the Army.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, Senator Thurmond, if I may comment, obviously, I am not the expert by any means, and I certainly do not have the answers to all your questions, but let me say I share every statement you made. I share your beliefs.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator McIntyre?

Senator MCINTYRE. Mr. Callaway, how do you feel about the concept of the all-volunteer Army, as you sit here now? Briefly?

Mr. CALLAWAY. I will try to be brief. It is a long subject. With the same caveat I gave to Senator Thurmond, with allowance to change as I learn more, because I have a whole lot to learn, my own view is somewhat the same as Senator Thurmond's. I would like to see everybody serve in the Army. But in today's world, we do not have a draft. It is expiring, as you know, in a very few days. Without a draft, we do not have much choice. So as I see the job of the Army, it is to make the volunteer Army work. It is going to be extremely difficult.

We have a lot of good things. I think the Reserve, Senator Thurmond, is where it is most difficult right now. We are doing a better job of getting volunteers into the active service than we are in the Reserves. I do not know the answer to it.

But one thing I think is essential is for all of us to work 24 hours a day to make the job of being in the Army or being in the Active Reserve meaningful so when these young men go back to their high school classes, their friends, their high school sweethearts, their wives, their mothers, they can look them in the eye and say, believe it or not, I am having a meaningful experience. I am serving in the Army in something that is meaningful to me. When you can do that, you will have a broad base, because this will appeal to everyone equally in America, and you will not have a likelihood of it appealing more to one geographical area than another.

It is more easily said than done. But I think this is the key to making the Army more meaningful to the men who serve in it. When you do that, the rest will fall into place, I think. But it is a very difficult job.

Senator McINTYRE. As you sit here today, you do not have any trouble with making that life meaningful to the men in the armed services, whether they be black, white, red, or whatever?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Senator McIntyre, I think it is absolutely essential. I not only have no trouble, I will think I have failed if I cannot do it.

Senator McINTYRE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. No more questions.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator Tower ?

Senator TOWER. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions. I have known Bo Callaway as friend and political ally for many years and I think I know how he thinks and I am going to be very, very pleased to support his nomination. I think the President made an excellent choice. I am confident that this committee will find vindicated the confidence which reposes in him should the vote be confirmed.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Thank you.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Senator BYRD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I feel that Mr. Callaway's record fully qualifies him for the position to which he has been appointed. I am pleased to support his confirmation and am persuaded also by the strong endorsement given him by the two able Senators from Georgia, Senator Talmadge and Senator Nunn.

I am pleased to support your confirmation, Mr. Callaway.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Dominick?

Senator DOMINICK. Mr. Chairman, I have known Mr. Callaway now for 9 years, ever since I went down and helped him campaign in 1964 and wished I had been down there in 1966 to help out a little bit more. I think he is a very, very fine guy. He is highly qualified and I have absolutely no hesitation on any grounds whatsoever in endorsing his nomination.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you.

Senator Nunn, have you anything to add?

Senator NUNN. I have one or two questions.

Let me first volunteer, Senator Dominick, that I am glad you were not there to help him in 1972, because he was running against Sam Nunn.

Mr. Chairman, I happen to respect Congressman Mitchell's testimony and his concern and I am certainly pleased at the complete candor that Bo Callaway has answered his questions with. I happen to have been in many audiences when the answer obviously was posed to Bo Callaway when he was running for Congress and was running for Governor would have obviously been to take a hard position that would not have been a moderate position on the question of race. Every answer he ever gave where I was in the audience—and that was on many occasions—was always one of being fair to everyone and according everyone equal opportunity. I happen to have been a firsthand observer who was not in politics at all at that time and I think that should be part of the record. I have heard it and I have heard many times that if he had given the political answer, he would have been much more popular and he did not do so, both in his Congress race in 1964 and again when he ran for Governor.

I would like to echo Senator Thurmond's and Senator McIntyre's concern about the all-volunteer force. I am not going to repeat the numerous questions I have asked on it to the Secretary of Defense, the Chief of Staff of the Army, Secretary of the Army Froehlke, and many others, but I do think it is extremely important that the President of the United States, this committee, and the Congress be given your frank appraisal of whether the volunteer force is working. I know that your job is to make it work—I understand that; but, I have a feeling that we have created this because of the pressures of the Vietnam war, and yet it has become such a fundamental underlying item of our defense cost that it has affected our entire military budget and our defense structure. I think it is going to be extremely important that, as Senator Thurmond said, while you work hard to see that it does work, as soon as you get a clear indication, you let this committee, the Congress, and the President know. When you consider that we are spending both directly and indirectly 67 percent of our budget on manpower and the Soviet Union has 30 percent in manpower, and when you consider many of the other aspects, I think it is the most fundamental question we have facing us today.

I also would like very much to have you, when you become Secretary, after confirmation, which hopefully will be prompt, to look very diligently into the question of readiness of our troops. If we have 13 divisions and some are not ready, then we have to, I think, question the entire purpose of the Army. I think that there are many concerns about this and as you and I talked the other day, I think that is certainly the object of an army, to have a combat-ready division.

Mr. Chairman, that is all I have, not in the form of a question. I just wanted to make those observations, and ask if Bo would like to comment.

Mr. CALLAWAY. If I may comment, if I could just say to Senator Nunn, I fully share your concern. One thing I want to promise all the members of this committee and all the Members of Congress is that I will not hide anything from these committees. I do not take

the attitude that when we get problems, we should try to solve them on our own and then, if we cannot, come running to Congress. I take the attitude that this is a partnership between Congress and the Army; and as we go along and find out, and we will be finding out day by day, certain things will be working in the volunteer Army and maybe certain will not. But I promise that I will keep you and everyone else informed as openly as I can on the situation.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator Scott?

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was glad to hear Mr. Callaway indicate that he did favor equality of opportunity in the military, but bring out that reasonable people sometimes disagree. I would hesitate or would hate to think that someone who is thought of as a conservative or believes in States rights or is opposed to racial busing or opposed to the Voting Rights Act could not be confirmed, because that is the way I feel on all of these matters. Again, reasonable people can disagree.

But let me ask you, Mr. Callaway, do you believe in a strong national defense, but at the same time, believe in eliminating all of the waste that you can in the military?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes, sir, I believe in a strong national defense, Senator Scott. I think that that is the purpose of the Army, to make the strongest Army you can. The President and the Congress may limit the appropriations, but we make the strongest Army we can with what we are given. Certainly we have to run a tight ship. Certainly we have to stop waste. You do not have the right morale if you are wasting things. How can you feel you are a good soldier if you see things wasting? I think where the Congress has in the past and will in the future help us find ways to eliminate waste, it is a great service to the country.

Senator SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I have no hesitancy in voting to confirm Mr. Callaway. Thank you.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Callaway, first, I would place into the record a letter from the chairman of this committee, the permanent chairman, Hon. John C. Stennis, which is an unqualified endorsement of Mr. Callaway for this position.

Second, I would place in the record from Hon. Barry Goldwater, also a member of this committee, a letter which is also an unqualified endorsement of this nomination.

[The letters follow:]

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., May 8, 1973.

HON. STUART SYMINGTON,
Acting Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SYMINGTON: Since I am unable to attend the hearing today on Mr. Howard H. Callaway to be Secretary of the Army, I would appreciate your placing in the Committee record my remarks on his nomination.

I heartily endorse Mr. Callaway to be Secretary of the Army. I knew him when he was a Member of Congress. He is a man of capacity and one who, in my opinion, has the leadership qualities necessary to serve as the Secretary of the Army.

He has a distinguished military record, including combat service as a platoon leader during the Korean War. As we all know, he has long been active in various business, political, educational and civic enterprises.

I have known Mr. Callaway for a number of years. The Army is indeed fortunate in having a man of his caliber who is willing to serve as Secretary in the important years ahead.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. STENNIS, *Chairman.*

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., May 8, 1973.

HON. STUART SYMINGTON,
Acting Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: A required visit to Nellis Air Force today prevents my being present as Mr. Bo Callaway, who has been nominated for Secretary of the Army, appears before the Committee.

Forgetting the fact that I have known Mr. Callaway in a political way for many, many years, I want to also identify myself as one who has known him as a friend in both a social and military way.

He comes very well prepared for this job having graduated from the Military Academy and served with distinction as a leader of troops in Korea but, more importantly, he has had long, extensive background in corporate government, I believe this latter to be extremely essential to anyone placed in any secretarial job in the Pentagon because, as you know, there has been mismanagement in that area, and the more we can clear it up by the appointment of men like Mr. Callaway, the easier it will be for our Committee to do its job and the better the job will be.

I unhesitatingly urge this nomination, and I want to be so registered and I would appreciate your making these remarks a part of the record.

Sincerely,

BARRY GOLDWATER.

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Callaway, for the record, would you make clear that with respect to all the various directorships you maintain in the organizations you listed, you will not engage in any such duties during your period in office as Secretary of the Army?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes, sir. There is one exception I would like to request that I have mentioned to counsel. On the Ida Cason Callaway Foundation, which is a nonprofit charitable foundation on which I serve as life trustee, I will propose to go on leave of absence and this has been discussed with the trustees and is acceptable to them.

Senator SYMINGTON. Is that the trust set up by your mother?

Mr. CALLAWAY. No; this is a charitable foundation which operates Callaway Gardens in Georgia. I have asked in addition that if there is an election to the board of trustees during my period of service, I will be consulted on that matter and that matter alone. Normally, it would be something that I would take a great interest in because these are life trustees.

Senator SYMINGTON. Furthermore, will you make clear for the record that you know to the best of your knowledge that these organizations do not do business with the Department of Defense?

Mr. CALLAWAY. To the best of my knowledge, they do not do business with the Department of Defense.

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Callaway, you indicate that you have a remainder interest in a trust set up by your mother, that you have no control over the stocks or the remainder interest set up by this trust at this time. Would you make your position clear for the record?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes, sir; that is a trust that was set up for my mother. My mother receives the income from it now. In the event of her death, the proceeds would be split between her children. The trustee is the First National Bank of Atlanta. I have no idea what stocks may or

may not be owned by this trust. I am not even sure I have ever seen the list. I know I have not for many years and I have no control over it. If any of this remainder interest should come to me during my service, I would dispose promptly of any company that did business with the Defense Department.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you. As you know, the Senate Democratic Caucus has adopted a policy with respect to every nomination which requires that every nominee be asked, do we have your commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate? Would you respond to this for the record?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Yes, sir; you have my full commitment. I agree with that.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you.

Congressman Mitchell, you mentioned that you would like to have further consideration of this nomination?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, I did, Senator. Again, I emphasize my position: I have no desire, no intent to impugn the integrity of the nominee.

Senator SYMINGTON. Would you give me a ring in the morning to discuss this matter?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, I certainly will.

NOMINATION OF ROBERT C. HILL, TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Senator SYMINGTON. The next nomination is Mr. Robert C. Hill of New Hampshire, to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Mr. Hill, a businessman and diplomat, has served in both the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations. He has already completed distinguished service within the State Department, including the post as Ambassador to Mexico from 1957-61.

Mr. Hill has furnished a letter to the committee on the conflict of interest question, and it indicates that he owns four stocks on the Defense master list which will be disposed of if he is confirmed. He also has indicated that he is a board member of the Canadian International Power Co. which does no business with the Department of Defense. He does propose, with the permission of the committee, to remain on the board since only a minimal amount of time is required and no attendance is necessary at formal board meetings.

I would like to submit a complete biographical sketch of Mr. Hill for the record.

[The nomination reference and report form and biographical sketch of Mr. Hill follow:]

NOMINATION REFERENCE AND REPORT

IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
May 3, 1973.

Ordered, That the following nomination be referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

I nominate Robert C. Hill, of New Hampshire, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice G. Warren Nutter, resigned.

May 9, 1973.

Reported by Mr. Thurmond with the recommendation that the nomination be *confirmed*, subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT C. HILL

Robert C. Hill, 55, a New Hampshire businessman and diplomat, who has served both the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and as Ambassador to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico and Spain, has been nominated as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs by President Nixon. Mr. Hill began his Foreign Service career as a Vice Consul in India in 1943.

A long-time friend and political associate of President Nixon, Mr. Hill figured prominently in the President's 1968 campaign as Chairman of the Republican National Committee's Foreign Policy Task Force, member of the Republican Coordinating Committee's Task Force on National Security and Chairman of President Nixon's Campaign Foreign Policy Committee. He served as President Nixon's Ambassador to Spain from 1969 to 1972.

Born in September 30, 1917, at Littleton, New Hampshire, Mr. Hill graduated from Taft School (1938) and Dartmouth College (1942).

From 1943 through 1945, he was an officer in the U.S. Foreign Service, assigned first to Calcutta and then to U.S. Army Headquarters in the China-Burma-India Theater at New Delhi as a State Department representative with rank of Captain. In addition to his Army responsibilities, he was in charge of consular activities at the Embassy in New Delhi at that time.

In 1946, Mr. Hill became Staff Assistant to the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking & Commerce. In 1953, President Eisenhower named him Ambassador to Costa Rica at that time the youngest Ambassador to be appointed in the Foreign Service. In 1954, he became Ambassador to El Salvador, and in 1955 Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Mutual Security Affairs. In 1956, he was named Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Designated Ambassador to Mexico in 1957, he resigned in 1961, returning to New Hampshire, where he was elected to the State Legislature, 1961-'62.

Formerly President of the Peoples National Bank of Littleton, New Hampshire, Mr. Hill has served on the board of directors of several American corporations. For several years Mr. Hill was an Assistant Vice President of the W. R. Grace & Co. He has received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from Dartmouth College, New England College, St. Mary's University, University of Dallas, and the Mexican Academy of International Law, Mexico City.

Decorated by three foreign governments, Mr. Hill is a recipient of the Grand Cross-order of Isabel la Catolica, Spain; the Aztec Eagle, First Class, Republic of Mexico; Grand Order of Merit, Republic of Peru; *Order de Fraternitas*, Mexico City College, Mexico City; *Cuerpo de Defensores de la Republica*, Mexico City; and *Orden Mexicana del Derecho y la Cultura*, Mexico City. He is also a recipient of the Americas Award from Rollins College, Winter Haven, Florida.

A sports enthusiast, Mr. Hill played football at Dartmouth and was Captain of his Freshman team. He enjoys tennis and squash rackets, as well as horseback riding. He raises quarter horses at his farm, Happy Hill, Littleton, New Hampshire.

Mr. Hill has made literary contributions to *Orbis*, *Reader's Digest* and the *Washington Report*. He is a member of Alpha Delta Phi social fraternity.

Mr. Hill is married to the former Cecelia Gordon Bowdoin of Baltimore, Maryland. They have two boys, W. Graham Bowdoin, 24 and James Bowdoin, 19.

Senator SYMINGTON. I will add, if I may, at this time, that he has been a long time friend of mine and in my opinion, has been an able public servant.

Senator McIntyre?

STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator MCINTYRE. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I regret that my senior colleague, Senator Norris Cotton, is unable to be

here. He is on the floor for a pending amendment which is a concern of his. I would like to submit his statement which is highly favorable to the nominee.

[The statement referred to follows:]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I appreciate the opportunity of presenting to the Committee the Honorable Robert C. Hill, a distinguished and highly respected citizen of New Hampshire.

I have known Bob Hill since he was a teenager in the Town of Littleton, New Hampshire, which is in my home County. Many of you are doubtless familiar with his distinguished career in which he has served in many capacities.

Early in life he became connected with the Grace Lines. During that period of service he gained an extensive knowledge of Central and South America and mastered the Spanish language. He served a period in Washington on the staff of the late Senator Charles W. Tobey, and during the Eisenhower Administration he was with the State Department, in charge of liaison with the U.S. Senate.

Very naturally, his appointment as Ambassador successively to Central American countries followed, terminating with his Ambassadorship to Mexico, which was particularly fruitful in the improvement of our relations with that country. Under the present Administration he served as Ambassador to Spain. He found time between these assignments to serve as a Representative in the State Legislature in New Hampshire where he was chairman of an important committee and acquired the support of a substantial group of citizens who desired to support him for Governor of the State.

With this background of experience and achievement, I venture to suggest that his qualifications for the position to which the President has named him are beyond question. As Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, he has a remarkable reservoir of knowledge. I will mention only one instance. While he was our Ambassador to Mexico, he followed with great care the activities of Fidel Castro and his associates who were there training and being trained by international Communists for the take-over of Cuba. The information Ambassador Hill was able to furnish the State Department was invaluable and later proved to be absolutely accurate. Unfortunately, it was little heeded at the time.

It is with considerable pride that I appear as a Senator from his State to recommend him for your favorable consideration.

Senator McINTYRE. I would like to say for myself that it is an honor and a pleasure to introduce Mr. Hill, a fellow New Hampshire man, and President Nixon's nominee for the Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Let me tell you at the outset that I have but one regret about this nomination, Mr. Chairman, and that is its timing.

Had Mr. Nixon nominated Mr. Hill for this post a year ago it would have spared me some anxious moments, for there was a time about then when it appeared altogether possible that the nominee would be my opponent in last November's election.

I use the words "anxious moments" deliberately, gentlemen, because Mr. Hill's character and qualifications would have made him a formidable opponent indeed.

Not the least of his qualification, of course, is the fact that he was graduated from Dartmouth College, which, as some of you may know, just happens to be my alma mater.

Mr. Hill is a native of Littleton, N.H., where he is part owner of the Crawford House resort hotel. But until 1972 the nominee had been absent from the State for a number of years, most of them spent in the diplomatic service or in appointive office in the Eisenhower administration.

During the 1950's, Mr. Hill served as our Ambassador to Costa Rica, to El Salvador, and to Mexico, and also served the Eisenhower admin-

istration as Assistant Secretary of State for Mutual Security Affairs.

More recently, Mr. Hill served as our Ambassador to Spain, a post he left last year to return to his native New Hampshire.

Mr. Chairman, let me just say this: I know Mr. Hill as a gentleman, as a distinguished diplomat, as a most capable public official, and as a man of demonstrated ability, honesty, integrity, and patriotism.

I know him as a moderate with whom men of differing viewpoints and politics can reason. And in these days I believe that quality is more important than ever before.

I have no reservations Mr. Chairman and members of the committee about Mr. Hill's nomination.

I intend to give it my wholehearted support.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator McIntyre.

Senator Thurmond?

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Hill, I want to congratulate you on your appointment. I have known you a number of years and I have known of your distinguished record. I just wish we had more Ambassadors of your thinking, your courage, and your resolve.

I believe the sale of military weapons will come under your jurisdiction in this new position. Would you consider this one of your major responsibilities?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT C. HILL, NOMINEE TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Mr. HILL. I do, Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Also, you will be advising the Secretary of Defense in your area, and your office will provide the National Security Council the data upon which policy decisions will be made. Is that the extent of your responsibility to the Council?

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, Senator Thurmond. In my job as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, I will be responsible, if confirmed, for liaison between the State Department, the Department of Defense and the National Security Council.

Senator THURMOND. Now, our country has a number of military assistance advisory groups throughout the world known as MAAG. I am just wondering if you have any plans to look into these and possibly make new appraisals and new judgments and not be hide-bound by what we have now and have had in the past, but will look to the future as to our needs as they exist today?

Mr. HILL. Yes; I do, Senator. As you know, anyone chosen for a MAAG chief position at the Department of Defense is cleared with me in ISA. I know many of the MAAG chiefs around the world, particularly the ones in the Middle East and in Europe and in Latin America. I can assure you that I will take a very careful look at this important activity on the part of the Defense Department.

Senator THURMOND. I think our Government is fortunate to have men like you and it makes me sleep better at night when people like you are serving in our Government.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, sir.

Senator THURMOND. I congratulate you. I will be very pleased to support your nomination.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Chairman, may I make just a few brief comments?

Senator SYMINGTON. Yes, indeed, you certainly may.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I consider this occasion today important. It is a privilege to appear before this distinguished committee. As my biography states, after Dartmouth College, I began my career as a vice consul assigned to India. This was in 1943.

After World War II, I returned to Washington, where I had the good fortune to serve as clerk of the Senate Banking and Commerce Committee. This was during the 80th Congress. The chairman of that committee was my friend, the late Senator Charles W. Tobey from my native State of New Hampshire. It was there that I quickly learned the importance of cooperation with the Congress of the United States. When I made a few personal calls the other day, I was very pleased to see so many staff members and Senators still in the service of their country.

I want to assure you, Mr. Chairman, and all members of this committee and all Members of Congress, that I am available at any time to appear before your committee or any other committee of the Congress. My biography is before you as well as my letter regarding my modest financial holdings.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this is the sixth time that I have appeared before a Senate committee for confirmation. You should know that I believe in the late President Harry Truman's philosophy that public office is a privilege, not a right.

Senator SYMINGTON. May I say that it was my mistake in not giving you a chance to make that statement, but I think probably the chief reason that I erred was that we all know of your record and admire it.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator McIntyre. Tom, would you like to say anything else?

Senator MCINTYRE. No; I think I have pretty well told you how I feel about this nominee, Mr. Chairman. There is a great deal more that can be said, but I think I will rest on my introductory statement.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator Byrd?

Senator BYRD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that was a very fine statement that the nominee just made to this committee. I want to say I share Senator Thurmond's appraisal of Mr. Hill and his ability. We have many mutual friends who hold him in very high esteem and I had a chance to see something of his work as Ambassador to Spain. I have many friends there who feel that Robert Hill made the best Ambassador that this country has sent there in many years.

I am very pleased to support your nomination, Mr. Hill. I have only one general question. That is, would you give the committee your views on executive agreements, first, as against treaties. I know that you were interested in and active in regard to the Spanish base agreements, but I would like to know your general views on the subject of executive agreements versus treaties.

Mr. HILL. Thank you very much, Senator Byrd, for your comments and your question.

When I went to Spain in 1969, the base agreements were under discussion or were to begin at the time of my arrival in Madrid. There was debate at that time as to whether or not the United States should seek a treaty or we would once again negotiate with the Spanish Government in executive arrangements with Spain. I recall talking to Senator Symington at that time and Senator Symington was generous enough to say, let Bob Hill go over to Spain and take a look at the situation, and some day, we will ask him the question.

The question has been asked. It deserves an answer.

I recognize that there are many of these executive agreements in existence today, Senator Byrd. But I think your question is directed toward the future—if we have need for new agreements with foreign governments, should we then submit these agreements as treaties to the U.S. Senate for its advice and consent? In my opinion, wherever possible, we should.

Now, I realize that puts me in a very difficult spot, but remember, I am here today as a civilian and a layman and I am entitled to my opinion as a private citizen before being confirmed. I want you to know, though, that if confirmed and it is the policy of the U.S. Government under our President that they seek not a treaty but an executive agreement, then I would feel obliged to support this position. If I felt I could not live with it, then I would ask to be released from Government service. I realize the importance of this issue.

Senator BYRD. Do you feel that the Spanish base agreements are important to our Government, to that military posture?

Mr. HILL. I do not think that I could have been a party to the negotiations, Senator Byrd, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, if I had not believed in 1969 that the Torrejon Air Base, the bases in Zaragoza, Rota, and the standby base in Moron, were not necessary for our security and the security of Europe. During the period of time when I served in Spain, as you know, Libya told the United States they were no longer welcome there and to leave and this gave added importance to the air bases in Spain.

I think it was justified that we entered into the agreement of friendship and cooperation between the United States and Spain which extends through 1975. I also think that if we had tried to get a treaty at that time, with the atmosphere between Congress and downtown what it was, we would still be negotiating or we would not have been successful in that endeavor.

That agreement will come up for renegotiation sometime between now and 1975, and it is my understanding that the Foreign Minister of Spain has been here in the United States recently talking about the future. If I am in Government service at the time of the negotiation, I will stand by what I said to the committee.

Senator BYRD. I think those bases are very important to the United States and to free Europe as you expressed it. I agree with you on that.

Just one additional question. In your new position, will you have anything much to do with the negotiating of any subsequent agreement we might have?

Mr. HILL. Yes; as the adviser to the Secretary of Defense, Senator Byrd. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs has the authority to participate in any such negotiations.

Senator BYRD. I am glad to hear that. Thank you.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Senator Byrd.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Tower?

Senator TOWER. Mr. Chairman, I have no particular questions for Ambassador Hill. I have discussed some matters with him privately. I have known him and been associated with him for many years. He brings to the Defense Department a sophistication in international affairs and in the geographic and strategic factors that influence the course of world events. He is tough minded and he is hard nosed. I think he is an excellent choice for this particular job and I will certainly be happy to vote to confirm him as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Nunn?

Senator NUNN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, except to share Senator Byrd's concern about the definition between treaty and agreement. We asked Secretary Richardson about this extensively when he was before our committee and he has submitted to me a definition which leaves me in the same state of complete and total confusion that I was in before the definition was submitted. So I do not think we need any more definitions in the treaty mechanism, we need some practical commitments such as you have made here today as far as you as an individual are concerned to bring these matters of importance to the attention of the Congress.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Senator Dominick?

Senator DOMINICK. Mr. Hill, I should know more about your office that you have been nominated for. What is your responsibility just as a matter of interest to me?

Mr. HILL. It is a rather broad responsibility, Senator Dominick, but the prime functions in the area that I will be responsible for include defense security, with a total budget of about \$5 million and about 333 people. My prime responsibility is liaison, as I cited earlier, between the State Department, the Department of Defense, and the National Security Council.

In addition to that, the MAP program, as I recall it, comes under my policy guidance. There is a very able naval officer, Admiral Peet, who is actually the Deputy Assistant Secretary in charge of the section. I will follow that very carefully, as I told Senator Thurmond, because I think I know something about it and possibly, Admiral Peet and I will be able to strengthen the section, because he is new in that particular area.

There are many other areas of responsibility. For instance, we have SALT representatives in ISA. We have strategic trade controls in our section. We have law of the sea and mutual and balanced force reductions. As a matter of fact, I wonder how my distinguished predecessor had time to sleep, because it seems to me that it is a broad responsibility

with many meetings in Washington with the Secretary of Defense or the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and many international meetings abroad.

I will look over the responsibilities very carefully that come under my supervision, Senator Dominick, and if I believe that we are not being very meaningful in implementing the policies of the Department of Defense as far as my responsibilities are concerned, then I plan to sit down with the Secretary of Defense and say, look, we are not making a contribution as far as the SALT talks are concerned, and then get that responsibility somewhere else.

This may be rather novel in bureaucracy of Government, but I did not come down here from the tranquillity of New Hampshire to try to build any empire. I would like to see it put into perspective where I know what I am talking about when I come before a congressional committee and not have to bring six fellows with me to prop me up and assist in these responsibilities. At the moment, I think it is a little too broad. I will cut it back if I get agreement from the Secretary of Defense.

Senator DOMINICK. Are you or is your Department, then, responsible for security arrangements of any kind on defense weaponry overseas?

Mr. HILL. We are asked for comment; yes.

Senator DOMINICK. I hope you will look into that.

Mr. HILL. I certainly will, sir; and I know what you are referring to.

Senator DOMINICK. The other thing I was wondering about, I think you said part of your responsibility was defense security?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Senator DOMINICK. That is why I asked that question. Now, when you talk about defense security, what are we talking about here? You are not talking about the overall planning, I would suspect?

Mr. HILL. No. We are talking about the military assistance program, the foreign military sales program, ship loans, international military education and training, and guidance to the MAAG'S and missions. That all comes under the Defense Security Assistance Agency operation.

But remember that military hardware is in this section and at the present time under the grant program, as the chairman well knows, we have grant programs for this coming year for about 20 countries. It is scaling back. I think last year, Greece was dropped from a grant program. I will watch this very carefully, because I think I know the mood of the Congress regarding military hardware. But once again, as an employee downtown, I will try to implement the policies the best I can or at least come here and consult with this committee on matters that are controversial so at least you may have our point of view and I may obtain yours. But I assure you we are not going to have a boondoggle.

Senator DOMINICK. Thank you, Mr. Hill.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have followed the career of Mr. Hill with considerable interest and respect and I have no hesitation about his nomination.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Scott?

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HILL, I was glad to hear you say you could come back and visit with us and not bring six people to tell you what to say. I hope that would, if it is followed, that you would be in favor of eliminating any waste in the military.

Mr. HILL. I am very mindful of the fact that waste does take place in any large organization like the Department of Defense, but I give you my assurance, Senator Scott, in the areas of my responsibility, let us try to keep the waste to a bare minimum.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, sir. Now, we have received a message from the President, from the White House, with regard to the reduction of our stockpile of strategic materials so that we would have only 1 year's supply in the event of a major war. Do you have anything to do with that?

Mr. HILL. I do not know.

Senator SCOTT. Would you have?

Mr. HILL. I would think that it would come under this broad policy guidelines that we have, Senator, but I do not know specifically.

You see, one of the problems I have, I was asked to come down here last week, about Monday or Tuesday. I have told my associates at the Department of Defense that until my nomination was submitted to the Congress of the United States, I would not involve myself in any classified material. Last Wednesday, I believe, my name was submitted and we did request permission to see if they could start briefing me for the hearings, but also in getting me prepared to go to the Ankara meeting of the Nuclear Planning Group, for which I have to leave on Sunday, if I am confirmed, because the Secretary of Defense is unable to make the trip. I have only had the weekend to look at my responsibilities and start going through mile-high documents.

On this question that you raise, I believe we have a say, but I am not sure, Senator. I will find out and call your office, if I may, in the morning.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you, I have a concern about this. I think it may be unwise, speaking as only one member, to only have a stockpile for 1 year with the assumption that the country can get whatever material that it needs provided we have a sufficient quantity of the various materials for 1 year. If it comes before the committee, I would want us to give very serious thought to this.

Do you have any thoughts with regard to strategic materials or have you, in your past Government service or otherwise, had anything to do with this type of thing?

Mr. HILL. I have not, Senator.

Senator SCOTT. I think it might be unfair to press you any further with this.

Mr. HILL. I would not want to try to provide an answer to this question, which, through my lack of knowledge of the subject, may prove to be incorrect. But I will certainly bone up on it and I will, if I may, leave a message in your office tomorrow.

[The following day, Senator Scott was provided the name of the party responsible for this matter in the Office of Emergency Preparedness.]

Senator SCOTT. Insofar as this individual member of the committee is concerned, I am fearful of reducing our supply of strategic material to 1 year and I just share that with you for your information.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HILL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Hill, this question is not intended to raise any basic questions, but with respect to your remaining on the board of the Canadian International Power Co., the chair would like for you to make clear for the record that your board membership would in no way interfere with your duties as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Mr. HILL. Yes; Mr. Chairman. I was very interested in the recent comment made by Mr. Callaway, the nominee for Secretary about being an honorary board member. Did he use the word "honorary," or did he say on leave of absence?

Senator TOWER. Lifetime trustee on leave.

Mr. HILL. I think this is better, for the reason that the company you are referring to, Mr. Chairman, does have interests in Latin America, Mexico, and Venezuela, Barbados, El Salvador, and Bolivia. I think the power company has no business with the Department of Defense. But representatives do have occasion to come to Washington and I believe that, after listening to the sense of the committee, I would rather take leave of absence if that is agreeable with the committee.

Senator SYMINGTON. Very fine. Does anybody want to comment?

Senator BYRD. Mr. Chairman, I think that would be far better. I would have a little concern about continuing on the board in your new position.

Mr. HILL. So I believe I have 90 days to advise the board of my intentions, Mr. Chairman? They have just had their annual board meeting in Montreal and were unable to consider this matter because they did not know whether I would be confirmed or not. But I will effect this if it meets with the committee's approval as soon as possible.

Senator SYMINGTON. Any comments?

[No response.]

Senator SYMINGTON. I think your attitude is very fine.

As you know, Mr. Hill, the Senate Democratic Caucus has adopted a policy with respect to every nomination which requires that every nominee be asked, do we have your commitment to respond to testimony before any duly constituted committee of the Senate. Would you respond to this for the record?

Mr. HILL. I shall cooperate with this committee and all committees of Congress as long as I am in Government service.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you. I have a letter of unqualified endorsement from Senator Barry Goldwater, a member of this committee, which I will supply for the record.

[The letter follows:]

U.S. SENATE.

Washington, D.C., May 8, 1973.

HON. STUART SYMINGTON,
Acting Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Because of my previously announced inability to be with you today in hearings which will cover an old and personal friend of mine, Robert C. Hill, I would like these few remarks to appear in the record.

For more years than I wish to remember I have known and respected the outstanding work Bob has done in representing this great nation of ours around the world. It was my privilege to visit him on several occasions when he was Ambassador to Mexico and learn firsthand of his outstanding work done on behalf of this country in that post. He is most highly regarded by the Mexican people and it was with real regret that they saw him leave his post to take another assignment.

The experience Mr. Hill has had over the years in foreign matters better equips him to fill the Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs better than any other man I know. I sincerely hope that the Committee will agree with me by reporting his name to the Floor, and if I were present and voting I would vote aye.

Sincerely,

BARRY GOLDWATER.

Senator SYMINGTON. I only have one comment I would like to make.

In my opinion, your position is one of the most important in government. There is not anybody in this town who has more respect and affection for the military than I do. I do believe, after looking at it for over 50 years, that there is one criticism of them that is worth consideration, that they are more prone to follow tradition as against modernity, especially if they have won the previous war. My father-in-law was chairman of this committee, and I can remember him about 1940 or 1941 shaking his baseball finger at me and saying, "Are you trying to tell me that tanks can go where horses can go?" I do not mean that critically. I mean that in admiration.

In your position, I think, at least as much as any other, the importance of reflecting modernity in the rapidity of weapons development and so forth would have a great deal to do with guideline thinking. I wish you the best of luck and hope you keep that one comment in mind.

Mr. HILL. I appreciate those comments and I also recall that when we talked the other day, you said, "Bob, keep an open mind."

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you.

Gentlemen, we will now go into executive session.

[Whereupon at 3:40 p.m., the committee proceeded into executive session.]

