

ORIGINAL

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERVIEW

OF

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM B. SAXBE

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

DEENA CLARK

OF

"THE DEENA CLARK SHOW"

(WTOP-TV)

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THE HONORABLE WILLIAM B. SAXBE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

BY  
DEENA CLARK  
OF  
"THE DEENA CLARK SHOW"  
(WTOP-TV)

7:30 p.m.  
Monday, December 23, 1974  
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Washington, D.C.

The Attorney General answered questions on the following topics:

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P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 MS. CLARK: This is Deena Clark. We're going to  
3 spend a moment with the Honorable William B. Saxbe, former  
4 Senator from Ohio, and Attorney General of the United States.

5 Adding the world of diplomacy to Mr. Saxbe's public  
6 service, President Ford has now nominated him to be our next  
7 Ambassador to India.

8 One year ago, the Senator took on the tough assign-  
9 ment of being the nation's No. 1 law enforcement officer.  
10 At that time Mr. Saxbe, a descendant of the American patriot  
11 Patrick Henry, gave his own patriotic reasons for accepting  
12 the new responsibility: "It's a challenge. I would like to  
13 re-establish a real sound belief in our system of justice and  
14 in our country."

15 ANNOUNCER: The Deena Clark Show is brought to you  
16 by Texaco, whose scientists are continuously searching for  
17 ways to further improve the many types of petroleum products  
18 Texaco manufactures.

19 [Commercial.]

20 MS. CLARK: Bill Saxbe, or Billy Bart as he was  
21 then called, grew up in the small town of Mechanisburg, Ohio,  
22 on farm and cattle land that had been settled by his great-  
23 grandfather almost 150 years ago.

24 He went to public school, State University, then  
25 served as a bomber pilot in World War II. In 1945 he returned



1 to Columbus, to law school, and the next year, while still a  
2 student, won election to the Ohio House of Representatives.

3 Within five years he was Majority Leader; and, at  
4 the age of 37, was Speaker of the House.

5 Six years ago the people of the Buckeye State made  
6 him Senator Saxbe, and sent him to represent them in the  
7 Congress of the United States.

8 Back in his college days, young Saxbe, in addition to  
9 earning an A.B., married golden-haired Dolly Kleinhans, a  
10 talented artist, whose warm-hearted personality has added  
11 sparkle to his life from campus to Congress to Cabinet.

12 It is a pleasure to welcome him now, the Honorable  
13 William B. Saxbe.

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Thank you, Deena. I'm  
15 honored to be here with you.

16 MS. CLARK: Well, it's a great honor for us to have  
17 you. And I wanted to begin by saying that I didn't mention,  
18 in your introduction, that you had been Attorney General of  
19 your State, elected not once but three times.

20 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: That's right.

21 MS. CLARK: Didn't you serve longer in that position  
22 as No. 1 legal officer than any other person in the history  
23 of Ohio?

24 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: That's right.

25 That's true. And I might correct you on one thing,

1 Dolly's hair was bright red

2 MS. CLARK: Oh! Well, she's a beautiful blonde  
3 today!

4 [Laughter.]

5 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: But not out of the bottle!

6 MS. CLARK: She has improved, she's improved.

7 Mr. Saxbe, as you were Attorney General of your  
8 State, you had a head start when you became Attorney General  
9 for the entire United States. And let's go right into the  
10 important question of the rise of rampant and violent crime,  
11 which is one of the most appalling problems that Americans  
12 are facing.

13 You, yourself, said in Cleveland in September,  
14 according to a UPI report, "if the present trends continue,  
15 the prospect of where America may be a decade from now is  
16 enough to evoke a shudder from even the most optimistic.  
17 There could no longer be any place to hide, no safe zones,  
18 not for anybody. In fact, we may be near that point already."  
19 Unquote.

20 Has the situation improved any in the four months  
21 since you made that statement?

22 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I'd like to say it  
23 has, but it hasn't. We haven't turned the corner. I keep  
24 thinking each quarter it's going to be better.

25 But, of course, I can reflect now, leaving the

1 Attorney General's office, what I might have done.

2 I'm convinced, anyway, that the American people  
3 don't want strict law enforcement in this country. It's a  
4 pretty hard thing, and you have to be pretty tough to enforce  
5 the law. And we've decided somewhere along the line, as we  
6 have in our economic policies, that we can take the easy  
7 route, and that somehow, by logic and by some kind of jaw-  
8 boning, that we can solve the problem.

9 And we like to think there are no bad people, that  
10 they are just misunderstood people, and crime isn't their  
11 fault, it's society's fault. This is a bunch of bunk.

12 There are bad people, and we might just as well  
13 recognize it, and arrange to deal with them. We do everything  
14 we can to salvage those salvagable, but still there is a  
15 residual, a very small percentage of our population that are  
16 antisocial.

17 MS. CLARK: It's a very strong statement for you  
18 to say the people don't want the laws obeyed.

19 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I hear from the  
20 people that most of them do, certainly the householder who  
21 has turned his castle into a fortress does. But after we run  
22 it through our sociologists and our writers, after we run it  
23 through government officials who don't like to be tough  
24 because it's not popular, it comes out as a pretty lukewarm  
25 program.

1           Most of our police departments, who deal directly  
2 with it, most of our prison officials recognize that we have  
3 to be tough if we're going to combat some pretty tough  
4 figures.

5           But their voice is unheard, and we have people  
6 getting by with probation, with diversion, with so-called  
7 rehabilitation, all these programs that put them back on the  
8 street.

9           And an amazing percentage of our crime is caused by  
10 people who should be in jail, have been sentenced to go to  
11 jail, but are back on the street.

12           MS. CLARK: Unh-hunh. Mr. Saxbe, there is one  
13 city that seems to be fighting back in the tough way that  
14 you advocate, it's, Quincy, Massachusetts. I saw a picture in  
15 the Washington Star the other day of an officer who was  
16 carrying a machine gun and -- did you see the picture?

17           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: No, but --

18           MS. CLARK: Well, there --

19           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: -- I'm aware of this. And  
20 this isn't what I mean by a man carrying a club or a machine  
21 gun. We can catch the criminals, and maybe we don't even  
22 need a gun or a machine gun or a baseball bat. We can  
23 apprehend them.

24           But if we -- if we risk lives of policemen, and  
25 go to all this trouble to apprehend them, and then turn them



1 back on the street, there's nothing worse to a policeman  
2 who catches a man in the actual performance, of an act of  
3 violence, mugging, robbery, burglary, and then find the man  
4 back on the corner before he gets there.

5 MS. CLARK: Unh-hunh.

6 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Now, this is an attitude  
7 that we've adopted, that the judges have believed that the  
8 rehabilitation works -- it doesn't. The very small  
9 percentage susceptible to rehabilitation are treated, we  
10 give them an opportunity; but we can't rehabilitate people  
11 in prison. It's the worst possible place to try to rehabili-  
12 tate someone.

13 We put a man in prison for punishment. Then you  
14 try to rehabilitate him. You can't do both. You've got to  
15 make up your mind. If you're going to rehabilitate him, you  
16 have to get him out where he can be worked with, and  
17 generally on a one-on-one basis, for every prisoner, some-  
18 body to work with him. But we don't give it that kind of  
19 attention.

20 If you put him in prison, you've got your hands  
21 full just trying to keep him there and feed him and treat  
22 him in a civilized way.

23 And to think you can do both is a serious mistake.

24 MS. CLARK: What about educational programs?  
25 What about teaching these criminals trades that will allow

1 them to take care of themselves after they get out?

2 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: We've gone this route, and  
3 we've been very disappointed. In our federal prisons, every  
4 one of them has educational-vocational training. But we  
5 find out that most of them take it just to spend their time.  
6 They think -- and you can't blame them, because they're told  
7 this -- that they're right, society is wrong.

8 Well now, if they believe they're right, no matter  
9 how long they're in prison, they are not going to change their  
10 ways. They're going to come out and go the same way they  
11 did before.

12 Before you can rehabilitate a person, some place  
13 along the line, and generally on the outside rather than on  
14 the inside, they have to recognize that they were wrong.

15 Now, we seem to spend more time telling them that  
16 they were right -- you know, "it isn't your fault, it's  
17 society's" or "your daddy didn't take you to see the Redskins  
18 play" or it's all of this, "you're poor" or "you're black,"  
19 therefore you have a good reason to be antisocial, and this  
20 type of thing.

21 MS. CLARK: How does it happen that many times in  
22 the same family, a family that has the same mother and father,  
23 the same environment, the same childhood, the same bringing  
24 up, one son will become a mass killer, climb a tower with a  
25 gun and kill several people, while his brother is going to



1 law school and is a perfect law-abiding citizen? How do  
2 the sociologists explain that?

3 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, they have diffi-  
4 culty, but they can explain it. And -- not to me, but I mean  
5 satisfactorily to a great many people.

6 And I think you have to come to the conclusion  
7 that there are people who just don't want to abide by the  
8 rules of society.

9 You know, law was established when men first got  
10 together to protect themselves from those who would take over  
11 their lives, and perhaps do away with their lives.

12 Now, we believe that we're a nation of law. But  
13 we're changing recently. We think that it's pretty hard to  
14 apply this law to people, because, the various reasons, that  
15 they don't understand; and so we've taken an easy way.

16 Now, there's two ways. There's the hard way, which  
17 is deterrent, and it works. And there's the easy way, which  
18 is this other jazz, which is the diversion, the probation.  
19 You're either in jail or you're out of jail.

20 And the other just doesn't work, and we do not  
21 want to recognize this. And I'm soundly denounced by people  
22 who consider themselves expert in the field; but I have made  
23 it my business to visit the prisons and talk to wardens, and  
24 to talk to police chiefs, and to talk to people on the  
25 street. I know how they feel about crime.

1           For instance, usually in Washington it's a black  
2 young man between 15 and 25, who causes the majority of the  
3 crime. This is where the population is here.

4           But the victims are that same group, too. And this  
5 is astounding. And if we're going to correct this situation,  
6 it means that we're going to have to isolate and know who  
7 these vicious and violent people are, and see that they are  
8 prosecuted, and that they serve as a deterrent, not only to  
9 themselves but to others who look to them in their peer  
10 group as heroes.

11           MS. CLARK: Do you mean punished or do you mean  
12 prosecuted for the --

13           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Prosecuted and punished.

14           MS. CLARK: And punished. Unh-hunh. Do you  
15 think punishment is really a deterrent?

16           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I do.

17           MS. CLARK: What would you specifically like to  
18 see done with career criminals?

19           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I think there's only one  
20 thing you can do. The myth that a man has been determined  
21 by numerous prosecutions -- maybe twenty, and these are  
22 violent types of crimes.

23           Now, certainly on the nonviolent property crimes,  
24 we give them certainly more understanding, we try to make it  
25 work a little more. But on a violent crime, you've got to

1 remember, for every man charged and for every man that's  
2 tried, there's one or more victims whose life has been ruined.  
3 And I think we should look at it this way, and if this man  
4 has a propensity to knock people in the head, or whatever  
5 other violent thing he specializes in, then he should be  
6 separated from society. We know that this span is not a  
7 long span; usually this "career" lasts from five to seven  
8 years.

9 And usually by the time the man is 25 or 30, he's  
10 over it. You don't have to lock him up forever.

11 But certainly you should lock him up until you can  
12 be reasonably sure that when he gets out he's not going to  
13 knock somebody else in the head.

14 MS. CLARK: One of the problems, too, you spoke  
15 about the criminals who were back on the corner before the  
16 policeman is back on the corner. One of the problems is that  
17 people who have been victims often refuse to testify against  
18 those who have raped them or robbed them. And I read a  
19 statistic that one-third of the people who had been injured  
20 in the District did not want to testify without protection.

21 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Really, I can understand  
22 it.

23 MS. CLARK: Do you think that, automatically, a  
24 protective officer should be assigned to the courts so that  
25 we could catch some of these people who were doing wrong?

1           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE:     Certainly if we're  
2 going to turn them back on the street, you can't expect  
3 people to testify against them.  Because if the witness knows  
4 that they're going to be back out there next week, or they're  
5 going to burn his house down, or if they're going to molest  
6 the children, or if they're going to do the things they do  
7 to intimidate a witness, they're going to be very reluctant  
8 to show up.

9           And this is what happens in many neighborhoods.  
10 They know who the criminal is.  But they're terrified.

11           And of course when the whole thing breaks down is  
12 when nobody will go forward.

13           Now, in some of the inner cities today there are  
14 groups beginning to realize that by protecting these people  
15 they are certain to put themselves in great danger, even more  
16 so than they do by keeping -- by going to court.

17           MS. CLARK:   Do you think that vigilante groups  
18 will be organized within communities?

19           ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE:   Well, that's the last thing  
20 we need in this country.  Because vigilante groups smack of  
21 fascism, and there's no way that you can keep them in the  
22 relatively minor neighborhood area.  Pretty soon they're  
23 out burning crosses and wanting to run the government.

24           We certainly discourage vigilante groups.

25           But vigilante groups have arisen, and will arise

1 if we turn to anarchy. And of course that's why we must make  
2 our system work. And that's what I've been determined to do.

3 MS. CLARK: Speaking of further protection, I have  
4 read that your department has been making experiments with  
5 bullet-proof clothing for policemen, both vests and trousers.

6 And I wonder what other protective devices are  
7 going to be brought forth, and will there be a protective  
8 device like that for the innocent bystander who is so often  
9 the victim of a crime?

10 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Oh, I don't think that  
11 we want to get to a fortified society, where we walk around  
12 in bullet-proof clothing, and have to have bodyguards, like  
13 they did in Roman days. In Rome they used to have six  
14 people as a bodyguard when you went abroad on the streets.

15 And it could happen here. But we've got a good  
16 police department.

17 Now, in Washington we have the highest percentage  
18 of police per population of any place in this country. And  
19 the crime rate has gone down. But the expense is terrific.

20 And most cities just simply cannot afford this.  
21 I think that we'd be much -- spend the money much better if  
22 we put it into prosecutions, with the assurance that once  
23 this man is convicted, that he knows he's going to jail.

24 MS. CLARK: All right. Prosecution brings us to  
25 organized crime, against which you have spoken out very



1 forcefully. And I have here a quote from you, where you say:

2 "Organized crime arrived long ago and is deeply  
3 embedded in the United States today. It is powerful. It  
4 is rich. It has friends in high places, and it can corrupt  
5 and kill with terrifying ease. Something is wrong when  
6 organized crime carries out its activities with seeming  
7 immunity, especially those activities with gambling, which  
8 are relatively visible; if nothing else, it is a sign there  
9 is at least a corrupt minority among public officials."

10 Mr. Attorney General, what prevents the corrupt  
11 minority, the dishonest policeman, prosecutors, judges, and  
12 government officials from being rooted out and put in jail?

13 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, of course, when  
14 you have the big money that floats around with organized  
15 crime, it's a difficult job. And with the tremendous number  
16 involved in law enforcement and judicial practice, there's  
17 bound to be some bad apples in the barrel. It's not a  
18 significant number.

19 But here is the problem that we run into with  
20 organized crime: The average businessman who makes a  
21 \$200 football bet or a \$500, some kind of a basketball bet  
22 or baseball bet, he doesn't like to think that he's  
23 contributing to organized crime, but he is. Even if he makes  
24 it with his local bookie. That man has to lay it off some  
25 place. And it winds up in the hands of a big-enough guy



1 that he can handle all the layoffs all over the country.

2 Now, that man is in the position of having tremendous  
3 amounts of money and making lots of money by influencing the  
4 outcome of a game, by throwing the game, by getting to some  
5 athlete. It doesn't happen often, but it does happen.

6 Or throwing a horse race, or doing these things. Or if one  
7 of his bookies is picked up, of seeing to it that he doesn't  
8 go to jail, or intervening, or some way getting to the judge.

9 All of these things originate out of that so-called  
10 innocent bet that this pillar of the community makes. And  
11 that money from gambling gets into prostitution, it gets into  
12 all of the other fringe rackets, and also into legitimate  
13 businesses.

14 And that's why we've got a drive on to root out  
15 organized crime.

16 Organized crime is insidious, because the means  
17 that they use to enforce -- and I mean the tough means, when  
18 somebody owes them and doesn't pay off, or someone crosses  
19 them, is the cement overcoat in the river. And terrorizing  
20 the family.

21 And these things that are -- corrupt police depart-  
22 ments, and those type of things. That's the feedback from  
23 organized crime.

24 And that's why we have strike forces all over the  
25 country, and I really think we're winning the war against

1 organized crime.

2 MS. CLARK: Unh-hunh. Would you favor, since  
3 people seem to be bound to gamble, legalizing gambling and  
4 offshore [sic] betting so that the money could go into the  
5 pockets of State treasuries rather than into the pockets of  
6 gangsters?

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, it's a happy thought,  
8 and of course we do have legalized lotteries in a great many  
9 States, and we have legalized gambling in Nevada, and it's  
10 coming into other States.

11 But that never is the answer to organized crime.  
12 They can lower the odds, they can raise the odds, they can  
13 finance your bet, they can do all of these things a legalized  
14 system cannot.

15 I don't think that legalized gambling is going to  
16 bring the great revenue to the State. To me it's an  
17 indication of weakness that we have to get into this area.

18 But we have, and we can't question that.

19 But as far as replacing the regular underworld  
20 connection, no. In New York, where they have off-track  
21 betting, where they have the lottery, they are still thriving.

22 MS. CLARK: Mr. Attorney General, in today's issue  
23 of U.S. News and World Report, FBI Director Kelley, under a  
24 picture of a bombed bank in New York, said: "We must expect  
25 a continuation of political bombings. Kidnappings are also

1 becoming a form of political terrorism."

2 If the FBI Director says we must expect this politi-  
3 cal terrorism, shouldn't we be able to cope with it?

4 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, it's not that easy  
5 to cope with.

6 For instance, bombing. We've made a study of it  
7 and we've alerted people all over the country.

8 The difficulty with bombing is so many nuts get  
9 in it, and, sure, there are political bombings, but there  
10 are people who also get into it because they're a little bit  
11 cracked and have something preying on their mind.

12 But we have means where we can identify the  
13 components of bombs today, and we are solving more bombs --  
14 bomb problems.

15 The difficulty is that so many explosives are so  
16 easy come-by that you can't go clear across the board. We're  
17 moving this way, and we're going to ask the powder companies  
18 to put in identifying trace materials, not only in black  
19 powder but in smokeless powder, in dynamite and other things,  
20 so we can trace these.

21 So we're going to make it tougher for the bombers.  
22 But the political kidnapping, the political bombing is a  
23 worldwide phenomena today, and we're not immune from it.

24 MS. CLARK: Unnh, it's real terrorism.

25 Now, Mr. Attorney General, we have only a couple of

1 minutes left, and I wanted to talk for a moment about India.

2 We are taping this on the 18th and by the 23rd,  
3 when it's telecast, we all hope that we will have the happy  
4 news that you are confirmed as well as nominated.

5 I have just read last Sunday's New York Times, in  
6 which it was reported that Daniel Moynihan is leaving India  
7 in a very melancholy mind.

8 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes.

9 MS. CLARK: And he's distressed about the anti-  
10 Americanism that seems to be rampant there.

11 If you do become Ambassador to India, do you have  
12 any ideas about how you personally can bring America and  
13 India back together again?

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I don't like to  
15 comment on what I'm going to do, and I won't until I have an  
16 opportunity to study it.

17 But I do know this: India is an important  
18 country. It's the largest democracy in the world. We have  
19 a great deal in common. It's to our advantage to see that  
20 our relations are improved. And it will be my purpose to  
21 see that they are improved.

22 We have helped them, but they have advanced  
23 tremendously themselves. Their problems are gigantic. And  
24 I think that we can work together, and heal up some of the  
25 wounds that have developed, as the India-Pakistan War and so



1 on.

2 But I'm not as discouraged going there as he is  
3 returning. Maybe I've got a lot to learn. But I've been  
4 to India many times. I enjoy the people. And I look  
5 forward to my assignment.

6 MS. CLARK: Well, we appreciate your coming to us  
7 today, and we will all come and see you in India.

8 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I hope so.

9 MS. CLARK: Thank you very much.

10 We have been talking with the Honorable William B.  
11 Saxbe, a man of uncommon common sense, and a dedication to  
12 strengthening respect for our country's system of justice,  
13 standing for fair and firm and equal judgment of those who  
14 break the rules established to protect the law-abiding  
15 American.

16 Mr. Saxbe warns we will have to be tough-minded to  
17 win the battle against crime and corruption. It will take  
18 the concern, cooperation and action of every citizen. We  
19 must never forget that hard work, self-discipline and  
20 morality are vital to survival, as individuals and as a  
21 nation.

22 This is Deena Clark. Thank you for spending this  
23 moment with us.

24 ANNOUNCER: The Deena Clark Show is brought to you  
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