

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Mike Mansfield Speeches, Statements and Interviews

Mike Mansfield Papers

1-23-1968

Appearance on Issues and Answers

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umt.edu/mansfield_speeches

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Mansfield, Mike 1903-2001, "Appearance on Issues and Answers" (1968). *Mike Mansfield Speeches, Statements and Interviews*. 711.

https://scholarworks.umt.edu/mansfield_speeches/711

This Speech is brought to you for free and open access by the Mike Mansfield Papers at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Mike Mansfield Speeches, Statements and Interviews by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.

SENATOR MANSFIELD'S APPEARANCE ON "ISSUES AND ANSWERS" TV PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the transcript of the "Issues and Answers" TV program in which I participated on January 14, 1968.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the ABC radio and television program "Issues and Answers," Jan. 14, 1968]

ISSUES AND ANSWERS

Guest: Senator Mike Mansfield (D. Mont.) Senate Majority Leader.

Interviewed by: Bob Clark, ABC Capitol Hill Correspondent; John Scali, ABC Diplomatic Correspondent.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, welcome to "Issues and Answers."

As the new session of Congress is about to open, what, in your view, are the prospects that it will bog down in election-year politics, perhaps over a battle on whether there should or should not be a tax increase?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, there is always that possibility, but I think that the politics attributable to the Congress has always been over-emphasized. There is a little politics every year. There may be a little more this year, but I don't think it will intervene with the normal processes to any extent.

Mr. SCALI. Well, how about that tax increase? Do you think Congress will go along?

Senator MANSFIELD. That is a matter that must originate in the House first. I am hopeful that the Congress will go along because I think that the stability of the dollar is of immediate interest and I certainly would rather have a tax increase than to pay more than a tax increase in inflated prices.

Mr. CLARK. You have given some indication in the past that you would like to see a tax boost bigger than ten per cent. Do you think ten per cent will be enough?

Senator MANSFIELD. I should think the President would ask for what he needed and I think, from all I can gather, ten per cent would be enough, but I think it is far better, as I said before, to pay taxes and keep the dollar sound, than to not pay taxes and pay the cost and then some in inflated prices.

Mr. CLARK. Well, isn't there a likelihood that the Administration is going to have to compromise that ten per cent figure or it will be compromised in Congress in order to pass any tax increase at all?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, all that the President, Mr. Johnson, can do is propose. It will be up to Mr. Mills and the Congress to dispose.

Mr. SCALI. Do you think the Republicans may make a party issue of the tax fight?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I don't think so because they recognize the need, as well as does the Administration, and I am quite sure that they will be found in the ranks doing what is good for the country.

Mr. CLARK. Well, don't you think there is a strong temptation for those 187 Republicans

in the House to play politics with the tax boost? There certainly seems to be considerable sentiment over there to let the Administration stew in inflation through the election year.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, but the Administration won't be alone in stewing through the inflation. The American people will, and I think that the 187 will rise above politics and adhere pretty much to principle.

Mr. SCALI. Would you say the President is going to have to take some more vigorous steps to cut government spending in order to get his tax increase?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would point out the President took the first step himself last year when he was the one who advocated to the Congress and asked the Appropriations Committee in the Senate to put in a two per cent cut in personnel, Civil Service personnel, and a ten per cent cut across the board, so I think the President has been in the forefront in trying to bring about cuts wherever possible.

Mr. CLARK. What if you don't get a tax increase to control inflation? Do you think the Administration would then give some serious thought to price and wage controls?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I have advocated that for some months now and I imagine, if conditions get to be bad enough, they would have to reconsider their opposition to wage and price controls.

Mr. SCALI. Is the President considering such controls now from what you can tell, Senator?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, not that I know of.

Mr. CLARK. The President has given very strong indications to some members of Congress that he will recommend some sort of a special tax on tourists and on travel abroad by Americans. How does this idea strike you?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think we will have to go very carefully on that one. I am not at all certain that that would bring in what the Administration would have in mind, nor do I think it would be a good tax because it would hit the students and teachers and others who have made plans, looked forward to going overseas on study missions, vacations and the like, and this is a question we will have to handle with the greatest of discretion.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think as of today it would be doubtful that Congress would pass a tourist tax?

Senator MANSFIELD. I do.

Mr. SCALI. Well, do you think that some additional steps are necessary, however, in order to meet the balance of payments?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, I do and I think one of the steps which could be put into operation is to bring about a reduction of our armed forces and their personnel in Europe. We have approximately 700,000 military personnel and dependents there at the present time. It is quite a drain on us. I understand Mr. Katzenbach talked this over with Bonn and the Bonn Government said they would give it serious consideration. Then they came up with the bright idea again that it might be well for the Central German Bank to buy bonds at interest, returning a profit, a nice profit which, I think, begs the question and begs the responsibility which the Germans should assume if we are to maintain our troops there, which I don't think we should.

Mr. SCALI. Well, do you think, then, that we should take quick and very vigorous steps to bring back some of the troops that we have stationed in West Germany?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not quick and vigorous steps but over a graduated period of time bring about a gradual reduction.

Mr. CLARK. How about some of the heavy troop commitments we have in other parts of the world. Would you like to see some of those 50,000 troops we have in South Korea,

brought home to help ease the balance of payments problem?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, no, because the only two places where we have really heavy commitments are in Vietnam and in Western Europe and as far as the Koreans are concerned, I have an idea that at least in part those two divisions are up there as a quid pro quo for the two Korean Divisions the one Marine brigade, plus naval units, which are down in South Vietnam.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think bringing any troops home from Korea might be too much of a temptation to the Chinese Communists or the North Koreans in that part of the world?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, not at all, because I think the South Koreans are very capable of looking after their own interests. They are a hard-fighting, rugged bunch.

Mr. SCALI. Well, how do you meet the argument, Senator Mansfield, that if we withdrew troops from Western Europe we send a big shiver through the entire area and tempt the Russians to engage in some sort of foreign adventure?

Senator MANSFIELD. I don't place much in that kind of an argument. After all the Western Europeans have been telling us about the detente which has taken place with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We find that West Germany, for example, has exchanged ambassadors with Romania and is on the verge of exchanging ambassadors with Yugoslavia.

I think that they just like to keep us there to maintain the burden, to assume the primary responsibility, whereas it is my belief that they should maintain the primary responsibility and live up to their commitments, which none of them have.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, is the Senate going to bog down in a filibuster at the opening bell over the Civil Rights Bill that you have already said will be the opening business of Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, it is hard to say. Title V is the pending business. There will be lengthy debate. How long remains to be seen.

Mr. CLARK. Is it your hope that the very limited Civil Rights Bill that has already been passed by the House will move through the Senate without any efforts to add an open housing provision?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, that is my personal hope, because I don't think we have the votes for an open housing amendment and if we got into a fight on that, it would endanger the chances of Title V which is in trouble enough as it is.

Mr. CLARK. Well, does this mean that open housing is dead, as a concept of any sort in this session of Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I wouldn't say so, but I would hope it would be reported out on its own and be considered on its own.

Mr. SCALI. If Congress does nothing on an open housing bill, won't this add fuel to the militant black power advocates around the country, and perhaps contribute to a feeling that only violence will move the Congress to act?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I don't think it will have that effect one way or the other, but only time will tell.

Mr. CLARK. Well, Senator, you have said you are going to push hard to get this Congress out by August 1. If you pass this one Civil Rights Bill, are you really going to take the chance of tying the Senate up again later with what would certainly be a fullblown filibuster against an open housing bill that was presented on its own?

Senator MANSFIELD. I'll take all legislation as it is reported out of the committees and approved by the Policy Committee to the Floor of the Senate for consideration. After all, if a committee considers a bill and reports it out, then I think it is entitled to consideration.

Mr. SCALI. There have been many predictions, Senator, that there will be big riots and perhaps even street battles this summer over the race issue. Can Congress in your view ease this threat by passing the Anti-Crime and Anti-Riots Bills that it has before it?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes, and I am sorry that we haven't faced up to those bills yet, but I am very hopeful that we will this year. But I would point out that if there is riots and violence in the city streets this year, that the primary responsibility there lies not with the federal government, but with the cities, the counties and the states themselves, and that is something we ought to keep in mind.

I would say, for example, that in the Detroit situation of some months ago the President was criticized for the action he took, but I think he acted admirably, I think he did the right thing at the right time and he did not act until he was asked to by the appropriate state authorities.

Mr. SCALI. What sort of anti-crime package will Congress pass this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. I am hoping Title V will protect civil rights workers. I am hopeful that the crime in the streets bill which the President is very much interested in will be reported out of the committee, and any other measures along that line which will be of value.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, Governor Romney appears to be laying heavy emphasis on the crime in the streets issue, as he opens his New Hampshire campaign. In your view, could this single issue become more important to the voter than, for example, even Vietnam?

Senator MANSFIELD. It could be just as important as Vietnam but may I say that the President, Mr. Johnson, has also been emphasizing and reemphasizing time and time again his deep interest in legislation from the Congress to cope with crime in the streets.

Mr. CLARK. Governor Romney also told the Michigan Legislature this last week, warned them very strongly that they have to pass an open housing bill to counter the threat of more violence in the ghettos from the militants. Is this something that concerns you as you think about an open housing bill?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think that has been overemphasized in the matter of free housing. After all, what Mr. Romney has done is to bring before his legislature a state question. It is a national question, but the responsibility, I would say, in the beginning lies at the local levels.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think there is a trend in the direction of letting cities, local communities and states handle this open housing issue, and veer away from a federal open housing law?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, there are indications that is taking place.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think that is the better way to deal with this problem?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think everything local is better than national if it could be done that way because then you are in contact with people who are more conversant with the problems, the difficulties, and the ones who would have to be considered in any solution.

Mr. SCALI. While Congress was out of session President Johnson said if private industry doesn't succeed in finding jobs for unemployed members of the ghettos, that some way would have to be found to put these unemployed on the federal payroll. What do you think of this approach?

Senator MANSFIELD. I have given it no thought. I recall the observation, but I couldn't say anything unless I had some details to go from.

Mr. CLARK. Do you expect that the President will ask this Congress for—

Senator MANSFIELD. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. CLARK. For any program.

You still have lying latent up there the program sponsored by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, as I recall, that would be an emergency sort of a crash program to supply jobs for the unemployed in ghettos at the cost of something like 2.5 billion dollars a year. Do you think that program has any prospect of being revived this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would doubt it.

Mr. SCALI. Well, do you think there is an increased responsibility that the government has to accept to find jobs for the disadvantaged?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not necessarily. I think that there is too much responsibility being thrown on the Central Government and I think some of its initiative should go back to the local areas and the people resident therein rather than to bring everything to Washington for consideration and disposal.

Mr. CLARK. There is going to be much howling in this session of Congress as there was in the last session for further cuts in government spending. Do you see any areas in the Federal Government that haven't been cut too deeply already, that offer some prospect for further substantial economies?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, there isn't much in the way of areas which you can cut because last year the President cut and cut and did the best he possibly could to bring things into line, but he only has about \$21 billion out of the \$135 billion budget to work his will in. He has done what he can; he will do what he can, and no one is more interested in the economy than is the President.

Mr. CLARK. How about the space program? Do you think—

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it can be cut considerably.

Mr. CLARK. By several hundred million dollars?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CLARK. Won't you be surrendering the space race in that way, Senator, to the Russians?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think we ought to get away from this pride and glory about being first in this and that and everything else and get down to bedrock and do what has to be done and forget this idea of a race.

Mr. CLARK. If we did make further deep cuts in the space program, it would mean, I believe, all of our space projects, the major space projects, the so-called manned project in space, all expire in 1970. We would sort of run out of any further big adventures in space at that time.

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, let's work this slow and steady and sure and get away from the prestige and hyperbole connected with the space program.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, the Administration now apparently is in secret diplomatic contact with the North Vietnamese Government over Hanoi's professed willingness to begin talks if we stop the bombing of North Vietnam.

Would you favor stopping the bombing just in order to get the North Vietnamese to the conference table?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes, I would, and I think that now that the North Vietnamese have shifted from the use of the conditional "could" to the positive "will," and it has been corroborated twice since the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister made that suggestion, that we ought to.

Mr. CLARK. Well, Senator, you have been opposed to any temporary bombing pause. This has been your position, as I understand it, in recent months, on the grounds that if it didn't succeed in getting the Communists to the peace table there would be more pressure for escalation of the war. Have you now changed your mind about this?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I advocate a permanent stop in the bombing because I think that militarily it has not accomplished its

objective. Politically, I think it is very risky, and morally, I think it is quite calamitous.

Mr. CLARK. One of your colleagues in the Senate, John Sherman Cooper, who has agreed with you about the necessity for a permanent rather than a temporary halt, yesterday changed his position. He now wants a temporary halt in the bombing to test the sincerity of Hanoi in wanting to go to the peace table. Would you disagree with that?

Senator MANSFIELD. I doubt that John Sherman Cooper has changed his position at all and I agree with what he has advocated consistently and that is to stop the bombing in the North, confine it to the DMZ and along the 17th parallel and the Ho Chi Minh Trails coming down through Laos. In other words, to concentrate and consolidate in South Vietnam because it is my understanding that we are in Vietnam to maintain the integrity and the independence of South Vietnam.

Mr. CLARK. As I understand his position and the statement he made yesterday, he is now for a total halt in the bombing.

Senator MANSFIELD. A total halt in the bombing, yes. The North.

Mr. CLARK. In the past he has been in favor of continuing bombing of supply lines and this sort of thing.

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I didn't get that idea. I didn't get that idea. I thought it was in line with the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam's suggestion that it would apply to North Vietnam.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, do you think it is wrong then to demand some reciprocal military move by the North Vietnamese to turn down their half of the war, to show their sincerity?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I think that the Administration has a point there, but I go back to what has been said, I believe, by both the President and the Secretary of State on a number of occasions, certainly by Mr. Rusk, that if they would just give us one sign, one small indication—and I think this could perhaps be considered in that light.

Mr. SCALI. Do you mean an offer to talk should be construed as that one small sign—

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SCALI. And should enough—

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. SCALI. To force us—

Senator MANSFIELD. And I am quite certain—

Mr. SCALI. To stop the bombing and begin the talks.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, and I am quite certain that the Administration is looking into this matter very carefully and is using whatever channels it can privately to see just what the possibilities are.

Mr. SCALI. Do you interpret the offer from Hanoi then as a sincere one and not as a clever propaganda trap as some of the skeptics profess to see?

Senator MANSFIELD. It is hard to say.

Mr. CLARK. Some critics of the war profess to see signs that the Administration really isn't sincere in wanting to go to the peace table and that it is looking for excuses not to stop the bombing. You would disagree with that, I take it?

Senator MANSFIELD. I certainly would. No one is more sincere than President Johnson, who is exploring every effort, every avenue he can to try and find a way to the negotiating table.

This is one which I am sure he has given serious consideration to.

Mr. SCALI. Some captured Viet Cong documents have spoken about the idea of a coalition government as one way out of this impasse if you want to call it that.

Would you favor broadening or convincing the South Vietnamese to broaden the government to take in members of the Viet Cong?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes, I would, because, after all, the great majority of the people who are opposing us down there are Viet Cong. When we went into Vietnam in 1965—that is, undertook bombing—there was

only one recognizable North Vietnamese unit down there. I would say that outside of the 54,000 North Vietnamese troops now in and around South Vietnam, that there probably would be in addition to that at least 250,000 Viet Cong troops of all types.

Mr. CLARK. Do you believe we should press the South Vietnamese Government harder than we have been pressing them in recent weeks to initiate negotiations on their own with the Viet Cong to try to get peace talks started?

Senator MANSFIELD. I have so advocated that Saigon ought to try to get together with the NLF to see if the South Vietnamese themselves couldn't do something to bring peace to South Vietnam.

Mr. CLARK. Are you happy with the very faint efforts they have made in this behalf?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not in the least.

Mr. SCALI. Do you think the United States Government should press a lot harder in this area?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, it is pretty hard for the United States Government to press another government. I am sure that it is doing all it can under the circumstances.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think there is anything more we could do ourselves to try to initiate talks directly with the National Liberation Front?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, except pass the resolution, or bring the resolution on Vietnam before the Security Council which, if adopted by the Security Council, could be a means to invite the NLF, Hanoi, China and all the others, to the U.N.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, there appears to be some confusion in the past few days over what Chester Bowles did or did not promise in the way of not engaging in hot pursuit in Cambodia.

Do you know what the answer to this is?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, but I would take Bowles' assertion rather than the statements which have been made here in Washington by the State Department, since Bowles returned to New Delhi.

May I say that I think Chester Bowles, because of his Indian contacts, was the best possible choice to meet with Prince Norodom Sihanouk because, after all, India is the Chairman of the ICC, the commission which is supposed to supervise the peace in what used to be called Indo-China.

I think that he had a very good meeting with Prince Sihanouk and I am delighted that out of this has come an agreement which seems to indicate that insofar as we possibly can do so, we will observe the borders of Cambodia and Vietnam and do everything we possibly can not to transgress.

I would give great credit to Prince Sihanouk, who in my opinion is not only the most outstanding and most capable leader in all of Southeast Asia, but one of the very best in all Asia.

Mr. SCALI. Do you think then that this agreement lays an effective groundwork for policing this border through the International Control Commission, so as to detect violations?

Senator MANSFIELD. That would be up to Poland, the third member of the Commission, along with India and Canada, and the Soviet Union, one of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference. If they will come along, there is no question in my mind but that the additional helicopters and logistics would be forthcoming so that this border could be adequately patrolled.

Mr. SCALI. If the Poles obstruct or refuse to go along, do you think that Canada and India, voting as a majority of two to one should proceed to police the border on their own?

Senator MANSFIELD. I do.

Mr. CLARK. Senator McCarthy has been goading some of his fellow war critics in the Senate for not supporting his campaign for President.

Why aren't you backing Senator McCarthy? Senator MANSFIELD. Because I am backing Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think Senator McCarthy is a serious candidate for the presidency?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think he is a serious candidate for the presidency. He is a good man; he has a lot of good qualities. I look upon him as a friend and I think he is waging quite a campaign.

Mr. SCALI. Senator McCarthy said yesterday that the Administration in his view is following a policy of seeking to intimidate the critics of the war by such moves as the indictments against Dr. Spock and others. Would you agree?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I wouldn't agree with that. As I recall when the Chaplain of Yale University, who was indicted along with Dr. Spock and the three others, came to Washington last year, late last year for that demonstration, I believe that he appeared before the Justice Department and undertook actions which he indicated would make him liable to be arrested under the law. So I would assume that Ramsey Clark and the Department of Justice are acting in accord with the law and certainly it is not a case of intimidation.

Mr. CLARK. There is going to be a big peace demonstration in Washington tomorrow as Congress reconvenes. One of the leaders, Jeannette Rankin, wants to present a peace petition to you. Will you receive that petition?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I will be delighted to see Jeannette Rankin. She is an old friend, a former colleague, the first woman Congressman, a woman of distinction and I have already written Miss Rankin saying I would be delighted to meet with her and I am sure she can represent all the others well.

Mr. CLARK. She says she would like to bring along as many of her fellow-marchers as possible. At least bring them into the Capitol. Do you think there should be any limit on the number of demonstrators who should be permitted in and around the Capitol tomorrow?

Senator MANSFIELD. I am looking forward to meeting Jeannette Rankin alone.

Mr. CLARK. You would like to see the other demonstrators kept away from the Capitol building itself?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, they can see their Senators and Congressmen.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, Martin Luther King, among others, has said that he plans to organize a peace demonstration in Washington in February, and he will also organize massive anti-poverty demonstrations in the spring.

Do such demonstrations in your view have any important effect on Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

Mr. SCALI. Why not, sir?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, because we are down in the Congress to think for ourselves, to represent the people who send us here and when we can't think for ourselves and exercise our best judgment on the basis of the facts as we understand them, then I think it is time for a change.

Mr. SCALI. Well, do you think they are counter productive, they recoil against the very purposes for which they have been organized?

Senator MANSFIELD. I do.

Mr. CLARK. One of the things Congress is going to have to think out for itself in this new session is a code of ethics. What would you like to see in this code of ethics?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, John Stennis and the Ethics Committee did have a code ready to present last November but because of the absence of one of the members of the Committee it wasn't able to get complete approval. It will be brought up though this month, I believe. What it contains, I don't know, but I am delighted that this will be attended to at long last.

Mr. CLARK. The word has already leaked out that one of the things it does contain is a proposal for financial disclosure by members of the Senate.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is fine.

Mr. CLARK. Would you support this?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CLARK. Do you have any other concerns about the Senate that you think should be in this bill?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I would say that as far as lawyers—Senators and Congressmen keeping ties with their law firm and getting funds therefrom, that that ought to be looked into because there is no regulation covering it at the present time.

Mr. CLARK. I am sorry, Senator and John, our time is now up. Thank you for being with us on Issues and Answers.