

ely after he graduated y of Minnesota in 1924 lectrical engineering. An , Kappel rose steadily tern's ranks, moving to AT&T vice president in sen president of AT&T's supply unit, the West- ny, in 1953 and became ' itself in 1956. In that led the final stages of ie government by which to keep Western Elec- department had been try- corporation to divest its idiary since 1949.) Kap- o chairman at AT&T in [KENNEDY Volume] 5 billion in 1966, AT&T ivate enterprise in the earnings record that ofits exceeded \$2 bil- time. AT&T had more 2 million, and employes, any other company. Its or capital construction ery other corporation. healthy earnings record ure: its annual earnings over his last five years gs growth came to only rs following his depart-

l Communications Com- nounced in October vestigation of interstate appel, who had fought behind the scenes, de- s "totally unwarranted." FCC ordered a cut annual AT&T charges vice. The FCC charged tled to a 7% to 7½% re- ent but had been earn-

back, Kappel enjoyed ice within the Johnson *usweek* reported that businessman's view, the to forget his own Sec- instead he would pick up all someone like Henry Frederick Kappel."

After leaving AT&T in January 1967, Kappel was appointed by President Johnson as head of a special commission to undertake an "exhaustive review" of the postal system. In July 1968 the commission issued a report recommending that the Post Office Department be converted into a non-profit government corporation.

[TO]

### KASTENMEIER, ROBERT W(ILLIAM)

b. Jan. 24, 1924; Beaver Dam, Wisc.  
Democratic Representative, Wisc.,  
1959-

Kastenmeier, whose father was a farmer and sometime court clerk, grew up near Madison in the district he would later represent in Congress. After serving in the Philippines during World War II, he studied law at the University of Wisconsin. Admitted to the bar in 1952, Kastenmeier became active in the state's revived Democratic Party and was narrowly elected to Congress in 1958. His majorities remained unimpressive until redistricting removed an affluent Republican suburb in 1963. Thereafter Kastenmeier, a strong liberal, was returned to office by comfortable margins, which grew as the Vietnam war escalated and Madison's university community became increasingly politicized.

Kastenmeier attempted to forge an alliance between liberal congressmen and academics soon after his arrival in Washington. In 1960 he announced the formation of the "Liberal Project," a small group of congressmen who joined with scholars from various fields to develop new liberal policies. *The Liberal Papers*, published by the Project in 1962, urged a reappraisal of Cold War foreign policy and recommended, among other things, admission of Communist China to the U.N.

A consistent supporter of the Johnson Administration's Great Society programs, Kastenmeier was a member of the Judiciary Committee and worked to strengthen the civil rights legislation passed in the mid-1960s. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Voting and Civil Rights, he

issued a report in January 1966 that called for more vigorous congressional action to implement the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Kastenmeier was an early congressional opponent of the Vietnam war. Although he voted for war appropriations in 1965, in March of that year he had 15 other congressmen write to President Johnson criticizing American use of tear gas and defoliants in Vietnam. That summer Kastenmeier participated in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the House Foreign Affairs Committee to hold public hearings on the war. Defeated in this effort, he then organized his own hearings on Vietnam in Madison. The meetings, at which more than 50 people spoke, resembled the campus Vietnam teach-ins of that April and May. The transcript of the hearings was published the following year as *Vietnam Hearings: Voices from the Grassroots*.

Kastenmeier joined 16 other congressmen who sent Johnson a letter in December 1965 urging him not to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong. In January 1966 Kastenmeier and seven other congressmen proposed contacts between South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front.

Maintaining a staunch liberalism in the early 1970s, Kastenmeier became a prominent advocate of prison reform legislation. During the 1974 House Judiciary Committee hearings on the possible impeachment of President Nixon he won national attention as a consistent proponent of Nixon's removal from office. [See NIXON Volume]

[MDB]

### KATZENBACH, NICHOLAS deB(EL- LEVILLE)

b. Jan. 17, 1922; Philadelphia, Pa.  
U.S. Deputy Attorney General, 1962-  
64; Acting U.S. Attorney General,  
1964-65; U.S. Attorney General, 1965-  
66; U.S. Undersecretary of State,  
1966-69.

A 1945 graduate of Princeton University, Katzenbach received a degree from Yale Law School in 1947 and then was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University for two years.

Between 1952 and 1960 he taught at Yale and the University of Chicago Law School. Appointed assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel in January 1961, Katzenbach was named deputy attorney general, the second highest position in the Justice Department, in April 1962. He helped draft the Kennedy Administration's foreign trade program and the Communications Satellite Act of 1962. In December 1962 he helped coordinate a government effort to assemble food and medical supplies needed to secure the release of prisoners captured during the April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Katzenbach was also concerned with civil rights questions, directing Justice Department operations on the scene during the crises over desegregation of the University of Mississippi in September 1962 and of the University of Alabama in June 1963. Katzenbach also acted as a major broker in the long negotiations with Congress over the 1964 Civil Rights Act. [See KENNEDY Volume]

Katzenbach worked closely with the Warren Commission in its investigation of President Kennedy's assassination, and in September 1964 President Johnson named him to a four-member panel to advise him on execution of the Commission's recommendation. When Robert Kennedy [*q.v.*] resigned as Attorney General on Sept. 3, 1964, Katzenbach, at Kennedy's urging, was named Acting Attorney General. President Johnson appointed him Attorney General on Jan. 28, 1965.

Prior to the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., which began on March 21, 1965 and was led by Martin Luther King [*q.v.*], Katzenbach had the Justice Department seek a federal court order barring state officials from interfering with the demonstration. He kept in close touch with Justice Department aides in Alabama throughout the march. Working closely with congressional leaders of both parties, Katzenbach also drafted the Johnson Administration's voting rights bill, introduced in Congress in March 1965, and then worked to secure its passage. Once the bill became law in August 1965, Katzenbach oversaw its enforcement and suc-

cessfully defended its constitutionality in the Supreme Court in January 1966. Both the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and rights leaders criticized the Attorney General's enforcement efforts, however, saying he should have sent more federal voting examiners into the South to increase black voter registration.

Katzenbach stepped up the Justice Department's efforts to achieve school desegregation for 1965-66. In December 1965 he issued guidelines for government agencies on cutting off funds, under provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, to federally aided programs found to be practicing racial discrimination. Katzenbach played an important role in drafting the Johnson Administration's 1966 civil rights bill, which included provisions prohibiting racial discrimination in housing and in the selection of juries and providing protection for civil rights workers. Although the bill passed the House, it died in the Senate in September 1966, when its supporters were unable to end a filibuster against it.

Katzenbach helped write the Administration's anti-crime proposals of March 1965, and in the spring of that year he called for new legislation to aid in the fight against organized crime, supported curbs on interstate mail-order sales of firearms and endorsed several proposals for federal prison reform. In July 1965 Katzenbach was named head of a presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The Commission's February 1967 report recommended more than 200 measures to reduce the causes of crime and improve law enforcement at the local, state and federal levels.

In the period when Katzenbach served as Attorney General, the FBI, a division of the Justice Department, engaged in a number of activities that clearly violated the law and in others that were of questionable legality. These included the opening of first-class mail and the development of COINTELPRO, an effort to disrupt and discredit the Communist and Socialist Workers' parties and "white hate groups," particularly the Ku Klux Klan. In November 1975 testimony before a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Ac-

its constitutionality in January 1966. Both the Warren Commission and the Katzenbach Commission advised the Attorney General to support the efforts, however, saying that more federal voting in the South to increase black

led up the Justice Department to achieve school desegregation in 1966. In December 1965, Katzenbach supported government agents for government agents, under provisions of the Civil Rights Act, to federally fund to be practicing racial discrimination. Katzenbach played an important role in drafting the Johnson Administration's civil rights bill, which prohibited racial discrimination and in the selection of the bill for protection for civil rights. Though the bill passed the Senate in September 1964, the sponsors were unable to pass it.

In 1965, Katzenbach wrote the Administration's proposals of March 1965, that year he called for a change in the fight against racial discrimination. He supported curbs on the activities of firearms and explosives for federal prison guards. In 1965, Katzenbach was a member of the Presidential Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the Administration's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Crime. In February 1966, the Commission's report ended more than 200 pages on the causes of crime and the prevention of crime at the local, state

and national levels. Katzenbach served as a member of the FBI, a division of the Department of Justice, engaged in a role that clearly violated the Constitution. It was of questionable value. He opposed the opening of the development of the effort to disrupt and undermine Communist and Socialist "white hate groups," the Ku Klux Klan. In testimony before a Senate subcommittee on Intelligence Ac-

tivities, Katzenbach denied knowledge of the mail openings and COINTELPRO and held FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover [q.v.] directly responsible. Katzenbach did admit that he had known of Bureau efforts to disrupt the Klan in the South. He pointed out that Klan members were not "ordinary citizens seeking only to exercise their constitutional rights" but terrorists who threatened the lives of blacks and civil rights workers. He considered the FBI campaign against the Klan fully justified, even "magnificent."

Katzenbach also admitted that he had been aware that the FBI had wiretapped the home telephone of leader Martin Luther King. He ordered an end to the tap on April 1965, but the FBI tapped King's hotel bedrooms on three subsequent occasions without Katzenbach's approval. In 1966, after a bitter exchange between Katzenbach and Hoover on the question of wiretapping, Katzenbach concluded that "he could no longer effectively serve as Attorney General because of Mr. Hoover's obvious resentment of me."

Katzenbach was appointed undersecretary of state on Sept. 21, 1966. He accompanied Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara [q.v.] on fact-finding missions to South Vietnam in October 1966 and July 1967. Katzenbach headed several diplomatic missions abroad, including a 12-nation tour of Africa in May 1967, a January 1968 trip to Western Europe to explain the Administration's new measures for improvement of the U.S. balance of payments position and a July 1968 visit to India for a broad review of U.S.—Indian relations. He also toured Europe in October 1968 to demonstrate to Yugoslavia and other nations continuing American concern for European security following the August 1968 Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

In February 1967, following disclosures that the CIA had secretly supplied funds for the overseas programs of the National Student Association and other private American organizations, President Johnson named Katzenbach to a three-member commission ordered to review these CIA activities. The commission, which was criticized by those who wanted full disclosure of covert CIA subsidies, reported that the Agency had

acted in accord with National Security Council policies established in the 1950s. On March 29 President Johnson followed the commission's recommendation that all covert government aid to private educational, philanthropic and cultural organizations be barred.

A supporter of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam, Katzenbach aroused controversy with his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in August 1967. He asserted that a formal declaration of war was unnecessary because the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, passed by Congress in August 1964, authorized the President's use of armed forces in Vietnam. According to Eric Goldman [q.v.], Katzenbach also implied that the President could act largely as he pleased in foreign affairs without regard to Congress, and this testimony was a factor in Sen. Eugene McCarthy's (D, Minn.) [q.v.] decision to enter the race for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination on an anti-war platform.

According to a *New York Times* report of Nov. 12, 1967, Katzenbach was frustrated in his effort to introduce modern management techniques to the State Department, a reform which he believed would help restore the Department's primacy among government agencies operating overseas. He did, however, work out personnel-sharing arrangements with various government agencies that were designed to broaden diplomats' experience with domestic problems and encourage a cross-fertilization of ideas between the Foreign Service and other government operations. Katzenbach resigned as undersecretary on Nov. 8, 1968, following the presidential election, but he agreed to stay on in the State Department during the transfer of power to the Nixon Administration. In 1969 he joined the International Business Machines Corp. as vice president and general counsel.

[CAB]

For further information:  
Eric F. Goldman, *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson* (New York, 1969).  
Victor S. Navasky, *Kennedy Justice* (New York, 1971).