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drawal of something in the neighborhood of 35,000 to 45,000 troops. Would that meet your definition of "very substantial?"

Senator MANSFIELD. It would be better than no withdrawal. I would like to see a more substantial withdrawal.

Mr. CLARK. Would you like to see the so-called timetable for withdrawal, the phased withdrawal where we would announce that we will go ahead and withdraw up to 200,000 troops or something in that neighborhood?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes. Not necessarily officially, but I think President Thieu ought to be informed so that he can act, as I have said, accordingly.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, you have been very sympathetic toward Mr. Nixon's approach on Vietnam. Is your patience beginning to wear a little thin now? Is there anything else, for example, that you believe Mr. Nixon should do in addition to what you have already mentioned here?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, my patience began to wear thin with the start of this tragic, useless, barbaric war, some years ago. I have never been in favor of it. I think that it is in an area where we have no vital interests. It is not tied to the security of the United States.

I would like to see in South Vietnam a coalition government; the neutralists, the Viet Cong and all the rest of the people in that area get together so that they could decide among themselves on the basis of self-determination, and we have advocated that for years, what kind of a government they want there. If that could be done, then I think it might be more possible for us to get together with Hanoi.

Mr. SCALI. Well, Senator, one of the big barriers to a coalition government is obviously the attitude of the leaders in Saigon. Today, for example, Vice President Ky says in an interview with the New York Times that if there is a new government formed in Saigon which seeks to bring about a coalition with the Communists, there would be a coup in ten days by members of the South Vietnamese Army.

Now, what do you think of that attitude? Senator MANSFIELD. That is Marshall Ky's judgment; one man's judgment. I think that we ought to have a coalition government there regardless of what Vice President Ky thinks or what he says.

Mr. SCALI. Well, how do you impose a coalition government?

Senator MANSFIELD. I didn't say "impose." There ought to be elections there within a reasonable length of time, as President Thieu advocated some months ago. I thought then that he was advocating a free election among all people of South Vietnam in a period of three to six months and a few days later he said it wouldn't be until two years after the end of hostilities. Well, that is no answer and if President Thieu and Vice President Ky are going to be the tail which wags us, then I think it is time for us to take a look at our relations with them.

Mr. CLARK. Well, do you think President Thieu and Vice President Ky should both step down if that appears to be the only way to achieve a coalition government.

Senator MANSFIELD. If that was the only way in which a coalition government could be arrived at and peace brought to Vietnam and the eventual withdrawal and the solution to the difficulties in which we find ourselves there, that ought to be given every consideration.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think the tail is wagging—

Senator MANSFIELD. Not to say that it will.

Mr. CLARK. Do you think the tail is wagging the dog; that the Nixon Administration is being influenced too much by the Thieu Government?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would say that pressure has been applied by the Saigon Govern-

ment on us which places us in a very embarrassing position from time to time.

Mr. SCALI. Well, do you think that Mr. Nixon is being influenced unduly by the views of President Thieu and Vice President Ky?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I wouldn't say so. I think that President Nixon is very desirous of bringing this war to a close. He is walking a tightrope trying to solve a situation which he inherited. He is trying to do what he thinks is right and in a way which will bring about a responsible solution. So far his efforts have been thwarted because the checkers haven't fallen in line as anticipated.

Mr. SCALI. Vice President Ky goes on to say in this same New York Times interview that "President Thieu cannot afford any more concessions with the Communists. It is a matter of his survival."

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, we can't afford any more casualties or costs either. I think we ought to look after our own interests for a change and give them primary consideration.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, if we can move on to a thought for a moment about South Korea, do you have any views about the constitutional amendment that the supporters of President Park of South Korea pushed through yesterday that would permit him to run for a third term?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, that is a Korean internal question. I would have no comment on it.

Mr. CLARK. You wouldn't be disturbed about the charges that this is going to extend what his opponents regard as a dictatorship?

Senator MANSFIELD. If it has been a dictatorship so far, it has evidently been a willing one because President Park has had the votes to serve two terms. Now he wants to serve a third term, but that is something for the Koreans to decide and not for me to comment on.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, to get some of the domestic questions out of the way here, you made a promise to Senate liberals that there would be speedy action this year on a meaningful tax reform bill.

Senator MANSFIELD. I did not make a promise to the Senate liberals. I made a promise to the Senate that there would be a tax reform bill reported out of the Finance Committee by October 31. That promise was made in the open. I expect that promise to be kept.

Mr. SCALI. Well, I was going to ask whether in view of the fact that some critics are saying that you will be unable to keep that promise, whether we could expect a tax reform bill this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. As far as I am concerned, we will have a tax reform bill this year.

Mr. CLARK. Well, Senator, as you know there is a great deal of talk in town and among some of the lobbyists who are working on various parts of that tax bill that there is not going to be a tax reform bill until spring. Can you really promise action by the end of this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I can't promise definitive action. I can only give you my point of view and reiterate the promise made to the Senate when this matter was referred to the Finance Committee. I would point out that I think that Senator Russell Long, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, who was in on the meetings with the Policy Committee and with whom I had a dialogue on the floor, is a man of his word and I would expect Senator Long to keep his word. That is a very important factor in the affairs of the Senate.

Mr. SCALI. Do you feel the Nixon Administration is backtracking on the whole principle of tax reform by suggesting that the House-passed bill be amended to reduce tax relief for middle income groups and give some of this to corporations instead?

SENATOR MANSFIELD INTERVIEWED ON "ISSUES AND ANSWERS"

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the transcript of a television program on which I appeared last Sunday, "Issue and Answers."

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

ISSUES AND ANSWERS, SEPTEMBER 14, 1969

Guest: Senator MIKE MANSFIELD (D., Mont.), Senate Majority Leader.

Interviewed by: Bob Clark, ABC News Washington Correspondent; John Scali, ABC News Diplomatic Correspondent.

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

Do you share the feeling of some critics that the Nixon Administration in this past week has botched up, either through indecision or confusion, an opportunity to take a new initiative toward ending the war in Vietnam?

Senator MANSFIELD. No one can tell until the President gives us an explanation of the zig and zags which have occurred over the past several days. So far as I am concerned, I am curious and confused. I thought there was an opportunity to do something to speed withdrawals of American troops, but I am sure the President has his reasons and I would anticipate that he would explain them to the American people shortly.

Mr. SCALI. Do you feel the "on again—off again" halt in the B-52 bombings perhaps reflects conflicting advice the President is receiving from his top advisors?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. There is a widespread impression that Mr. Nixon is going to announce within the next few days a new troop withdrawal. Would you like to see any such withdrawal announcement coupled with a new cease fire offer, or an offer to halt B-52 bombings?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I think that opportunity has been passed by and to make such an offer of that nature at this time would be, I think, counter productive.

I would like to see a very substantial withdrawal of American troops and on a time basis. I think that we have got to get out of Vietnam over a period of time and to use Secretary Laird's phrase, the war should be more and more Vietnamized but we should lay down the procedure and the policy which we intend to follow so that President Thieu will know what we are going to do and be prepared if he wants to survive, to act accordingly.

Mr. CLARK. Some Republican leaders of Congress are talking openly about a with-

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I do not. They are presenting their views to the Finance Committee. It will not be up to the Administration but the Finance Committee in the Senate to decide what sort of a tax bill will be considered in our body and the Administration has the right to present its views whether we agree with them or not.

Mr. CLARK. Well, Senator, on this question of timing, do you feel that your pledge was a promise to push for enactment of a tax reform bill by the end of this year?

Senator MANSFIELD. No. To get a tax bill out of committee and on the calendar by October 31. I cannot foresee what the Senate will do. It will carry on extended debate. There may be filibusters. There will be special interests which various people will be interested in—myself included—but the promise was to get it out by October 31. Hopefully I would like to finish it before the end of the year, but whether or not we can depends on a number of factors. We have, I believe, 13 Appropriation Bills to consider.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, inflation continues to be quite a national problem. This week the automobile companies jacked up prices on new models, even as William McChesney Martin, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was predicting that inflationary pressures were abating. (A), are you unhappy that the Administration made no outcry against the increased prices in automobiles, and do you think that the Administration generally should be blamed for letting inflation go as long as it has?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would have preferred that they had raised their voices at the time the GM auto raises were announced, but then I would point out while we are singling out the auto industry on this particular occasion, that a good many other industries have likewise raised their prices and nothing was said.

The previous Administration did raise its voice. Sometimes it was successful; sometimes not.

President Nixon is operating on a low key basis. He is hopeful that the economy will even itself out. I have been encouraged by what William Martin of the Federal Reserve Board has said because I have great confidence in his judgment and usually he is a pessimist. Maybe they know what they are doing, but I certainly hope that we will watch this inflationary spiral which hits into the pocketbooks of every American, and take whatever steps are necessary to curb it.

Mr. SCALI. Among these necessary steps would you include the possibility of wage-price controls?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would indeed, and I have been advocating them for the past three years, and across the board. And also profits would be included in that category.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, you had a very close personal relationship with the late Senator Everett Dirksen, and a relationship that was very important in marshaling bipartisan support behind programs in Congress.

What is Senator Dirksen's death going to mean in terms of getting programs through Congress and getting remaining parts of the Nixon program through Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, my relationship with Everett Dirksen was a dream relationship. He was a man of his word. I always informed him what I was going to do and he kept me informed of his moves.

I anticipate that whoever succeeds him will carry on in the Dirksen tradition. At least I hope he will, and I assume he will. And as far as the program is concerned, I think we have been doing fairly well so far because a Congress should not be judged on quantity but rather on quality and I think we have made some sizable advances in this short session.

Mr. CLARK. I would like to call your attention at this point to a comment made today on another panel program by Senator Scott,

who is one of the three candidates seeking to succeed Senator Dirksen as Minority Leader, and he said the Democratic Congress is foot-dragging at this stage and he also said "I am most dissatisfied with the failure of the Democratic Congress to achieve anything of importance."

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I would imagine it if I were in Hugh Scott's shoes I would probably say the same thing, but I would suggest to my good friend Senator Scott, that he look at the calendar. It is pretty well clear and he recognizes the fact that it isn't quantity but quality which counts, that the Democratic controlled Congresses over the past five years did pass a tremendous amount of legislation and that it is time to shake it down, make it more effective, see that there is less money spent for administration and more money spent as the Congress intended, and to just look at the record, as Al Smith would say, and I think he would come to a different conclusion.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, you know the other two contestants for the post of Republican leader are Senator Hruska and Senator Baker. Does it make any difference to you who wins out?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, no. They are all good men and just as Bob asked me about the situation in Korea and I replied that was a Korean problem, this is a Republican problem.

Mr. SCALI. Well, if either Senator Baker or Senator Hruska wins out, it will be regarded as victory for the Republican conservatives over the liberals. You have worked very closely with the moderates and the liberals in your time in office here.

Senator MANSFIELD. And the conservatives.

Mr. SCALI. Won't this, however, strengthen the conservative trend in Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I wouldn't think so. Any of these three men would do a good job in that position and I would work very well with any of them.

Mr. CLARK. Well, Senator, on your side of the aisle doesn't it make any difference whether the Democratic leader is a liberal, moderate or conservative, as they all do the same kind of job?

Senator MANSFIELD. Both parties have their differences. The Republicans are getting more and more a party of split personalities as time goes on. We have been that way for decades and it is all right.

Mr. CLARK. There is also in this struggle already raging the element of a battle between youth and age.

Would you like to see the infusion of more youth in the leadership of the Senate?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, speaking for the Democrats only, yes.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, there are reports that President Nixon is planning to announce major draft reforms in the near future in an effort to diffuse some of the campus demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Would you favor this as an executive move without referring it to Congress in view of the fact that Congress has been dragging its feet on draft reform for several years?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, on that basis I would.

Mr. CLARK. Do you have any reason to believe that Mr. Nixon does plan to move in this direction?

Senator MANSFIELD. None at all, but I hope he would because he does have some executive authority which I believe he could put into effect to dampen down the situation which has developed around the draft question, which, incidentally, I did not vote to extend the last time.

Mr. SCALI. Would you be in favor of suspending the draft for the time being?

Senator MANSFIELD. I couldn't say at the moment. You caught me off base on that one. I hadn't thought about it.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, what has been the reason for the foot-dragging on the draft? There have been draft revision bills before Congress for the last two or three or four years. Senator Edward Kennedy had a rather lengthy one this term.

Senator MANSFIELD. I would imagine the Armed Services Committee has gotten so involved on the Military Authorization Bill and other matters that are coming up which will take the time of a good many of the members, in appropriations and in defense matters, that they feel they cannot give it the proper consideration this year.

I know that it is the intention of Senator Stennis, who has been on the floor now for well over two months handling this particular bill under consideration, to take it up at the first opportunity and if he could he would do it this year, but he feels it may not be possible. But, if it is possible, he will take it up this year in the Senate.

Mr. CLARK. I know he has indicated that it is not possible.

Do you think draft reform is a problem that can safely be deferred until next year with all the unrest, the—

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, no, I have been very much disturbed about the draft law. As I said, I did not vote for its extension the last time because I think it is too inequitable and something has to be done to bring about a facing-up to this situation which becomes more significant each passing day.

Mr. SCALI. This all ties in, Senator, with President Nixon's hope for an all-volunteer army. Do you think this is a goal which can be achieved or is it more a dream?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think we ought to look into it very carefully, read the fine print, calculate the cost and I would hope that the President's proposal would be given consideration as soon as possible.

And, incidentally, Senator Hatfield and others have advanced the same proposal.

Mr. SCALI. On Tuesday of this week the Senate Judiciary Committee is going to begin hearings to determine whether Judge Haynesworth should be promoted to the Supreme Court. In your view, have the charges of conflict of interest which have been directed against him placed any cloud on his nomination?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would think there would be some opposition to his nomination. I am not prepared to render a judgment yet. I think the Judiciary Committee ought to hold the hearings which, as you say, will start tomorrow. I am sure that all these questions will be brought out at that time and then, on the basis of these hearings and the conclusions of the Judiciary Committee, I will make up my mind.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, do you see the Haynesworth nomination as a priority matter before the Senate? Of course, the Supreme Court starts its fall term October 6th. Would you expect to act by that time?

Senator MANSFIELD. It would all depend on what happens in the Judiciary Committee when the nomination is reported out and what the situation is on the floor.

Mr. CLARK. As of now would you think the prospect is that it will be acted on before the start of the fall term of the court?

Senator MANSFIELD. Again I couldn't say, Bob, until we see what happens in the committee and, as you know, in the Judiciary Committee it is my understanding that any member can ask for—when the hearings are concluded, that is—for an extension of a week or ten days before reports are filed. So it might be running up against a pretty thin deadline and my curbstone opinion at the moment would be that he probably wouldn't make it by that time.

Mr. SCALI. Senator Mansfield, the Arab-Israeli War escalated another notch or so this week with all of these air battles and raids across the Suez Canal. Do you see any sign at all that the Soviets are really interested in

agreeing with the United States on some formula for bringing peace to this area?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, they are still meeting with us from time to time. The matter will be discussed next week when Secretary Rogers meets Gromyko in New York. The United Kingdom and France are trying to do what they can, but the Israelis seem to think that it is a matter of direct confrontation or negotiations with the Arabs. I think they are right but they can't seem to get that basis for negotiating so it appears to me that it is up to the Big Four, really, rather than the Big Two, to try and continue to see what they can do to bring this war to a close.

Mr. SCALI. But do you see any sign that the Soviets are willing to stop encouraging the Arabs; willing, perhaps, to stop their shipments of vast quantities of arms into this area?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, but in all fairness, it must be pointed out that we are shipping jets to Israel while the Soviet Union is shipping jets, tanks and other armaments to the various Arab states.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, you and your fellow Democrats in the Senate face some rather mean arithmetic in next year's congressional election. I believe there are a total of 25 Democratic seats which are up and only nine Republicans. The Republicans are already claiming very much out loud that they have an excellent chance of winning control of the Senate. Are you worried about all this?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, the Republicans are saying that I think as we would in their situation, with their fingers crossed.

Yes, it is going to be tough, but I think we will be able to maintain control of the Senate and we will do it on the basis of the record made not only in the Senate itself, but by the individual Senators concerned.

Mr. CLARK. Some political observers are saying, as you know, that Senator Kennedy's unfortunate accident has destroyed his chances of becoming the Democratic nominee, not only in 1972, but possibly forever. Would you agree with that?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, that is hard to say. I said before the tragedy that in my opinion he would not be a candidate in 1972. What happens beyond that is too far into the future for me to conjecture on at this time.

Mr. SCALI. Do you think the next Democratic nominee for President will come from the Senate?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, I do, and I would say that Senator Muskie is in the lead at the present time. Former Vice President Humphrey is right behind him. There is Senator Fred Harris to consider, and there will be others and it is my belief that the trend which has developed in recent years will continue and that probably the Democratic nominee will be selected from the Senate.

Mr. CLARK. I believe you just assumed Senator Humphrey will be elected back to the Senate from Minnesota in 1970, is that—

Senator MANSFIELD. No, whether or not he is elected, he will be a contender, and I assume he will be elected.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, to go back to foreign affairs for a moment—

Senator MANSFIELD. If he runs. He hasn't announced yet.

Mr. CLARK. I believe you have just announced for him.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, there are some advance predictions that Foreign Minister Gromyko will finally say when he meets with Mr. Rogers in New York next week that, yes, Russia is interested in meeting with the United States to see whether or not the deployment and perhaps the number of missiles can be controlled.

Do you think that the first order of business in any such talks should be to halt

the deployment of the so-called MIRV, the multiple warhead weapon?

Senator MANSFIELD. I most certainly do, and I hope the SALT talks do finally get under way. They are way overdue. Much damage, through delay, has been done in the meantime. It is partly our fault, as well as that of the Soviet Union because we have been playing games back and forth and I don't think it has done either of us any good and certainly as far as the cause of disarmament is concerned, which is both expensive and deadly, it has been retarded.

Mr. SCALI. How have we been playing games, Senator?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I understand there were feelers by the Soviet Union unofficially during the last months of the previous administration and the first months of this administration and it took us a long time to react to those feelers and when we did it took the Soviet Union a long time to react and we started playing games and nobody benefits by it.

Mr. CLARK. Senator, on a rather detached subject this is the week that the Congress does honor to the astronauts in a joint session of Congress, but there are strong demands in Congress both among Republicans and Democrats to cut back space spending. Where is future space exploration going to fit in the national priorities?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it should be cut back. I think that we ought to pay more attention to the difficulties, the ills and the evils on earth rather than the projections which we have towards the moon and other planets. We have spent over \$25 billion, I believe, on the Apollo mission so far. We finally got a man on the moon. The moon seems to have nothing of value up to this time, but these problems down on earth have to be faced and we better think of our own people down here rather than what might be up there.

Mr. SCALI. Would you favor landing a man on Mars?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

Mr. CLARK. Senator Mansfield, I am sorry, our time has run out. It has been a great pleasure having you with us on "Issues and Answers."

Senator MANSFIELD. Thank you.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, if the distinguished majority leader will yield, I should like to comment that the majority leader's excellent presentation was applauded, by all of us who saw him, for his fairness, his restraint, and his statesmanship. I know that millions of people like myself must have enjoyed the program.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the minority leader.