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### Congressional Record S. 9871 - Tribute to Senator Mansfield - Majority Leader

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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length that of any previous Majority Leader in the history of the United States, and;

Whereas, the Senate recognizes that Mike Mansfield has fulfilled this service to his country and to his State with consummate parliamentary skill, and unflinching courtesy and consideration for his colleagues during a most crucial period in the Nation's history, and;

Whereas, such service has been of exemplary example to his Nation and to the Senate; now

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Senate extend to Mike Mansfield its deep gratitude and admiration for his outstanding performance as a Senator and as Majority Leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, for the first time in the year and a half of my service as assistant majority leader, I have schemed behind the leader's back to touch his power. It was not easy, Mr. President, to outmaneuver the majority leader. I can say to the Senate, whose Members know it is not possible to outsmart him, that it is equally difficult to outflank him. Because of the problem posed by the necessity of obtaining unanimous consent to set pending legislation aside, it required two quorum calls, a diversionary route through the Republican cloakroom, and a pretended scrutiny of the tickertapes to clear the way for me to announce this colloquy.

Probably there have been few times in the history of the Senate when this body has been engrossed in deliberations more crucial to our future or more far-reaching in effect, than we are at this moment, as we debate the question of war and peace. But there are times when, in moments of stress, it is well to pause and reflect upon our sources of strength. And so it struck me as most appropriate on this occasion that we take time from the Senate's busy night and day schedule, to deliberate briefly upon the subjects of distinguished public service, of dedication to country, of decency, integrity and ability as they are personified by the distinguished majority leader.

May I say to the Members of the Senate that I spoke with the able Republican leader, Mr. SCOTT, in this regard, and he agreed wholeheartedly with the proposal, as did the managers of the pending legislation.

Longer than any other man in this Nation's proud history, MIKE MANSFIELD has served as the leader of the Senate majority. Last week, on June 19, the Senator from Montana had served his colleagues 9 years and 167 days in that high office. Until 6 days ago, this record was held by Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, who subsequently became, as all Senators know, Vice President of the United States. Former Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas, holds the all-time record as Democratic leader, in which capacity he served for 13 years, 224 days. Four years, 59 days of that time, however, were served as minority leader. By my calculations, the Senator from Montana will break this record of service as Democratic leader, hopefully, from the viewpoint on our side of the aisle, without

every having to serve as minority leader, on August 14, 1974. I serve notice on the Senate that, at that time, it will again be appropriate to pay tribute to Senator MANSFIELD.

As a legislative leader, Senator MANSFIELD is unique. In a body of men of ambition and aspiration, he is calm and deliberate and without pretension. In him is exemplified the noblest tradition of high public service. He is honest—intellectually, professionally, and personally. Because of his complete integrity and sense of fairness, trust flows to him. His power and influence in this body far exceed those vested in him by his party caucus at the beginning of each Congress. No Senator has ever claimed that MIKE MANSFIELD abused his confidence.

He is a man spare with words. He is a delight to watch on a television program, or to stand next to, as I do just prior to the opening of each day's session, when the reporters come onto the floor and "have at" the leadership. Most politicians, when they are asked a question, will say, "Now I want to make one thing perfectly clear". Others will say: "Now, I am glad you asked that question." and some will say: "Now, let me say this about that." But Senator MANSFIELD's answers are economical and always the best. His five best are:

"Yep."

"Nope."

"Maybe."

"Could be."

"Do not know."

One of the most personally rewarding honors which I have received was when, this spring, I was invited to deliver the Mansfield lecture at the University of Montana. In spending 2 days on that campus and in the city of Missoula, I found that Senator MANSFIELD's constituents feel about him the way every Senator wishes his own constituents felt. They have full and unreserved faith in their Senator. The trust they put in him is not, of course, only well-placed, but is the kind of trust that is becoming more and more unusual in American political life today. If MIKE says it, it is right. For they and he are one—one in their sense of morality, one in their understanding of America, one in their dreams and hopes for the future. And that is a relationship and a bond that cannot be developed by any use of political rhetoric, by any subtle device of publicity—it is a bond that is developed over time and will remain for all the years in which he serves them.

Mr. President, because many Senators wish to participate during this brief period, and so that I might not take more than my share of the time, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert into the RECORD at this point remarks I made in introducing the leader 1 year ago tomorrow, at a dinner here in Washington.

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

REMARKS OF SEN. EDWARD KENNEDY AT DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL DINNER

Tonight I have the honor to introduce a man of greatness. Spare and lean, a man of the west, with all of the strength and conviction that comes from the tall timber and open space.

To you and me, he is the majority leader of the United States. To foreign powers, he is a voice to listen to, to Presidents he is a wise counselor, to members of the Senate he is the boss.

But back in Montana, in Butte, in Missoula, in Euroka and Sydney, he is Mike.

There have been others from the west who came east to lead us. With the firmness of William Borah, the integrity of George Norris, the skills of Carl Hayden—these are the talents that built a nation. But among all the west has produced, no man is more honored or respected or loved than Mike Mansfield.

He has been a member of every branch of the military service. He has been a mucker in the coppermines of Montana. As a lad, he was a roustabout—but made up for it by receiving a high school diploma and a college degree in the same year. He went on to become a noted professor.

And, in 1943, with his wife, Maureen, and young daughter Ann, he drove from Montana to Washington as a man newly elected to Congress; arriving in an old campaign car still wearing his Marine boots.

He has never left us since. But he has never left Montana either.

In September of 1963, President Kennedy made his last visit to Montana. He stopped in Great Falls to pay his respects to the late Patrick Mansfield, the father of the majority leader. And when the president came back, he told me of the thousands of people who crowded the roads from the airport to town and the thousands more in the Mansfield family neighborhood. And the amazing thing was that Mike Mansfield could greet each and every one of them by their first names. "That" President Kennedy said, "is the mark of a leader."

If the Greeks gave us the vision of the good life, and if the Romans gave us the majesty of the law, I like to believe that it is the Irish who had the boldness and the compassion to join the two together in the political leadership of America.

And the best of all that is embodied in our majority leader.

Senator Mansfield is the height of integrity. He is a man strong and true in his faith. This is a man whose word and fairness is unquestioned in the Congress of the United States.

As a soldier, he learned devotion. As a teacher, he gained the gifts of calm and patient leadership. And as a laborer in the pits, he developed his sensitivity for the weak, the innocent and those who toil with their hands.

There is a phrase that only those who have been in the mines of Montana know. They use it when the sticks of dynamite have been put in place, in the drift, and the time has come to cap them for the explosion.

Whenever Mike Mansfield bids farewell to a Montana friend, he uses the phrase, and says "taper light."

This is Mike Mansfield's style. This has been the tone he has brought to the United States Senate. Others may speak more loudly, and others may speak in greater length, but when the leader stands in the well of the Senate, other voices fade before the authority of his presence.

In his own quiet way, he has moved this country toward what it should be—toward the American dream. In his own quiet way, he has made each of each proud to be Democrats in the United States Senate.

And I am proud to stand here tonight before friends of a great party and give to you the majority leader of the United States Senate—my leader—Mike Mansfield of Montana.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, Andrew Jackson once said: "One man with courage makes a majority". This characterization has special significance when ap-

plied to MIKE MANSFIELD, whose courage of conviction, intellectual strength and sense of integrity have made of him, in my opinion, the greatest living legislator in this country. My association with him as a Senator and as his deputy, is a source of great personal pride, but even more importantly, is a constant challenge.

The leader likes to tell the story of Powder River, Montana, which he says fondly, is "a mile wide and an inch deep". The affection and esteem MIKE MANSFIELD's colleagues hold for him is, like the Powder River—a mile wide, but unlike that legendary stream, very deep indeed.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield to the dean of the minority, the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. Aiken).

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President—

There was a time 10 years ago  
If Republican Senators wanted a show,  
They would toss a needle across the aisle

And then they'd all sit back and smile.

The Democrat's leader was Lyndon then  
Who was mighty with sword, and sometimes pen.

He was quick to respond to the needle's touch

And never refused a challenge as such.

The show would go on—the air get torrid,

Though Lyndon never said anything horrid.

But Barnum and Bailey could take a rest

When Lyndon was functioning at his best.

And when're we'd tense up with talk of taxation,

We could look to Lyndon for relaxation.

Then disaster struck us and Lyndon went on.

And with his departure went most of our fun

For the Democrats made a new appointment

Which for Republicans spelled disappointment.

They had chosen a man from the Golden West,

Where every kid knows his country is best.

Where they shoot from the hip—whether right or wrong,

And ride off from their victims singing a song.

Of course MIKE MANSFIELD would be such a leader,

Eating needles and darts like steers at a feeder.

He would give us the uplift Republicans need

And meet every challenge by word and by deed.

Did I say disaster struck us this time—  
Just another understatement of mine.

For MIKE had been leader only a week  
When JOHN J. WILLIAMS got up to speak.

For JOHN who was feeling in real good fettle

Addressed the new leader somewhat like a nettle

And every Republican, one by one,  
Sat back in his seat to enjoy the fun.

And oh the agony of what followed.

We might as well have arsenic swallowed.

For MIKE got up to give JOHN his reply

With such a reproachful look in his eye,

That I thought JOHN WILLIAMS would like to die.

And never since then do Republicans smile

When a needle is tossed across the aisle,

For we found that MIKE is as square as a die

With a mind as broad as Montana's sky.

It's now 10 years that we've worked with MIKE.

And during that time we have learned to like

The fairness and candor with which he acts,

And the way when in speaking he deals with facts.

So let us be thankful that we serve with one,

Whose honor and fairness is second to none.

And since we would miss him on this Senate Floor,

I earnestly wish for him 6 years more—  
As minority leader of course.

[Laughter.]

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, may I be recognized very briefly?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I think I could add a stanza about the distinguished Senator from Montana:

Of all of our solons, whom do we we like?

We quickly answer: Obviously MIKE!

The qualities which we admire in him, I think, center in the one word, "character," and within that framework of character we find that we need so much for the amiable disposition of the traumatic seria which sometimes afflict the Senate, because within that great vise of character are gripped the qualities of fair-mindedness and of integrity and of amiability and of economy of language.

Some may be proud of their articulate-ness, and others of their oratory, and some others of plain long-windedness—heaven forbid—but MIKE MANSFIELD'S answers are straight, true, direct to the point, and you know where you stand with him at all times. I have seen reliance on phraseology of the old Roman rulers, "ad captandum vulgus," simply to capture the crowd, rather than to capture, to use the French phrase, le juste milieu, the golden mean, and within that latter he finds the ability to accommodate the multifarious demands on him within the Senate.

I know that the members of the press are hard put when he appears on the Sunday programs, because, with most of us, they have prepared six or eight usually obnoxious questions, and they sit back to wait for the hapless Casper to wander through his own verbiage and rhetoric down various Indian trails toward some possible obscure termination. But with MIKE, when he appears on the Sunday morning program, you get brief

replies such as the Senator from Massachusetts referred to—"Yep" and "Nope."

So, instead of relying on six or eight questions, the members of the press find they have to play 20 questions or more and learn that they are exposed to their own unpreparedness for the genius and entirely lovable majority leader.

So, Mr. President, it is an enormous pleasure to be a party to this resolution, and to say these few words, every one of which, however, seem somehow to have been longer than MIKE MANSFIELD would have used in reference to similar situations. I hope that he is around. We have been trying to lure him into the Chamber; but when he learned that his own name was going to be taken—and not in vain—I am afraid he has again absented himself.

At this point, I am happy to yield to the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN), and then I have promised to yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I shall be very brief, but I do wish to join my friends in paying tribute to MIKE MANSFIELD.

I had the pleasure of serving with MIKE MANSFIELD in the House of Representatives. I knew him quite well when he first came to the House. I knew something of his good qualities there. I came to the Senate in November of 1946, and MIKE came in November of 1952.

One thing I recall about him that I often think of as a mark of the recognition of his fine talent and fine work is the fact that he was assigned to the Foreign Relations Committee as a brand-new Member; and that is something that is rather unusual, certainly at least so far as this side is concerned, because there are numerous applications every time that a vacancy occurs.

For the last few years, it has been my privilege to sit next to MIKE MANSFIELD in the Foreign Relations Committee, and I have observed his work there. I have had the privilege of serving under him here as our majority leader, and I certainly join in everything that has been said about the very fine characteristics that mark him as an outstanding leader.

I have known quite a number of leaders here in the Senate. Some of them may have been more voluble than he. In fact, I think one of his remarkable talents is that which has been referred to already as his brevity in dealing with almost any matter. He can pack more into a few words, I believe, than anyone else on the floor of the Senate. Some of the leaders may have been more flamboyant, but none has been of greater ability, greater character, greater integrity, or greater success in getting things done than MIKE MANSFIELD. I am glad that I have had the privilege of serving with him, and I am glad to pay tribute to him as a great leader.

I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCOTT. I now yield to the Senator from Vermont (Mr. PROUTY).

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am happy indeed to join both my colleagues in saluting the distinguished senior Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD),

whose length of service as majority leader now exceeds that of all his predecessors in that exalted office.

No one in this body commands or deserves greater respect than MIKE MANSFIELD. Gentle, courteous, and always considerate of the problems of others, he is perhaps the antithesis of the typical majority leader. And yet, it is these qualities which have enabled him to become an effective and strong leader, because they have gained for him the confidence and cooperation of all Members of the Senate.

I am proud indeed to claim him as a friend and to serve under his inspired and compassionate leadership.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I now yield to the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH).

MIKE MANSFIELD, THE SCHOLAR, THE STATESMAN, THE GENTLEMAN, HOLDS UNIQUE RECORD IN SENATE

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as a Member who has had the privilege of serving with MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD, of Montana, in both bodies of the Congress—as far back as January 1943 in the House and since November 1958—in the Senate—I say that no man has deserved to hold the championship for continuous longevity in the office of Senate majority leader than has our esteemed colleague, MIKE.

I commend my colleague from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), who, on the day before yesterday, told us in factual and eloquent tribute of the unique record of our leader.

It is not platitudinous, nor is it indulgence in pleasantry, when I state on this occasion that I place MIKE MANSFIELD in the upper bracket as I speak of the true gentlemen, the scholars, the able statesmen, and the really capable leaders with whom I have served in the numerous Congresses of the United States since my first term began in March 1933.

In bracketing the gentlemen with whom I have labored, I place none higher than MIKE MANSFIELD.

Perhaps he has had a peer now and then among the scholars, the statesmen, or the leaders—but I would be hard pressed to grade anyone in the Congresses with whom I have served higher rating on the overall performance in the triple category, scholar-statesman-leader, than that I feel MIKE MANSFIELD has earned.

Our quiet, earnest, nonflamboyant, majority leader has been as consistently fair, as constantly patient, as congenially friendly, as carefully considerate, and as scrupulously honest as any man with whom I have had experience in the Congresses in which we have worked together.

What more can I say about MIKE MANSFIELD than, Mr. President, to state emphatically: It has been much more than a privilege—indeed, it has been a real joy to have served with MIKE MANSFIELD and to have experienced the fair but forthright, prudent but progressive, and convivial but impartial leadership he has provided for those of us who have been his colleagues during his brilliant and benevolent tenure as majority

leader—and for the years before that when he served as the assistant majority leader in this body.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE).

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, like all of my colleagues, I have many enduring memories of events which have taken place on the floor of the Senate. There have been some great moments here—moments so absorbing that we can recall them, to the finest detail, many years later. I think this is one of those moments.

Any tribute to the distinguished Senator who serves as ably as the majority leader must necessarily be phrased in superlatives. Indeed, it is difficult to find words which do justice to the remarkable achievements of Senator MANSFIELD as a lawmaker and as a leader.

We are indebted to the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD) for his diligent research and scholarship on the history of Senate leadership. Because of his efforts, we now have statistical proof that Senator MANSFIELD has occupied the position of Senate majority leader longer than any predecessor in either party. He has, as of today, served 9 years and 173 days, surpassing the previous record of 9 years, 165 days established by the late Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Alben Barkley.

As Mr. BYRD observed, it is probable Senator MANSFIELD will extend his tenure by a period of several years and will leave a record destined to stand for many decades. Perhaps at some distant date in the future that record will be broken. But there is another, more important record that cannot and will not be broken and that is Senator MANSFIELD's splendid record of leadership.

By any objective yardstick, the 1960's were one of the most challenging periods in our Nation's history, if not the most challenging of all. Someone has observed that more major laws shaping the destiny of human events were enacted during the 1960's than in the entire previous history of the American legislative process. Few would quarrel with that observation because, in fact, the volume and the impact of legislation written during the last decade was enormous. Congress engaged and acted upon a wide spectrum of problems ranging from social injustice to preservation of the environment. It wrote and rewrote hundreds of laws to improve education, housing, medical care, transportation, law enforcement, recreation and a hundred other areas of vital concern to every American citizen.

The contribution of Senator MANSFIELD to this unprecedented record of legislative achievement was inestimable. Perhaps it is enough to observe that without his personal qualities of tact and diplomacy, without his wise counsel and unflinching good judgment, without the inspiration of his positive leadership, it is doubtful the Congress could have approached this standard of achievement. Thus, if one man must be chosen as a symbol of the vision and progress of Congress in the 1960's, Senator MANSFIELD is that man.

An insight into the character of the distinguished majority leader may be gained from a statement he made last year during an interview with a Christian Science Monitor staff writer. After citing a number of major congressional achievements, he examined the problems of the present in these words:

Still facing us at home will be the gaps—the ubiquitous and divisive gaps—between the races, between the generations, between the urban and suburb, between wealth and poverty, between the deterioration in the nation's physical environment and the neglect of its human resources and the magnificent technical achievements and pyrotechnics of the advance into space.

I submit that those are the words of a statesman, a man of imagination, a man of unlimited vision. For here we have a lawmaker who has served as a principal architect of the most productive record of legislative achievement in our Nation's history—and he is thinking only of the future. I can think of no greater tribute to his stature as a giant of the Senate.

Mr. President, former President Harry Truman once described the value of leadership as follows:

Men make history and not the other way around. In periods where there is no leadership, society stands still. Progress occurs when courageous, skillful leaders seize the opportunity to change things for the better.

He might have been speaking of our distinguished colleague, Senator MANSFIELD. The majority leader is a man who has made history and who has changed things for the better. And that is as much as any man has ever hoped for, ever sought, ever achieved.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. COTTON).

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, others have spoken of MIKE MANSFIELD the majority leader, the statesman. I want to say just a few brief sentences about MIKE MANSFIELD the man.

It was my privilege to serve for 8 years with him in the House of Representatives and then, when I came to this body 16 years ago, to serve with him throughout all that time—a total of 24 years.

Whenever I think of MIKE MANSFIELD, I think of him on the first occasion that he impressed himself upon me. It was—and I suppose is—the custom in the other body each year to hold a memorial service for the Members who had passed on during the preceding year; and a Member is selected each year, alternating between the sides of the aisle, to deliver the memorial remarks. I always think of the first time I really came to get a vision of what MIKE MANSFIELD is like, which was when he was selected and when he mounted the rostrum and gave one of the most simple, direct, but most spiritual utterances I have ever been privileged to hear either in public bodies or in church. It was simple because he is not a man to wear his emotions or his spirituality on his sleeve. But on that day, because of the occasion, he opened up, and I caught a glimpse of the real spirit of MIKE MANSFIELD.

During all the years since, when I have had the privilege of serving with him

and under his leadership, that analysis has never changed. His kindness, his courtesy, his sincerity, his integrity, his warmth, and his sympathetic understanding are known to every Member of this body and the other body who has served with him.

So, Mr. President, I shall content myself by saying that the rewards of service in Congress are not as great as the world seems to think. The gratification of being a Senator wears away after the first few years, and we realize that instead of gold there is some tinsel there; and as we grow older in the service and reach our later years, we sometimes wonder what, if anything, we have accomplished and what we have derived from service in this body. I think that most of us who have served here a long time and realize that we are of necessity in the twilight of our service, are likely to agree that the greatest rewards of service here are the contacts and the friendships we have made with some of the finest men and women from every section of this country and from every field of thought and philosophy—but all of them great Americans.

So I would simply close with this statement, and I think it is the highest tribute that can be paid to MIKE MANSFIELD: I am positive that there is not one Member of this body or one person who has served with him in the past in this body or the other who does not feel that his life is richer and that his devotion to his country is greater because of having known MIKE MANSFIELD.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL).

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Senator MANSFIELD became majority leader of the Senate on January 3, 1961, the same day that I first took my oath of office as U.S. Senator.

I shall always remember the courtesy, consideration, and friendship which the majority leader extended to me as a brand new Member of this body. And each year that I have served in the Senate has deepened my respect and affection for MIKE MANSFIELD. He is honest—with himself as well as others; he is fair and even-handed, and, perhaps most important to the work of the Senate, he has an unfailing ability to find a way for the Senate to work its will on even the most controversial of issues.

In serving the Senate so well, Senator MANSFIELD serves also our entire Nation. His is a voice of reason that is heard and heeded not only in the Senate but also throughout our country. He is sparse, too, in the use of his voice. In fact, he is one of the few of us who never lapses into loquaciousness.

To change ideas into events and to help people is the proper pursuit of all of us in politics. But in achieving these ends, Senator MANSFIELD excels.

Finally, it is as a man, as a gentleman, that I have come most to respect our majority leader. His word is his bond. His honor is irreproachable. His faith and trust in the Senate are complete—and are fairly returned by our trust and faith in him.

There is no man in our Nation, much less in this Chamber, whom I would rather see as majority leader than MIKE MANSFIELD, and I pray that he may long continue to occupy this position.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND).

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, while I rise to address the Chair, the feelings of my heart flow toward the occupant of the first seat on the right of the center aisle.

This extraordinary man took his first oath of office in the Senate on January 3, 1953; he was reelected in 1958 and 1964; he became the majority whip in 1957 and the majority leader in 1961, serving in that capacity to date. During this unusual tenure, I have been privileged to be a Member of this body; I have known our occupant well; I am a humbler and better man through this association.

He is a gentle man as well as a gentleman. He is fairminded. Without diluting the tenets of his own beliefs, he is fair to his adversaries as well as his friends. With this man one may disagree violently, but one never feels anger or resultant rancor.

I well remember his remark, when he took over the leadership, that though he may be the leader, he was only one of 96 Senators. His humility enshrouds those around him, quieting, soothing, and gentling raw nerves. With compassion he consoles friend and foe alike. He is a builder of men and ideals. He is in fact a Senator's Senator.

His brand is on this Chamber and on his colleagues. The diverse beliefs of the 99 other legislators who make up this body cause us to support different causes and to follow various banners. I am certain, however, that every man here would be proud to wear an "I Like Mike," button every day.

As a committee chairman, I am well aware of the sensitivity with which this man handles the legislative reins of the Senate. We have had many differences throughout the years, and I can tell this Chamber that he catches more Judiciary flies with his honey than other leaders have with their vinegar—often to my chagrin. Veritably, this is a man to go to the well with.

He cherishes our Senate traditions; though in a position of power, he treats power gingerly; he reveres the institutions of the other branches of our Government; he is awed and abashed at the burdens of the White House; he knows not charisma but charisma must certainly know him.

I wish this man well and Godspeed; I am honored to have known him, for he possesses the milk of human kindness. I praise his longevity record and I salute my leader—MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD of Montana.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH).

#### A MAN ADMIRER

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, compliments may be brief. Mine shall be—in keeping with the sparse, succinct, well-knit speaking style of MIKE MANSFIELD,

whom we honor today. I do hope, however, that my words will convey to our "Iron Mike" the deep respect in which I hold him, both as a leader and as a person.

All Senators on both sides of the aisle would agree, I am sure, that MIKE MANSFIELD has the patience of Job, the persistence of Hercules, and the strength of Atlas. His sincerity of purpose and his steadfastness under pressure are two conspicuous traits that impressed me when I entered the Senate 14 years ago. His kindness to newcomers is one that Senators will always treasure.

He has served, I am told, as majority leader for 9 years and 165 days. By my calculations that totals more than 3,450 days during which he has borne the burden of leadership. His legislative days are kaleidoscopic ones, consisting of thousands of assigned chores, dictated messages, knowledge applied, legislative battles orchestrated, directions given and, despite the bruising political struggle, objectives sought and attained.

Of course, I do not know whether we 99 Senators—persons of assertive views and not without idiosyncrasies—have disappointed MIKE MANSFIELD. I think we may have on occasion. Nevertheless, on this day we can perhaps help make his difficult task a bit lighter by pausing from our legislative work long enough to say "thank you."

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. YOUNG).

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I thank my friend the distinguished minority leader, Senator HUGH SCOTT, for yielding to me. It is with pleasure I join my colleagues in expressing my deference and devotion to the distinguished majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana, a great American, a great leader, and perhaps most important, a marvelous human being. His qualities of leadership have been well and amply expressed by Senators who have preceded me today. There is little that I can add to their praise.

However, I recall a speech MIKE MANSFIELD made a few years ago in which he recalled the years when as a young man he labored in the mines of Montana. He spoke of how before dynamite was exploded to disgorge the copper, the miners yelled, "Tap 'er light." He related how this phrase, meaning "Take it easy" or "Play it soft," has become a part of the folklore and language of his State. Perhaps that expression "Tap 'er light" most succinctly characterizes this great leader from the West. A man of great force, energy, ability, and intelligence, he has always "tapped 'er light" in applying those qualities to problems confronting himself and the Nation.

As those with whom he has engaged in legislative combat well know, beneath his calmness, his gentleness, and his patience, there is a quality of great personal and moral courage. At 14 years of age he enlisted in the U.S. Navy in World War I, and subsequently enlisted in the U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps. He further forged his qualities of leadership when in his youth he worked in the

mines, and by pulling himself up by his own bootstraps later achieved university bachelor of arts and master of arts degrees. He went on to become a professor at Montana State University, a Member of the House of Representatives for 10 years, a Member of the U.S. Senate for more than 18 years, during which time he was assistant majority leader for 4 years.

Years ago, I served in the House of Representatives with him and came to admire him then. And I have had the honor to serve with him in the Senate for nearly 12 years. He has been majority leader in the Senate since January 1961. He is truly a self-made man.

Few people are born leaders. Leadership is achieved by ability and by a willingness to accept responsibility; by getting along with people; by an open mind, and a clear head in times of stress. The greatest asset in leadership is courage. Cowards never lead. Leadership requires tact, fairness, and confidence. Leadership implies consideration of those who follow. It requires communication that works both ways—from the bottom up, as well as from the top down.

MIKE MANSFIELD has all of these qualities in abundance and throughout the years has displayed them profusely to the great advantage of the Nation. He understands the problems of those he leads. I can truly say—as I know all Senators can—that he has never once asked me to take a position that he knew would be in conflict with my responsibilities to the people of my State or with my conscience.

Mr. President, our Nation has passed through many trying times. However, not since the Civil War have Americans been more sorely divided than we are today. I am confident that with the grace of God we shall emerge from this precarious era successfully and with renewed greatness and vigor. When historians of the future recount our times, it is certain that they will write that America was blessed with the leadership of the Senate of the United States in the hands of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN).

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Republican leader for yielding to me.

Mr. President, on last Tuesday, June 23, the distinguished junior Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD) made an eloquent and memorable address in the Senate in which he praised the service of our distinguished majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

In the course of his remarks, the Senator from West Virginia gave a most interesting history of the offices of the majority and minority leaders in the Senate. He called attention to the fact that on June 18, Senator MANSFIELD had surpassed the previous record for longevity in service as majority leader in the Senate held by Senator Alben Barkley, later to be Vice President of the United States.

Since I was in the Chamber at that time, I took the opportunity of making remarks expressing, all too inadequately, the high regard and the great respect and admiration I have for the distinguished

majority leader, the able Senator from Montana, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

As I said on Tuesday:

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to the distinguished Senator from West Virginia for the fine remarks he has made about the service of our distinguished majority leader. I associate myself with the remarks he has made.

I, too, congratulate and salute the distinguished majority leader, the able and dedicated Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD), on having passed the record of the late Senator Alben Barkley for longevity of service in the position of the majority leader, he now having attained a length of service greater than Senator Barkley's record of 9 years and 165 days.

It was not until I came to the U.S. Senate in January 1969 that I had the pleasure of meeting Senator MANSFIELD, but since then I have been greatly impressed by his ability, sincerity, and dedication. He has been extremely fair and impartial. We have not always voted alike, and I suppose, if a label were to be applied to the majority leader, he would have to be classed as a liberal, whereas if a label were applied to me it would probably be that of conservative.

Nevertheless, whether I have agreed with Senator MANSFIELD or not, I have always found him to be most fair, and always found him to give each side of any controversy an opportunity to be heard and to present its case before the Senate.

On at least two occasions the Senator from Montana cast votes with which I agreed wholeheartedly. Very vividly do I recall the first such vote. It occurred in January of 1969. I believe it to have been the most important vote that has been taken in the Senate during the 91st Congress. That was the vote on the appeal by the distinguished senior Senator from Florida (Mr. HOLLAND) from a ruling of Vice President Humphrey.

The then Vice President had ruled that, at the opening session of a Congress, a majority of the Members of the Senate could apply cloture to debate on a motion to amend the rules; and more than a majority did vote to apply cloture to the debate on that motion to amend the rules.

The then Vice President ruled that the cloture motion had carried because more than a majority had voted in its favor. An appeal was taken from the ruling of the Chair and I remember that on that vote, I was impressed very much when Senator MANSFIELD, the Democratic leader of the Senate, voted to overrule a Democratic Vice President on a ruling which, in my opinion, was clearly erroneous. The Senate did overrule the ruling of the Chair on the cloture motion to cut off debate on the motion to amend the rules to provide for cloture on a three-fifths vote of a quorum of the Senators present.

That vote by the distinguished Senator from Montana impressed me very much. Then again on the Stennis amendment, which sought to achieve uniformity in the application of Federal criteria and guidelines for desegregation of public schools throughout the country, a very

important amendment, we found the distinguished Senator from Montana voting in favor of the amendment. The distinguished majority leader votes his convictions, and lets the chips fall where they will.

The majority leader of the Senate, as I found when I came here, controls the flow of legislation to be considered by the Senate. That, of course, makes him the most powerful single Senator. But in my observation, that power has not been misused by the majority leader in a single instance, because everyone receives an opportunity to speak, and everyone gets an opportunity to have his bill considered by the Senate if it reaches the calendar.

I also appreciate very much the reference of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia to some of the able Senators of the past who have served as Democratic leaders in the U.S. Senate. He referred to one of my distinguished predecessors as Senator from the State of Alabama, when he mentioned the great and able Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, who, I might add, not only served as Democratic leader in the Senate, but prior to that time had served as Democratic leader of the House of Representatives. In the House and Senate he was a recognized authority on tariff law and taxation and in both 1912 and 1920 was a leading candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. He is remembered as a great statesman. A well known incident in his political career is the fact that in the 1924 Democratic National Convention—back before the day of amplifying systems as we know them now—the then Governor of Alabama, W. W. Brandon, throughout the 103 ballots cast at that convention, in a thundering voice, cast the votes of the Alabama delegation in that convention as "Alabama casts 24 votes for Oscar W. Underwood."

Senator Underwood, when a Member of the Senate, owned and resided at the estate near Mount Vernon known as Woodlawn. He was one of the great Senators in the history of the Senate, and I am proud to occupy the seat in the class of which Senator Underwood was a Member.

It is indeed appropriate that the distinguished Senator from West Virginia has called attention to the fact that the majority leader now has the record of having served longer in that position than any other Senator in the history of the U.S. Senate, and I predict that he will be reelected as majority leader—and I use this word advisedly—when the 92d Congress meets in January of next year.

So I wish to associate myself with the able remarks made by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia regarding our outstanding majority leader.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON).

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, it is rather difficult to add to the remarks that have been made here this afternoon in praise of our distinguished majority leader. I might observe that the able and distinguished senior Senator from Te-

nessee (Mr. GORE) and I are the only two Members of the Senate who have served during the entire term of Senator Mansfield in the House and in the Senate.

During this time I have had an opportunity to observe him not only as a man but also as a Representative, as a Senator, and as a leader.

We have worked together in both the House and the Senate on problems of mutual concern and interest, especially to the Pacific Northwest.

We all know about the character of this man. MIKE MANSFIELD is a kindly man, always a gentleman, a selfless individual. If there is any meaning to modesty, MIKE MANSFIELD more than most other individuals is entitled to that descriptive term.

Having said this, Mr. President, let no one get the impression that MIKE MANSFIELD is not a strong, determined man. Behind his kindly approach and interest in the well-being of all of his fellow citizens, as well as his deep concern for Senators on both sides of the aisle, there is a dedicated determination to stand by his deep-seated convictions, whatever the issue may be. This quality of firmness obviously comes from his great integrity as an individual.

We could not deny the fact that in the Senate from time to time we have our disagreements. But MIKE MANSFIELD is a genius at being able to disagree with you without being disagreeable. More than any other leader I have ever served under, in either the House or the Senate, he has an absolute genius for being able to work his will to get a program through, without leaving battle scars in this Chamber.

MIKE MANSFIELD's record as a majority leader has covered a period of great ferment and turbulence in our history; and much of the accomplishment in the Senate is the result of his great leadership. All of us on both sides of the aisle owe him, and the country owes him, a debt of gratitude for his ability to bring us together on issues vital to the Nation and to the world.

Mr. President, I join my colleagues in saluting MIKE MANSFIELD at this milestone in his career, which marks only the first period in his on-going leadership of all Members of the Senate.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, as of last week, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD had served the U.S. Senate as majority leader longer than any man in the history of our country. In this body of 100 complex, independent men, this record is a great tribute to his sensitivity and leadership.

His decade as majority leader has been an exciting one, filled with upheaval and change. Thanks largely to his leadership, the Senate has kept pace with these rapid and almost dizzying changes by enacting an unprecedented number of landmark pieces of legislation.

It was particularly appropriate that only a few days ago, the President signed a bill giving 18-year-olds the right to vote. This legislation would not have been passed without the guidance and support of the majority leader.

In times such as these, emotions often run high and differences of opinion can

become dangerously divisive, yet, Senator MANSFIELD's special sense of fairness has harmonized disparate beliefs. His firm commitment to what he believes is right coupled with an inexhaustible supply of patience and understanding of his fellow Senators, has made possible a truly impressive record of legislative accomplishment.

These accomplishments include three major acts extending the protection of the Federal Government to our black citizens, expansion of aid to education, the establishment of extensive manpower training programs, the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the passage of medicare and Medicaid.

It is indicative of Senator MANSFIELD's statesmanship and sensitivity that he would be among the first to recognize the needs of the whole Nation and then take a strong role in fulfilling them through legislation.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, MIKE MANSFIELD has taken the lead in reestablishing the powers of Congress in the difficult field of international relations. MIKE's knowledge and understanding of the intricacies of affairs in the Far East is unsurpassed in the Senate.

In the process of these accomplishments, no other Senator has earned the level of respect and admiration that is accorded to Senator MANSFIELD from both Democrats and Republicans alike. Whether on his side or another, each Senator knows that the actions of the majority leader will be wholly based on the principles of integrity and fairness.

One is tempted to talk at length about MIKE MANSFIELD but verbosity would be a particularly inappropriate tribute to the majority leader.

Throughout the last decade, MIKE MANSFIELD has been quietly, yet firmly effective. We are all acutely aware of the great contributions he has made both to the Senate and our country as majority leader. I, therefore, take this opportunity to congratulate Senator MANSFIELD upon reaching a great milestone and to thank him for the effective and selfless leadership he has provided to the Senate and the Nation.

Mr. President, I yield next to the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE).

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, throughout my service as a Representative and as a Senator, it has been by privilege to be the colleague of the distinguished senior Senator from Montana, our beloved majority leader. It has been my pleasure to be in his home town in Montana, which he loves, to visit the institution in which he taught, to speak with the people in his State whom he serves, to walk in the paths which this man has trod.

Mr. President, his tracks I cannot reach. His tracks are the strides of a giant of the mountains, a giant in intellect, in good will, in fellowship, in love of his fellowman.

These qualities were recognized early in his career—not just in the Senate of the United States, but also in the gold mines, in the Marine Corps, in the class-

room as a student and as a teacher, as a Representative and as a leader of our great Nation.

What manner of man is this that stands so tall amongst us, that bestows upon each of us, Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, irrespectively, an affection, who inspires in each of us a devotion and a respect.

He is a man of kindness and humility, of understanding and compassion, of vision and of courage, of leadership potential par excellence.

What manner of leader is he? A leader of conscience, a leader for the good of all, a leader of patriotism.

What manner of patriotism does he exemplify? A broad concept, a concept of patriotism that embraces not narrow chauvinism, but the love of humanity, of his fellowman, of his State, of his country, and of the world.

MIKE MANSFIELD exemplifies the stature, the statesmanship, the dream, and the aspiration which makes this country great. He does not drive, he leads; he does not command, he persuades; and in all this he has the power of accomplishment given to but few men.

As a spokesman for his party, as a spokesman for his party, but more importantly as a spokesman for the freedom of his country which he cherishes, his voice rings clear and is magnified and reverberates in the receptive hearts of his fellow Americans.

To serve with, to support, to follow, to adore and admire MIKE MANSFIELD for a long period of time has been my pleasure.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I am proud to have the privilege of sharing in the sentiments of my colleagues on this occasion and to have this opportunity of paying tribute to our distinguished majority leader, who is today one of the outstanding statesmen and leaders in our Nation.

I am now serving the 28th year of my tenure in the Senate. I have served, I believe, under five other Democratic majority leaders in the Senate: the late and beloved Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, the Honorable Scott Lucas of Illinois, the Honorable Ernest W. McFarland, of Arizona, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, who later became President of the United States, and now under our present distinguished and able leader, MIKE MANSFIELD.

This is quite an honor that he has achieved in having served longer than any other leader in the Senate. I can appreciate in a small measure the gratitude he must feel because I discovered last year that I had served longer in the Senate than had any other Senator from my State, a record I had never hoped to achieve and one I really did not know that I was achieving until after the fact.

To serve as a leader in this body for the length of time, so ably, so valiantly, and effectively as has MIKE MANSFIELD is an honor that could well be sought and to which any American citizen and certainly any Senator might well aspire. It is one for which I am sure he is grateful and one he will always cherish.



I mentioned that I had served under other leaders and it has been my good fortune and my pleasure to always respect and admire the leadership in this body; and it has been a joy to have had the fellowship and association with them and to work with them in trying to meet the responsibilities that are incumbent on those of us who serve here.

Of all the leaders with whom I have served, all of them great men, I have served with none who was more considerate and more understanding; I have served with none who was more cooperative and helpful when the opportunity was presented. I have served under no leader who was more sincere and more dedicated to his task and to the principles and ideals upon which our Government was founded and upon which our liberties rest.

A particular trait that I admire so much in Senator MANSFIELD in the performance of his duties as leader is that he never undertakes to apply what could be termed "pressure," sometimes referred to as "arm twisting," to influence a vote of his colleagues. In stead, MIKE MANSFIELD employs the persuasion of logic and reason to influence others. I have never known him to reflect or manifest the least resentment toward any Member of this body, particularly any Democrat who might disagree and who might vote contrary to the position of the leadership on a given issue. He respects others and their right and prerogative to disagree with him.

In fact, I have found Senator MANSFIELD, as the leader, to be a person with whom, when I did disagree with him, I could disagree with him most pleasantly, and when, as in most cases, I could wholeheartedly support and follow his leadership, I could do it with much enthusiasm and confidence.

Mr. President, I say in conclusion that my experience in the Senate and my service has been greatly enriched and my labors have been more pleasant and enjoyable by reason of having served under and worked with such an able and effective leader as MIKE MANSFIELD, a man who has the admiration of every Member of this body because of his ability to influence and to command the respect and admiration of all of those with whom he labors.

I am proud to join with my colleagues here today in paying deserved respect and tribute to this great American.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER).

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am sure that Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, wherever he may be just now, although appreciative of the tributes which he so richly deserves, nevertheless is rather embarrassed, for one of the most certain qualities of Senator MANSFIELD is his modesty.

His simplicity and integrity are expressed in everything he does and everything he says, I may say, in his faith.

Today he is being honored because he has served longer than any other leader of the majority. He now served longer than my fellow Kentuckian, the late Senator Alben Barkley.

Senator MANSFIELD is a leader not only of his party, but he is a leader in the Senate. He is a leader in the Senate because he is a man of his word, a man of integrity, a man who is fair and just.

It is only natural that other qualities attend him—qualities of mind and heart, of conviction, of firmness, and of honor. Many of us have recognized his strain of poetry when he has spoken of his State of Montana and when we heard him speak in the Rotunda at the memorial service for the late President John F. Kennedy. He deserves with his wife, Maureen, the honor of the Senate and the country.

I am glad that I have had the pleasure of serving with Senator MANSFIELD, of knowing him, and I value greatly his friendship.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Idaho (Mr. JORDAN).

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I am pleased to join in the plaudits for the senior Senator from Montana, the distinguished majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD.

In this body of competitive and frequently sharply diverse interests, it is frequently difficult to maintain cordial relations with our colleagues, sometimes even within the same State.

But MIKE MANSFIELD has that breadth of human character, that unshakable sense of fairness, and a demonstrated capacity for honesty and integrity that has won for him through the years the respect and support of his colleagues in this body.

All who know MIKE appreciate that his word is not given lightly and that his word, once given, can be depended upon like the rugged granite peaks of his native Montana.

This outpouring of bipartisan praise and support is deep and sincere because MIKE the political leader is first and foremost a dependable friend, a stalwart man, and a Senator's Senator.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE).

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me say, as a junior Member of this body, that I have great respect and admiration for the distinguished Senator from Montana, the majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD.

When one first comes to this august body he is impressed by various Members—for various reasons. Freshmen Members, both Republicans and Democrats, were impressed by Senator MANSFIELD because of his sincerity, his candor, and for the many kindnesses and courtesies extended to us as freshmen Members of this body. I can recall a number of personal instances in which Senator MANSFIELD has been helpful to the junior Senator from Kansas. I can say, on behalf of all the freshmen Members of the Senate, that we appreciate and we respect leaders like Senator MANSFIELD.

I congratulate the Senator from Montana on establishing the record for the longest continual service as a majority leader. I hope this record will be extended at least for a few months longer, and that in the months ahead the senior Senator from Montana will have even more success than in the past.

Let me say, in closing, that it has been

an honor and a privilege to serve as a junior Member of this body under the leadership and guidance of a man like Senator MANSFIELD.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT).

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, there is an old saying that it takes all kinds of people to make a world. When one thinks of great leaders, I am afraid one is often prone to think in his mind of people who bluster into a room and speak in deep, ponderous voices, and dominate the scene—at least with their words. But that is not true of the man whom we are honoring this afternoon. We have set aside this hour to congratulate MIKE MANSFIELD as the majority leader who has served the longest in that capacity in the history of the Senate.

My words shall be very brief, but they are from the heart. I shall always remember Senator MANSFIELD for his sincerity, his intrinsic honesty, and the fact that during his conduct as leader of the Senate, his word has always been good under any circumstances.

There have been many times when people make agreements and then later, because of pressures from some source or another, they are prone to modify or put a different meaning on the words they used when the agreement was entered into. There have been times when such situations were presented to Senator MANSFIELD, and if there ever was a question, he always resolved the question in favor of keeping the agreements in the way and in the manner the person with whom he made an agreement thought it was meant to be.

I know of nothing greater that can be said of a man than that he has conducted the leadership of the Senate—which certainly is one of the most trying of positions—in a way that clearly shows his sincerity and his complete honesty. These great personal attributes are constantly reflected in the manner in which Senator MANSFIELD has always kept agreements with Members of the Senate and respected them when he made those agreements.

We are indeed fortunate that we have had him. I want to join our colleagues today in paying tribute to MIKE MANSFIELD and congratulating him on his service.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished minority leader, I now yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the distinguished assistant minority leader for affording me this opportunity to pay respect to a great Senator and a distinguished leader of the majority in the Senate.

As many of our colleagues have done, I take this opportunity to pay my respects and to say this accolade to a man who richly deserves it for his distinguished service to the Senate.

I have known him from the first day I came to the Senate. I knew him as majority leader when the late Senator Dirksen was minority leader. I knew him as one who forged a close relationship in the "joint leaderships" and pro-

vided great strength for the combined good of the Senate and its programs.

Senator MANSFIELD has done what no other person before him has done in serving this length of time as majority leader; but he has done much, much more. He has set a tone for the conduct of the Senate, for the dispatch of its affairs, and for the handling of its requirements in difficult, tedious times. He has served under Republican and Democratic Presidents with equal dedication to duty. He is to be commended on this anniversary occasion, and I am pleased to add my accolade to those of our colleagues on this occasion.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS).

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I would be untrue to myself if I did not join in this praise of our distinguished friend, the majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana.

It has been my privilege to know Senator MANSFIELD since that day when he was sworn into the House of Representatives, in January 1943.

MIKE MANSFIELD's service as majority leader of this body stands out for several reasons, the least of which is the number of years he has served. The mere passing of time itself is not an overwhelming tribute in any activity; it is what you do while the time passes. Senator MANSFIELD has performed his job well. He has been a patient, understanding leader. His actions are never irritating. He takes into account the rights, the wishes, and the desires of every other Senator, and from that point tries to work out the program of the Senate.

Without a doubt, he experiences many trying times. There is no question in my mind but that the majority leader has to go through an ordeal, many times, in dealing with the rest of us, in getting the program under way, and in advancing the legislation.

Yet, throughout all of this, MIKE MANSFIELD is a perfect gentleman, with unflinching and unending courtesy and consideration for others. His grasp of public questions and his understanding of procedures are the best. I am happy to be among those who, today, go on RECORD in testifying to his outstanding service as majority leader of the Senate.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, as one who has had the privilege of serving with MIKE MANSFIELD for the past 18 years I am proud to join my colleagues in paying tribute to this man whom I consider to be one of the most able majority leaders of the Senate with whom I have had the privilege of serving.

The most required characteristic to successful leadership is integrity, and MIKE MANSFIELD is Mr. Integrity. Men may agree or disagree with some of his decisions, but no man who knows him has ever questioned the fact that MIKE's word is his bond and that every decision he makes is in what he considers to be the best interest of his country.

As a Senator from Montana, MIKE

MANSFIELD is an able representative of his State's interests. The Democratic National Committee salutes this man as an able representative of his party. His colleagues in the Senate salute him as one of its most highly respected Members, and I salute MIKE MANSFIELD as a great American and a man I am proud to call a friend.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, on the list of the distinguished minority leader is the name of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN), but I do not see him here at the moment. The next one on the list is the senior Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART). I yield now to him.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, what makes an effective Senator and leader? In quiet moments that is what all of us have asked ourselves. For the answers we have but to look to the majority leader: a man of principle and integrity, a man of quiet resoluteness, a master of the legislative process—and a friend of unflinching personal loyalty.

His bold and imaginative understanding of a political system that often seems to defy mastery and generate only frustration was brought clearly into focus just a week ago. The House had passed the extension of the Voting Rights Act. And included in it was the provision for the 18-year-old vote.

As I noted on the floor of the Senate that day, the credit for that achievement belongs to the majority leader. But, of perhaps greater significance today as we pay tribute to Senator MANSFIELD, is what that provision on the 18-year-old vote said about his leadership.

When the suggestion was made, I was reluctant to attach that proposal to the voting rights extension. I could see all sorts of hazards and began to speak and voice caution and reservation about it.

I had not finished three paragraphs before the majority leader announced without any adjectives and in about two sentences that he thought it was a great idea and that it was going to go on the bill.

He had in that short time determined with pinpoint accuracy that the 18-year-old vote could be approved by both bodies. That is boldness and creative politics at its finest. And the fact that it was accomplished is a tribute to his skill as a legislator and to his hard work on behalf of all the people.

I have wondered from time to time as I have seen that firm profile rise to report with those sparsely phrased sentences—how an artist might record MIKE MANSFIELD. To catch the real personality he would have to take into account the moments of wry humor, the flashes of firm determination, and that genuine sensitivity to people.

Most of all, he would have to find a way to express what it means to the people of this Nation in this time of flaying, divisive rhetoric to be represented by a man of MIKE MANSFIELD's calmness and reason. We are fortunate to be served by his leadership.

Mr. President, one of the qualities of which mankind is in perennially short supply is civility. Yet civility is an absolutely essential element in our dealings with one another if the measure of free-

dom within which we seek to live is to be maintained.

One of the reasons that young people may tend to reject civility is that they have very few examples of civil, gentle men making any dramatic impression on the community or the Nation.

We are fortunate that, especially when any young person begins to despair of ever persuading anyone to do anything unless he first hits him over the head, we can point to MIKE MANSFIELD. Here is a man who is not frightened of admitting that his judgments have to be tentative about a great many things. All he is doing, of course, is demonstrating wisdom, because most of the things we are asked to pass judgment upon are so complex that it is only a very imprudent person indeed who would jump up all the time and announce that he knows exactly what to do.

Senator MANSFIELD is never under any compulsion to avoid giving an answer such as, "I do not know; I will try to find out."

So we can point the concerned American youngster to Senator MANSFIELD, and suggest that one need not be shrill, that certainly one need not be abusive, in order to be persuasive and effective. Ultimate power is not in force but in ideas; and no man in this body more clearly exemplifies his clear understanding that our survival hinges on our ability to develop prudent ideas, responsive in time to a myriad of complex problems that trouble, not just the young man on the campus, but all of us.

MIKE MANSFIELD is indeed a gentle man in the liberal sense; and, together with my colleagues, I am very grateful to be permitted the opportunity to serve with him, to see him, and to draw from him the strength that comes from quiet reserve, thoughtfulness, and self-discipline—all of the characteristics that make a really effective leader, but which, in this turmoil today, we tend almost to discount as unimportant, as almost handicaps.

I thank the people of Montana, for the people of Michigan and the people of the country, for sending MIKE MANSFIELD to the Senate.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished senior Senator from Maine.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, I am pleased to join in the richly deserved tribute to the majority leader, who is a model of understanding, patience, dignity, tolerance, and even empathy.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Utah. (Mr. MOSS).

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, today Senator MANSFIELD surpasses all longevity records for service as majority leader in the Senate.

I would say that he also surpasses all records for day-in, day-out, year-in, year-out patience, tolerance, discernment, wisdom, good judgment, rationality, and balance.

The durability of these qualities in his leadership has not only made these last 9 years and 165 days more endurable and rewarding to every Member of the Sen-

ate, but they have been a bulwark upon which has been built much of the enormous legislative accomplishments of these years. The quiet strength of the majority leader has contributed much to the inner stability of the Nation as well as to the inner stability of the Senate.

It has been more than leadership which he has given us, however, in the Senate. It has been a recognition—almost in the manner of the leader of a constitutional government—of the problems and differences of those of us who are a member of this body, and the regions we represent. He has sensed in a special way that dedicated as each of us is to the welfare of the country as a whole, we all remain close to the land and history from which we come. He understands the stresses and strains we each face. Without this understanding—without a recognition of these factors and a nod in their direction—the Senate could never have gotten on so well as it has with the Nation's business.

There is another respect in which I feel MIKE MANSFIELD has served both the Senate and his country especially well. He has been masterful in assessing the Nation's ills and in speaking out with power and eloquence on them. He never blasts with rhetoric, but discusses an issue with calmness and candor.

He has made peace in Vietnam his first priority—and his statements on this, and on crime, inflation, student discord, and other issues of the day have all helped immensely in keeping the Nation informed and in calming public opinion in times of tempest. His unflinching confidence in the democratic processes is one of America's great assets.

Mr. President, I appreciate having this opportunity for those of us who serve with our distinguished majority leader to thank him, individually and collectively, for the work he does for us and for the country every day, and to tell him how much we appreciate him.

Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished senior Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. President, from the moment I first met MIKE MANSFIELD, I have liked him, and have been impressed with his gentleness, his kindness, his courtesy, his tolerance.

I happened to be at Mount Vernon on George Washington's Birthday observance, during the 80th Congress, when the customary tributes are laid at the tomb of the Father of our Country. The Senator from Montana was then a Member of the House of Representatives. I was a Member of the Senate. We were both there to carry wreaths on behalf of patriotic groups in our respective States. There had been a heavy snowfall the night before, and I remember distinctly the first thing I saw him do was to help an ambassador from one of our South American countries, and his entourage, to find a spot where they could stand without being in deep snow, and to help them get with their floral offerings up to the tomb of George Washington.

From that time to this, I have noted always the fact that patience and tolerance and cooperation with others and gentle courtesy have been qualities

which always showed in every act that I have seen MIKE MANSFIELD perform.

It would be idle to say that I agree with him always or he with me. He probably has been right in these disagreements more often than I. But I have noticed this wonderful attitude of tolerance and of gentleness coupled, however, with a firmness which refused to yield when he thought that a certain course of action was right, whether that course of action was to keep us from meeting at nights or on occasion to insist that we meet at night. Whatever he thought was right at the time, he was perfectly willing to stand by.

I noted a long time ago what a good family man he is. I had the honor of going to the statehood celebration at Hawaii. MIKE and Mrs. Mansfield had been in Asia, and in the group with which I went was their daughter, Ann. I remember how eagerly she looked forward to the arrival of her mother and father, who joined us for the celebration of statehood; and I remember the quiet and gentle but unmistakable affection which prevailed among those three, and showed that here was a real family, after the most genuine American tradition. I have noted that always since.

Mr. President, something that MIKE MANSFIELD did the other day showed the measure of the man, I thought. I participated in the conference of Democratic Senators which arranged for him to procure, if he could, equal time from the National Broadcasting Co. to speak on the economic problems of the country—somewhat in response to the speech which had been made a couple of days before by the President of the United States. There may have been some in that group who thought MIKE MANSFIELD would make a highly political speech, a speech full of blaming and criticism. I did not think so; and when I heard the speech, I realized that I had been right; because he carried into that speech the kindness and the courtesy and the tolerance which he always makes his hallmark.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a column published in today's Washington Star, written by the noted columnist Mr. David Lawrence, whose philosophy no more than my own rarely jibes with that of the distinguished majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. HOLLAND. In this column—I shall quote a few things from it—Mr. Lawrence shows the kind of man the majority leader is by the description he uses of that broadcast by Senator MANSFIELD. I read from the column:

The Democratic leader nevertheless made a well-balanced set of comments. It was not in the nature of a political speech at all. There was no invective or irony or animosity in it. Mansfield admitted, as Nixon had said, that much of what is transpiring in the national economy began during preceding administrations.

I now read from a later portion of the column, and in this instance Mr. Lawrence quotes from the speech of Senator MANSFIELD:

"Congress shares the responsibility for correcting these discouraging economic trends. To be sure, the Congress has not concurred completely in the President's approach to them. Nor has the President responded to all of the actions of the Congress. That is neither unprecedented nor undesirable. Each branch has its separate responsibilities even as each branch shares in a common obligation to the people of the nation. When there are differences, insofar as the majority leadership is concerned, it will not waste time in political recriminations. It will concentrate, instead on doing what can be done in the Congress.

A third, brief portion, again quoting from Mr. Lawrence:

It was, on the whole, a nonpartisan speech such as might well be expected from a opposition leader during war time.

In closing, Mr. Lawrence says this:

Altogether, Mansfield portrayed himself as a cooperative majority leader, even though he represents an opposite political party.

Mr. President, I think that David Lawrence has done a fine job in discussing the speech of Senator MANSFIELD on the occasion, and the qualities and character of Senator MANSFIELD, by his description of the speech.

For a man who has not only been majority leader of the Senate a longer time than any citizen who has ever lived in this Republic but who also has served in the Marines, in the Navy, and in the Army, Senator MANSFIELD has ever been a hallmark of patriotism of the purest sort. I am sure that we all recognize that today, when we recognize this period of his extended service as majority leader without, so far as I know, a single unpleasant incident having arisen, whether in his disagreements with Senators or his own side of the aisle or in his disagreements with Senators on his side of the aisle, or in his disagreements with the Executive.

That is the kind of majority leader we can all join in praising today and in expressing our deep appreciation for his years of great and patriotic service to our Nation.

#### EXHIBIT 1

##### MANSFIELD TALK STRESSES COOPERATION

Although the National Broadcasting Co. granted "equal time" to Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, for his nationwide talk on television about the economic problems of the country, it didn't attract the attention the President Nixon's did. Also, many of the people who listened had already forgotten several of the points made in the Nixon speech of last week.

The Democratic leader nevertheless made a well-balanced set of comments. It was not in the nature of a political speech at all. There was no invective or irony or animosity in it. Mansfield admitted, as Nixon had said, that much of what is transpiring in the national economy began during preceding administrations. The Democratic leader added:

"We may regret it but we cannot undo it. To be sure, the basic strength of the American economy promises a great deal. But this is for the future. What of today? What of the now?"

The Montana senator stresses the fact that the inflation is still rising, that interest rates have climbed, and that unemployment is growing steadily. He then declared:

"Congress shares the responsibility for correcting these discouraging economic trends. To be sure, the Congress has not concurred

completely in the President's approach to them. Nor has the President responded to all of the actions of the Congress. That is neither unprecedented nor undesirable. Each branch has its separate responsibilities even as each branch shares in a common obligation to the people of the nation. When there are differences, insofar as the majority leadership is concerned, it will not waste time in political recriminations. It will concentrate, instead, on doing what can be done in the Congress."

Mansfield pointed out that much of what can readily be initiated to improve the economic situation has been done. He stressed a number of laws passed, and promised that if Nixon wishes "to use the persuasion of the presidency" as a means of discouraging excessive price and wage increases, the President would get the support of Congress. Mansfield said it is not clear to him why this "persuasive power" has not been tried. He claimed that this approach was effective in 1962 and suggested that presidential intervention could well be used again. He added:

"Congress has already given more authority to the President than he wishes, apparently, to use against the rise in prices. That is his option. I do not criticize his decisions. But the record should be clear. Congress has been ready and stands ready to cooperate with the President. We are prepared to move on any proposals which may be forthcoming from the administration to end the inflation and to check the slide into a deepening recession."

Other pledges of cooperation were cited to confirm the willingness of Congress to work with the President in order to "stop the downward drift in the economy."

After presenting some illustrative examples of federal spending for military purposes, Mansfield indicated that his party can take credit for much of the cutting down of federal expenses.

While listing a few of the differences between the President and Congress, the Democratic leader asserted that "the most respectful consideration" will be given to whatever Nixon "may propose to halt the inflation and high interest rates, to reduce unemployment and terminate our involvement in Vietnam."

It was, on the whole, a nonpartisan speech such as might well be expected from an opposition leader during wartime. But, unfortunately, it doesn't reflect the behavior of many of the members of Mansfield's own party who have been carrying on campaigns that imply distrust in the President's statements that he will pull all American troops out of Cambodia by June 30. Many Democratic senators have backed resolutions designed to suspend the use of public funds in certain areas and curtail the powers of the commander-in-chief in handling the armed services of the nation during wartime. This could be a serious handicap to military operations if emergencies should arise.

Altogether, Mansfield portrayed himself as a cooperative majority leader, even though he represents an opposite political party.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS).

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I served with Senator MANSFIELD, man and boy, in the other body and this one, long enough so that at this moment of paying such highly deserved tributes to him, I want to join my other 98 colleagues here in the Senate, for myself, and for Marian, my wife, in conferring upon MIKE MANSFIELD the highest accolade that a New Yorker can confer on anyone.

It is, of course, well known that I am a New Yorker.

My words for MIKE MANSFIELD are, "We love MIKE."

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN).

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I consider it a rare privilege to join today in saluting majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, because I know of no man more deserving of such a tribute.

He has served with unusual distinction longer than any other man in what I think can safely be called the most demanding and difficult job in the Senate.

Just surviving in such a job for nearly 10 years is in itself quite an accomplishment.

But MIKE has brought to this position a combination of qualities that make his performance stand out for reasons much more important than simply his length of service.

He has earned the respect and affection of all of us by his kindness, his understanding, and his ability to direct by gentle persuasion instead of demanding direction.

His example of dedication has been an inspiration throughout the years to those of us who have followed his leadership throughout his term, as well as to those who have come here in more recent times.

I consider MIKE MANSFIELD a true friend and adviser and to me, at least, he is more than just the Democratic leader.

I think he is a symbol of the Senate and I am proud to salute him today in that role.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE).

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, to me, it is not so much how long MIKE MANSFIELD has been majority leader in the Senate as much as it matters to me what a great gentleman he is and what a great American he is.

The Senate of the United States of America is composed of 100 individuals. I know of no other body where individuality is in such evidence as in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, when you have a man who can bring divergent points of view together in such smooth fashion, there you find a good leader.

MIKE MANSFIELD does it calmly. He does it temperately. He does it patiently. He does it very effectively.

MIKE MANSFIELD is a very dear and close friend of mine. I know him and Mrs. Mansfield, and his very lovely daughter.

How much longer MIKE MANSFIELD will be majority leader, I do not know, but I do hope the Good Lord will give him and his family many years of good health and happiness.

I conclude by saying: ad multos annos.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE).

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I am happy to join with all my colleagues in expressing the affection and esteem we all hold for MIKE MANSFIELD.

I, like many others here, have served with him for a quarter of a century and

upward in the House and Senate. It has been one of the great privileges of my adult life to have had this association.

As a person, as a political leader, and as a Senator, MIKE MANSFIELD has been everything that a person, a political leader, and a Senator should be.

It is because of people like MIKE MANSFIELD that this institution has retained the strength, the respect, and effectiveness it has.

It is because of people like MIKE MANSFIELD that this country has retained its greatness.

It is because of people like MIKE MANSFIELD that the human race has found coexistence tolerable.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK).

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, having observed some of the disagreements we have within our own party on the Republican side, and having admired our leadership and its ability to try to get us together on some kind of basis, and having also observed that the other side has even more members in disagreement, than we have, I have been constantly delighted and amazed at the ability of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD to absorb this tension, to maintain his calm, tact, and good humor for all of us in the Senate and almost at all times.

We have not always agreed. But, at all times, whether we agreed or disagreed, he has been courteous, fair, full of good humor, and continued friendly relationships, so far as people are concerned.

I am deeply indebted personally to MIKE MANSFIELD for the fine support he gave to me throughout a period of 5 years in my efforts to try to revise our silver policy, which was headed in the wrong direction for so long. I shall always be grateful to him for that, and even more grateful for the sense of balance which he has given to the entire Senate.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT).

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I am delighted that the distinguished Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD) has had the privilege of serving in this body and in his position as majority leader longer than any other which will place his name on the permanent records of this body, because if any man deserves such a privilege, MIKE MANSFIELD does.

I know that there have been times when his pattern of leadership has been criticized—that it was too kindly, too thoughtful, or too considerate. Some people have interpreted that as being weakness.

I have been the beneficiary of that kindness, thoughtfulness, and consideration many, many times, even though I am on the other side of the aisle.

To me, these qualities are more significant characteristics of greatness than if he had been the kind that pounded the desk, hit people over the head, so to speak, and run roughshod over some of the wishes and needs of those of us who might not have been so important politically to him or to his party.

What I shall always remember about MIKE MANSFIELD are his characteristic kindness, thoughtfulness, and consideration in which, as I have just said, I have shared.

Mr. President, I am sure that MIKE MANSFIELD will be with us as majority leader for the rest of this year. I am not quite prepared to wish that that will continue on into the coming session; but even if it should not, and he should become the minority leader, I know that he will retain the same sweet spirit in his attitude toward all of us in this body as he has before.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I yield now to the distinguished Senator from Florida (Mr. GURNEY).

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I, too should like to join in the tributes of the Senate to the distinguished majority leader for having served longest as majority leader in the Senate.

My reflections would be that of a new Senator who has known MIKE MANSFIELD only last year and this year to date, but I have always found him to be a most fair, a most considerate, and a most kindly man.

On the occasions I have had to talk to him, mainly concerning advice on Senate procedures when I was learning how this body operates, I have always found him willing to spare the time to advise me on what ought to be done and what ought not to be done.

Certainly his leadership is exemplified by fairness, and, I think, by example, a sort of light touch, a persuasive touch, rather than the sort of leader who drives one with the lash of a whip. MIKE MANSFIELD is not that kind of man at all. Of course he is liked and respected by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. And I think that in these troubled times the Senate is most fortunate in having MIKE MANSFIELD as majority leader.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution recognizing the outstanding service of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD as majority leader of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 423) was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the tributes of Senators on the service of MIKE MANSFIELD as majority leader of the Senate, be gathered and printed as a Senate document, and that all Senators be given until the close of business July 10, to submit additional statements for the RECORD, with reference to Senator MANSFIELD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to a man who not only has served longer in the position of majority leader than any predecessor, but who while serving in that post has demonstrated unsurpassed leadership, patience, and understanding through difficult times in a most demanding role—our beloved MIKE MANSFIELD.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD is a calm but firm leader; one who not only has demonstrated a desire to serve his colleagues

on the Democratic side of the aisle, but also is known for his astute sense of fairness to those on the other side, as well, and has thereby gained their cooperation and respect. This is the mark of a true leader.

His quiet, reflective manner, his calm but firm demeanor, and his dedication to placing the national interest first and foremost over any personal or partisan preference, make him a man admired and loved by his colleagues in the Senate as well as the overwhelming majority of the people of his own State of Montana, and indeed of the Nation.

Senator MANSFIELD has thoroughly demonstrated throughout his career an interest in the common good. In so doing he has also shown an independence which clearly designates him as no one's man but his own. This may spring from the fact that MIKE MANSFIELD is so clearly a self-made man; a Senator beholden to no one individual or interest.

He has demonstrated a tremendous capacity for hard work, and although a busy man he always has time to help an individual in need, and to be considerate and courteous to all who seek his attention or counsel.

While it is not possible for any one man to express the desires or interest of 100 individual Senators or even the 56 other Senators of our party, MIKE MANSFIELD represents, and expresses in most literate fashion, the common will and consensus of his party in the Senate. We are all proud of you, Mr. LEADER, and we appreciate and admire the leadership which you have provided us in making the U.S. Senate an institution of real substance and service to our people, our Nation, and the cause of mankind.

We wish you many more years of service in the cause of peace, to which you are so fervently dedicated, and in the leadership of the majority in the U.S. Senate, to which you have addressed yourself so ably and well.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, the record of longevity recently established by our majority leader (Mr. MANSFIELD) is a measure of the high esteem in which the Senator from Montana is held. It speaks, of course, of the confidence Members of his own party place in him, but the respect and admiration we in the majority party share for MIKE MANSFIELD is, I know, shared also by those on the other side of the aisle who would prefer to see the Senator from Montana serving as minority leader.

Mr. President, the legislative accomplishments of this body over the past 9, almost 10 years, also stand as a measure of our majority leader. It has been a decade of most significant legislative accomplishment marked by the enactment of measures of far-ranging and durable benefit to the United States and its people. Much of the credit for these accomplishments must go to the majority leader. His leadership has been of the persistent type, which wears well and long. Perhaps that is obvious because he has been retained in the post longer than any of his predecessors.

Senator MANSFIELD, as we in this Chamber know, practically invented the low profile. One does not hear him claim-

ing credit for his own achievements or see him flashing the outward signs of the power which vests in his office. As one who has had the honor to serve under his leadership, however, I wish to join my Senators in paying tribute to his long and patient service, which has borne much good fruit. Finally, as a Senator from Wyoming, Montana's good neighbor to the south, I have a particular appreciation for Senator MANSFIELD's sound leadership and counsel. We in Wyoming are pleased to have the majority leader's office occupied by our wonderful friend and neighbor.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that the distinguished majority leader of the Senate Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana has now served in that position for 9 years and 167 days. This is longer than any other Senator in the history of the Senate has served as majority leader. He has just now surpassed the length of time that the late Senator Alben Barkley, of Kentucky, served as majority leader.

Senator MANSFIELD has served a long time because he has served with exceptional distinction—served both the people of Montana and the Senate of the United States.

A man of fairness and firmness, conviction and compassion, Senator MANSFIELD leads the Senate because he is a leader of uncommon quality.

I congratulate him on the record of service which he has forged. I express my appreciation for what he has done for the Senate and for the country, and I wish him many more years in the important position he holds.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I am extremely pleased today to join with my distinguished colleagues in paying tribute to our outstanding majority leader the Senator from Montana, MIKE MANSFIELD.

Senator MANSFIELD is truly admired by all for his ability as majority leader. But more important than this, he has had the wisdom and fortitude to maintain the calm, deliberate debate within the Senate on issues which drive other lesser men to distraction.

In recent months, the patience of Senators has been sorely tested. A man without the qualities of Senator MANSFIELD might not have been able to handle the task we now have before us and will have in the difficult days which are ahead.

Senator MANSFIELD has my deep and abiding respect, both as a Senator and a gentleman. I am proud to call him majority leader.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the foundations of America's enduring constitutional government are the principles of individual liberty and the system of checks and balances enunciated by the wise political philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the wisest of those philosophers, one to whom this and other republics owe so much, was the Baron de Montesquieu, who fully developed the principles that we know as the separation of powers and checks and balances.

Montesquieu believed, and wrote, tha

such principles would have to be institutionalized in order to preserve liberty, because, he said:

Every man invested with power is apt to abuse it.

Mr. President, I believe one of the finest tributes we can pay to our esteemed and distinguished majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, is that he has been invested with great authority and power and has not abused it. He is universally regarded for his scrupulous fairness, his honesty, his forthrightness, and, perhaps most of all, for his forbearance, his steadfast refusal to abuse the power with which he has been invested.

Today it is my pleasure to join my colleagues in honoring MIKE. Technically, we are paying tribute to him for having surpassed all records for length of service as majority leader. This is no small feat, and it certainly deserves tribute. The post of Senate majority leader is a demanding one. It requires both attention to minute, technical detail and a grasp of broad social and political issues. Senator MANSFIELD has performed both duties ably and diligently.

But we also are honoring MIKE for the qualities which have enabled him to serve so long in such a demanding post without having incurred the enmity of even those who have differed with him. When we hear him described, we hear such words as "judicious," "fair," "accommodating," "helpful," "reasonable." Those adjectives are well chosen, Mr. President, when they are applied to our esteemed majority leader.

I salute Senator MANSFIELD, and I am confident that we can look forward to additional years of enlightened service from our distinguished leader.

Mr. TALMADGE. I, Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to join Senators in today's salute to the distinguished majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

We particularly pay tribute to Senator MANSFIELD in recognition of the fact that on June 17 he established a new record for longevity as Senator majority leader, a term of almost 9½ years. This is a distinct honor.

Senator MANSFIELD is an outstanding Senator who, regardless of party lines, has always endeavored to serve the best interests of his Nation and State. As majority leader his statesmanlike and gentlemanly conduct have earned him the respect and admiration of Senators on both sides of the aisle. He is a fair and generally quiet-spoken man, but, as we all know, he is firm in the courage of his convictions. This is to his credit as a man and as a Senator. He has indeed brought distinctive leadership to the important office of majority leader. I wish personally to extend my congratulations to Senator MANSFIELD for having the honor of holding this position longer than any other Senator in history.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, there are many rewarding aspects of the task of representing one's fellow Americans in Congress.

Not the least of these is the privilege of associating with others who bear this same responsibility.

Under the Constitution, all of us who serve in this body of Congress are equal.

But having said that, let me hasten to recognize reality by pointing out that some are more equal than others.

Then I must quickly add that there is one among us who is the most equal of all, and it is my most pleasant privilege to join with Senators to pay my respects today to the leader—to our friend—to my leader—to my friend—MIKE MANSFIELD.

Today we are paying our respects to MIKE for having served the world, the Nation, the President, the people of his State—and his colleagues—longer than any other leader in our Nation's history.

I, for one of many, am not at all surprised by the luminous longevity of his leadership. The only way he could not have reached this new milestone would have been for him to leave it of his own volition. Thank goodness he has not.

I know that the people of his State will never keep him from this body. And I know that Senators on this side of the aisle will keep him as their leader as long as he wants to serve.

History will record what we have accomplished under Mike's leadership. It will record that he has kept us on an even keel during one of the most difficult eras in our history.

And this, of course, is the real mark of a great leader—the ability to hold the keel steady when seas are rough—to keep the ship on course when the cross winds blow—to reach the harbor through the treacherous reefs.

We could not have asked for more—and MIKE did not give us less.

MIKE, our words today cannot begin to express the real admiration, the deep respect, and the great affection we feel for you.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I wish to commend MIKE MANSFIELD, our distinguished majority leader, for his dedication and devotion to his country. For more than 9 years, MIKE MANSFIELD has served his Nation with integrity and wisdom as our majority leader.

Citizens throughout the land are grateful to MIKE for his many years of public service and as an advocate of justice for all our people. We in Congress are grateful for his warm friendship, his brilliant leadership, and his constant cooperation.

Through our majority leader's leadership, some of the most important decisions ever made by this body were decided.

Truly this man from the "big sky country" of Montana is one man in public service who leads the humanitarian form of quality service to his fellow man.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, ours is a large Nation that faces immense challenges. We have a huge Government. The task of shaping and leading this mammoth Government in the right direction in order to solve the great crises of our day is the most difficult and important task of our time.

Few men reach that level of leadership where they can offer a significant contribution to the governing of our Nation. Fewer men reach the highest level of leadership and remain in that position long enough to leave a lasting imprint on the course of national events. And fewer still are those who, having been given these awesome responsibilities,

acquit themselves in such a manner as to be esteemed by their colleagues, by their Nation, and by the students of government and history. One of these very few men is Senator MANSFIELD.

In nearly a decade as Senate majority leader, Senator MANSFIELD has made a great imprint upon the operation and policies of our Government. In the complex and rugged combat over the course of national policy, the majority leader has often applied the key push or shove to guide us in a better direction.

Senator MANSFIELD does not lead by cracking heads together. He does not raise issues with loud cries of despair or elaborate promises of future bliss. His style of quiet reflection and discussion, of raising questions and indicating problems, of expertise that slowly pervades the thinking of those around him is so effective, it goes unnoticed to many outside the Senate. I can only say that I feel he has been a great Senate leader.

He has mastered the difficult balance between being leader of the Senate and of his party in the Senate to the benefit of both. He is one of the moving forces in making our body into a more respected, more powerful, and more positive part of the Federal Government. He has led a party with a great majority—so easily split into divisions—to become a responsible, cohesive unit that has contributed much in this decade.

Senator MANSFIELD has been a leader who has dipped into substantive areas, not being content to reign above the great issues of our day. As the most informed and expert Senate majority leader in the area of foreign affairs in our history, he has had a profound impact upon our policies. He is one of those few men who has reversed one of the most unfortunate ventures of our history and has helped lead the renaissance of the Senate's power in foreign affairs. For this alone, Senator MANSFIELD must be called great.

Another example of the majority leader's skills as leader of the Senate and the Nation was his decision to move ahead with the 18-year-old vote as part of the Voting Rights Act. This demonstrated a wise sensitivity to the trends in our Nation and an acute reading of the legislative possibilities. This was Senator MANSFIELD at his best, a man of thoughtful and powerful action.

One of Senator MANSFIELD's great attributes is his disdain for the elaborate praise and formalities of high office. So I shall not go further. I am happy to note briefly my respect and admiration of a great Senate leader. We are fortunate that the man who has been the majority leader longest in our history is also one of the best.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, I wish to join in congratulating the distinguished majority leader on his long and most successful tenure.

It has been my great pleasure to serve with the Senator from Montana in both Houses of Congress. When I entered the House of Representatives in 1947, he had already served there with great credit for 4 years. In 1961, when I entered the Senate, he had already served in this body for 8 years.

It was in that year that he was first elected majority leader and embarked on his now nearly 10 years in that illustrious position.

It has always been a great pleasure for me to be associated with Senator MANSFIELD in any endeavor. I remember warmly trips to Southeast Asia that a group of Senators made under Senator MANSFIELD's leadership in 1962 and 1965. His expertise in the field of foreign relations was most valuable to us, and, I believe, the reports which he was instrumental in writing were most excellent commentaries on the tragic conflict which still engulfs us.

In an adulthood that began prematurely at the age of 14, he had had many varying experiences—in the military, in industry, and in scholarly pursuits—that uniquely qualify him for his position.

It has been my experience that the distinguished majority leader has been absolutely fair and honest in his dealing with each of us—no matter the side of the aisle on which we sit.

I congratulate him on his accomplishments of the last 10 years and hope that he will be in a position of leadership among us for many years to come.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, since June 18 our esteemed colleague, MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana, has been making, each day, a new record in terms of length of service as the Senate's majority leader. On that date, June 18, he surpassed the previous record held by Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky who served in the position of majority leader for 9 years and 165 days, or from July 22, 1937, through January 3, 1947.

Needless to say, I wish our present leader many more years of service in this august body.

The position of majority leader, and for that matter minority leader, in the Senate is always most difficult to define in terms of our Government as a whole, in terms of this great institution of which we are all a part, and in terms of the Office of the President, and the administration. It is a difficult position to fill in personal terms and I can well recall the trials and tribulations of Majority Leader Barkley during the Roosevelt administration.

The exact duties and powers of the Senate leadership have never been written down except in the most narrow terms. This means that the leadership role in this body must be defined by those Senators occupying the leadership position. It is often said in our Government that the Office of President makes the man. This is not quite true of the Senate leadership. The individual Senator serving as majority leader exercises the primary and decisive influence as to how that office is to function.

I do not think it to be flattery or merely an example of general Senate decorum to say that our present majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana, has performed an outstanding job in filling the leadership role. Many others will express similar sentiments today. They have been expressed in the past and will be stated in the future. Those sentiments are all well-deserved, but I wonder if we appreciate just what the present occupant of

the leadership chair has accomplished for the Senate during his tenure.

If we ponder upon the descriptions that have been used to characterize the "MANSFIELD leadership," we notice the many affirmative phrases dealing with his "fairness," his "impartiality," the fact that he "leans over backward" to protect the rights of Senators, particularly those who may disagree with his own position on public policies. We can also notice what seems to be a consensus in the Senate, and one with which I wholeheartedly agree, that our majority leader has not been "heavy-handed," that he has not attempted to "force a decision" on the Senate and, as some have pointed out, that he is not prone to "arm twisting tactics" in the conduct of the Senate business.

I do not think these descriptions can be argued with and I think they are appreciated by all of us here on both sides of the aisle. I think there is something deeper involved, though, and I believe it is this function, as developed by Senator MANSFIELD, that is likely to stand as his most important contribution to the leadership role in the years ahead.

As I think back over the many issues that have divided this body over the last 9 years—and they have been many and the divisions have been deep and bitter on some occasions—I cannot escape the conclusion that the "light" guiding Senator MANSFIELD's attitude and actions has been a desire to see the Senate act as a mature legislative body in our democracy. He has been guided at all times, I believe, by a desire to see the Senate act responsibly and on its own on the public policy issues confronting us. I think this to be very important, and I think it will become more important in the years ahead as our Government continues to expand. If the Senate is to recognize no master among the powerful outside forces—parties, President, or organized pressure groups—the Senate must master itself as an effective legislative body. As I read the record of these last 9 years, this has been the overriding concern of the present majority leader.

I would hope that future scholars and historians of the Senate would give full attention to this feature of Senator MANSFIELD's leadership when this period of our history is analyzed.

In looking for possible explanations of Senator MANSFIELD's attitude toward the Senate leadership, I turned to the "Biographical Directory of the Congress." I was surprised by what I learned but I was also able to see many features that explain the Senator's development through the years into the gentleman—and I use the term advisedly—that he is today.

For instance, he has served in the enlisted ranks of what was then all three services of the U.S. Armed Forces. He was a Navy seaman during the First World War, an Army private in 1919–20, and a private first class in the Marines from 1920 to 1922. He has had practical experience working with his hands as a miner and mining engineer in the ore fields of Montana from 1922 to 1930. He received a broad education during his schooling and acquired an apprecia-

tion for theoretical concerns serving as a professor of history and political science at Montana State University from 1933 to 1942, when he was first elected to the Congress. All these trends—humility, a complete lack of arrogance, practical experience, a student of national and world affairs, experience as a teacher and lecturer—are evident in the manner in which Senator Mansfield has filled the majority leadership chair. All of us here today and the country at large have benefitted as those past experiences have culminated and have been brought into play during the last decade. I hope that the Senate may continue to benefit from Senator MANSFIELD's services as majority leader for many years in the future. I am certain that the people of Montana will send him back to us and that he can have and hold his present job as long as he desires it.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the distinguished majority leader of the Senate (Mr. MANSFIELD) is a man to whom all types of tribute can be and have been paid. Yet the mark of a man deserving of tribute is how little really needs to be said of him in praise on special occasions.

It is not by virtue of what we say about him on a day like today that makes Senator MANSFIELD the truly great and historic leader that he is. Rather, it is in the smooth operation of the Senate and in the progressive legislative product of the Senate that Senator MANSFIELD is honored day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year.

For nearly a decade now, Senator MANSFIELD has been our majority leader. Historians will note that his tenure was the longest in the long and colorful life of the Senate. But historians will note more than his endurance in a difficult and demanding post. They will note that under his leadership, the Senate of which the majority leader is a beloved Member passed the great landmark legislation that has reshaped, and will continue to reshape, the lives of millions of Americans. And historians will also note that the most significant and most far-reaching of these many important laws would not have been possible without the leadership, the intellect, and the compelling persuasiveness of this remarkable man.

Senator MANSFIELD has brought honor to the people of his State, to the people of this Nation, and to all the Members of the Senate. In praising him today, we are not signaling an end to his career or to our need for his leadership. We are saying, simply, that we need him here in the Senate, that we appreciate the important role he plays here, and that we look forward to seeing him continue to serve in that role throughout the years ahead. The Senate, the American people, and the times in which we find ourselves all demand his many and varied skills.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, modest, humble, fair, quiet, low keyed, with simple tastes, unassuming, and without a single enemy—these are uncommon words to use in describing strong leadership. But with MIKE MANSFIELD, the def-

tion of leadership must be expanded and rewritten. Indeed, what these phrases describe—at least in part—are the qualities of the man who, in my judgment, has led the Senate with greater effectiveness than in any other period in the entire history of this institution.

The Senator from Montana has been majority leader of the U.S. Senate longer than any other man. It is not surprising. When asked once how he would like to be recalled in history, he is reported to have replied: "When I am gone, I want to be forgotten." History could never honor that wish.

It is difficult to say now what single achievement will most be remembered about MIKE MANSFIELD—it may be leading the fight to give 18-year-olds the vote. It could be a host of legislative monuments that occurred during the sixties—from medicare for the elderly to civil rights for the racial minorities; from the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to a breakthrough in Federal aid to education. It may be one that has not yet even been attained.

If I were to summarize his influence, it would be to say that MIKE MANSFIELD has set the entire tone for this emerging decade. He has called us quietly and most effectively for a reappraisal—a reappraisal of our objectives, of our policies, and our purposes—both at home and abroad.

At a time when it is not always popular to engage in politics, he has made me proud to be a politician. In an era when the Senate was at times relegated to a less than coequal status, he has led us in regaining the Senate's constitutional role.

Stripping it all away, there is perhaps only a single word that is needed to describe the reason for his success. It is trust. It has been the immense faith generated by this kind and honest man from the West that has been his most valuable asset. With it he has gained the support of all of his colleagues and associates. With it he has affected the very core of the U.S. Senate. With him, I have developed more confidence in the direction of this Republic.

I honor MIKE MANSFIELD today. I do so as he would say it himself, without any ifs, ands or buts.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, on the Senate floor today, and off the floor on many occasions, I have heard Senators compare MIKE MANSFIELD to other majority leaders under whom they have served.

I can make no such comparisons, for I have never served under any other leader.

Nor do I wish to serve under any other leader, ever.

I find it impossible to imagine a leader of greater grace and greatness, a leader more considerate, thoughtful, moral, wise, and effective than MIKE MANSFIELD.

I am particularly appreciative, of course, of the guidance and the opportunities that MIKE MANSFIELD, in his capacity as leader, offers to new Senators, like myself.

Most of all, I respect MIKE MANSFIELD not only as a leader of the majority, and hence of the whole Senate, but as a leader

of the United States, and hence of the whole world.

#### A MOST DISTINGUISHED SENATOR

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the quiet, scholarly, concise majority leader is, indeed, a most distinguished Senator. More than that, his fairness encourages each of us to bear greater regard for the interest of others.

His thoughtfulness, quietly displayed by his logic, prompts more reflection by each of us. His uncommon commonsense is a stabilizing factor in even the worst of situations, although it has been characteristic of his attention to duty that such situations are seldom.

His abiding concern for fairness and his courtesy and thoughtfulness for his colleagues, regardless of party lines or differences of opinion, often belies a dedication to study and a toughness that may have had its beginnings during his days in the U.S. Marine Corps.

No one can ever question his loyalty or integrity to the Senate, his State, or his country. However, he always puts statesmanship and the national interest above strictly regional or partisan issues when he believes such interests transcend provincialism. And in spite of his gentle demeanor, he runs a tight ship and one on which we can all be more proud to serve.

Storms have raged within this body that have threatened, with the passions of the moment, to swamp the progress of legislation essential to this Nation in many areas. The steady hand of the majority leader, at the helm, has led us to more reasonable solutions.

The leadership of the able Montanan has been instrumental in maintaining the traditional, reasoned deliberative approach of the Senate to critical and often emotional issues during years of some of the greatest unrest this Nation has known. He has consistently exhibited a presence of wisdom that surpasses party lines, and has often been quick to bring into perspective and help clarify the position of Senators on each side of the aisle.

His understanding of the value of the two-party system which continues to make this Nation the greatest on earth has prevented harsh divisions from forming on matters which a lesser man could have allowed to result in rigid and long-lasting lines of anger or discord.

Mr. President, the confidence of every American in the Congress is strengthened by the knowledge that men like the distinguished senior Senator from Montana are in service to this Nation.

MIKE MANSFIELD—DISTINGUISHED MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. MONTROYA. Mr. President, MIKE MANSFIELD has occupied the post of majority leader longer than any other Member of this body in its long-honored history. This Chamber has seen many a Senator of significant stature. More than a few have left an imprint upon it that remains to this day.

The Senate became a part of them. In turn they each left a part of themselves here in this Chamber. It is because of such men that the Senate as an institution has evolved, grown and had such an impact upon the history of our Repub-

lic. MIKE MANSFIELD is very much in the tradition of such towering figures.

A majority leader must be many things. Party leader. Statesman. Compromiser and peacemaker. A person whose mind and wit are able to cope with the myriad situations and human confrontations that occur on such a national stage as this. MIKE MANSFIELD has been all of these and more.

He holds his position of eminence by dint of ability, knowledge of the body, and respect of his peers. The newest Member of the Senate can unhesitatingly approach him on practically any matter, secure in the knowledge that MIKE MANSFIELD will greet his request with sympathy, understanding, and awareness.

Practically every Member of this body has come to him with the most involved problems confronting them. Each time some reasonable alternative or just compromise is offered.

It would be easy indeed for a man of his position to act differently—negatively—patronizingly. This has not been known to happen.

MIKE MANSFIELD has remained true to his heritage of toil, honesty, and courage. Surely, the people of Montana are fortunate in having a man and Senator of such caliber representing them here.

We live now in difficult times, fraught with danger and replete with the thorniest of problems. At such moments in the passage of national history, we have always sought out those elements in our society that are most stable and worthy. That is why today it is all the more fitting for this body to pay deserved tribute to MIKE.

Greater trials lie ahead, not just for a party, but for our Nation. America will look to the Chamber we occupy today, just as it has in other times. Our response will go a long way towards deciding the direction the Nation will take in the face of crisis.

We are more than a little fortunate to have MIKE MANSFIELD among us, as majority leader, as Senator, as friend, and as an American.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, today, our distinguished majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, passes the previous record for service as majority leader set by the late Senator from Kentucky, Alben Barkley. It is a pleasure for me to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator MANSFIELD's record.

The senior Senator from Montana is well respected and loved on both sides of the aisle here in the Senate—both as an able public servant and as a fine, fair, God-fearing man who is a credit to his State and Nation.

MIKE MANSFIELD is a man who "tells it like it is," and he does so in a few well-chosen words. There is no doubt in my mind that the Democrats in this body have been fortunate to have him for their leader since January 1961. And I know that the country has benefited from his tenure.

We Republicans have found him to be a fair and cooperative man and it is with pleasure that we join in this expression of congratulations.

There is only one thing that would



make MIKE MANSFIELD even more endearing to the hearts of Republican Senators—and here I associate myself with the earlier remarks of the senior Senator from Vermont—to see him begin another Congress as minority leader.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I wish to join my many colleagues who are today paying tribute to one of the most effective and admired leaders in the history of the U.S. Senate—the greatest deliberative body in the world.

MIKE MANSFIELD has now been majority leader longer than any other Senator. In this capacity, he is known and will be remembered for his warmth, his leadership, and his unparalleled ability to provide effective leadership along with the utmost respect for the integrity of every Member of this body.

I am proud to have served in the Senate for 6 years under the leadership of MIKE MANSFIELD. He has done much for me through his wisdom, his leadership, and most of all his personal friendship.

To the distinguished Senator and majority leader for Montana, I say: Congratulations upon reaching this milestone which so reflects the esteem of your colleagues. I look forward to more years of your friendship and your leadership.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I want to join the other Members of this body in paying tribute to the majority leader. Although a freshman and in this body by appointment, I am most pleased to be able to say that the senior Senator from Montana has accorded me every courtesy and has gone out of his way to ease the transition for our State from our previous Members of this body to the representation provided by Alaska's Senators now. Because of the untimely death of my predecessor and the election of my colleague, Alaska found itself with two freshman Senators coming on the scene here within a matter of days. All of the Members of this body have been courteous and kind to both of us, but it is important for me to note that the majority leader has, in many ways, aided me in the performance of my duties for my State.

Of course, this action merely reflects his total qualities of fairness and the fact that he is a complete gentleman in every regard.

#### SENATOR MANSFIELD'S LEADERSHIP

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in congratulating the majority leader, Mr. MANSFIELD, on establishing a record for tenure as majority leader of the U.S. Senate.

As important as length of service is, the quality of that service is even more important. Senator MANSFIELD has excelled in both.

There are various ways to lead men. Some do it by the power and authority and domination over others which they exercise. On the whole that is not the way to lead. It may get action. It may succeed at a given moment. But in the long run it will fail because free men resent these methods and smart under them even when they appear to accept them.

But Senator MANSFIELD leads the Senate by consent. It could be called the

"Quaker Meeting" style of leadership. All feel free to express their views. All have a voice in policy. No one is forced to action against his will or against his better judgment. He is a master at leading the Senate to a judgment based on the free flow of opinion and debate. Under his leadership, the Senate really does "work its will."

Modest, self effacing, but also determined and forthright, Senator MANSFIELD has made the Senate a pleasant place to be and to work.

Senator MANSFIELD's record tenure in office is indeed matched by the quality of his leadership.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, MIKE MANSFIELD is noted for his remarkable capacity to say important words with unusual brevity. Following his example, I simply wish to say that it has been one of the most satisfying experiences of my life to work under the leadership of Senator MANSFIELD since 1963. I treasure him as a friend, as a colleague, and as a wise and sensitive leader.

It is a pleasant privilege to join with my colleagues in honoring him today on his long and effective leadership of the Senate.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I would like to join this colloquy in praise of the distinguished majority leader's long tenure and outstanding service to the Senate and our Nation.

As a freshman Senator, I have been particularly appreciative of the majority leader's fairness, and his support and encouragement for greater participation in Senate business by new Senators.

An example of Senator MANSFIELD's attitude toward younger Senators occurred when he was graciously appearing as a guest on a radio and television report the minority leader and I prepared for Pennsylvania stations.

During the show, I made a reference to being the junior Senator from Pennsylvania, and Senator MANSFIELD objected to this and said:

There is no such animal in the Senate.

And he said to me:

When you refer to yourself, don't refer to yourself as a junior or senior Senator, but just as a Senator, because it is 99 men and one woman. They're all equal and they carry the same weight.

I think this is typical of the majority leader's fairness, and respect for the job we all have to do here, and for all Senators who have the same job to perform.

The majority leader has always put the interests of the Nation, and the Congress, ahead of more parochial concerns, and in so doing, has been a credit to his party, to every Senator, and to our great Nation, and it is a pleasure to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in these words of praise today.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I join today in the accolades properly being accorded to the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, the gentleman from Montana, MIKE MANSFIELD.

As majority leader of this body, MIKE has certainly set a record which deserves to be recognized this afternoon. The measure of his achievement, however, has not just been determined by the un-

paralleled number of years and days in this position of leadership. Nor are we only calling attention to the list of important legislative innovations which MIKE has steered through these halls in the last 9 years and which are now part of the public law of the Nation. Rather rather we are giving recognition and public acknowledgment of our respect for a trusted colleague, an admired leader, and an exemplary man.

This is a political leader whose overriding concern for his country's welfare is such that he can tell Members of his party at a recent campaign fund raising function:

In this year of national crisis, there is no partisanship. There is only national obligation.

This is a Senator in a position of great power who has chosen to employ reasoned dialog and perseverance rather than force as the means to produce legislative action.

This is a gentleman whose sparse words are not rhetorical evasions, but statements of trust.

This is a man who views the Senate as a national legislative forum to produce agreement on the course of action for the country rather than a political arena in which to score ideological wins and losses.

I think that we and the country are extremely fortunate in having MIKE MANSFIELD as our majority leader at this particular time of national uncertainty and bitter divisiveness. As a calm force for unified attention to the public welfare he can direct cooperative political energy for the Nation's benefit. In MIKE's own words, this congressional cooperation is given "without ifs, ands, or buts. The Republic deserves no less." And with MIKE MANSFIELD's calm, steady voice in the Chambers of the Senate, the Republic will continue to receive no less.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, in all the naval lore of Great Britain, no legend is more cherished than the story of Lord Nelson's constant consideration for his midshipmen and young officers. He gave them endless hours of his time and dedicated himself to helping them and promoting their professional education and training.

It has been my personal observation that great judges in both big and little courts are invariably interested in young members of the bar. They exercise their responsibility of the bench to teach the ethical standards and moral philosophy of the law, which are not generally offered as courses in law schools. They shield young lawyers from embarrassment and strengthen both their sense of duty and their confidence.

But the task of perpetuating the best traditions of a noble profession is often left undone in the world of politics. Political life is often cruel, frequently bloodthirsty, and sometimes cannibalistic. It is also pressured and hurried so that even the gentler and more considerate among us simply do not find time for such work. The center aisle is a possible partisan obstacle.

But as a Member of the Senate who entered at the beginning of the present Congress, I want to testify that Senat

MANSFIELD has always had the time, and the patience, and the interest to help a new Member. To say that I am grateful is a gross understatement of the case.

I do not always agree with Senator MANSFIELD. At times, our differences may be rooted in a divergence of opinion, and at times, in a diversity of party loyalty. But however I may view his position on any one issue, I know that in his view of it he will be right with himself and his conscience.

He has instilled in politics an air of nobility and purpose, and for this above all, the citizens of this Republic should be glad that he is an American, a Senator, and a fellow citizen.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I could not let this day pass without joining with my colleagues in a well-deserved tribute to our distinguished majority leader upon his completion of the longest term of service in that position in the history of the U.S. Senate.

No one knows better than he that his is not an easy task. Yet he has always carried out his duties with consummate skill, patience, integrity, and faith in his fellow men. It gives me great pleasure to salute our majority leader for his remarkable record, and to extend to him my personal gratitude for the many times that he has offered me his counsel and assistance.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I am grateful for the opportunity to join in paying tribute to the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana.

By serving as majority leader longer than any other man in the Senate's history, he has confirmed what we all know. He is a man of endurance.

The majority leader is not only a man of endurance but he is relentless in pursuing a course which reflects credit on the Senate and serves the Nation's interests best.

If one were to attempt to describe his manner and style in a phrase, I think we might say that his is "a quiet leadership." But his quiet leadership is most effective. It is an effective leadership because he is a good man who is thoughtful, patient, considerate, humble, and decent.

I salute him as a great leader and a great American.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, as of June 18, 1970, the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana has held the position of majority leader of the U.S. Senate longer than any other individual who has held that important post.

The length of his tenure indicates that he has the confidence of those in his own party. However, I know that all in this Chamber will join with me in commending Senator MANSFIELD for the outstanding job which he has done. The patience and diplomacy which he has shown in guiding our discussion are particularly important in this very deliberative body. Beyond that he is a fair-minded man and a man of his word. I offer my congratulations to the Senator on his past achievement and know that his future action will merit no less appreciation from his fellow Senators.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it is with great personal pleasure that I join today

in paying tribute to our colleague who has surpassed all longevity records for service as majority leader—MIKE MANSFIELD.

The dedication of MIKE's outstanding talents to the manifold duties and responsibilities of his career as majority leader spans a decade of tremendous significance in the history of our country.

We have seen the greatest pieces of social legislation maneuvered through the Senate and Congress under his guidance and leadership. He has contributed notably to America's social progress by his own spirit and intellect and energy.

As Senate majority leader he has been chosen for one of the most difficult assignments in Congress. Under circumstances that would try most men, MIKE MANSFIELD's leadership qualities have been tested and found solid over and over again.

On the personal level I have found his counsel and guidance an invaluable aid in my own legislative duties, and I appreciate the many hours we have discussed the problems of my State of Nevada and the needs of the country.

MIKE has won a secure place in the esteem and affection of all of us privileged to serve with him in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, during my time in the Senate, which has spanned quite a number of years, I have seen many Senators come and go. Many of them able and hard working and most of them very personable. Some, of course, were more effective than others as legislators.

One of the most effective Members during my time is our beloved friend from Montana, the distinguished majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD. His is an assignment that is far more difficult than most people realize. It requires great ability, good judgment and, above all, understanding and patience in working with all the Members of the Senate on both sides of the aisle.

I oftentimes marvel at the patience of our friend, MIKE MANSFIELD. If he is greatly disturbed—and I know that sometimes he is and has reason to be, there is little outward manifestation. I know that sometimes he has a virtual storm within himself. His patience, understanding, and friendly attitude toward every Member of the Senate are among the major reasons why he has served longer than anyone else as majority leader.

I am amazed at how MIKE has been able to maintain himself in this difficult assignment for so many years. Oftentimes, he has to take issue, and sometimes rather sharply, with powerful and influential Members of the Senate. More often than not they are his best friends.

I cite these examples, Mr. President, because I think they are unique in MIKE MANSFIELD's personality and they speak louder than any words I could utter as the reason for the great record he has established.

No leader of the Senate, Republican or Democrat, has been more considerate and understanding of any problems I have had. MIKE just does not turn people away if he thinks they have a reason-

able cause. There is much more that could be said about our friend but, to sum it up, may I say that he is one of the most honorable and decent men I have ever known.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to have this opportunity to congratulate the distinguished majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, upon his completion of the longest period of service in that important position in the history of the U.S. Senate.

Senator MANSFIELD is not only a distinguished Senator but also an estimable gentleman who is held in high esteem by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Though he and I frequently disagree on matters before the Senate, I have always found him to be courteous, considerate, and helpful as majority leader.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD tributes to the distinguished majority leader (Mr. MANSFIELD) submitted by the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS).

These Senators are necessarily absent from the Senate today but desired to participate in expressing their appreciation to the majority leader.

There being no objection, the tributes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT OF SENATOR BAYH

Mr. President, today the Senate is honoring one of its most distinguished Members, Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, who has served in the position of Majority Leader longer than any other Senator.

This highly deserved tribute comes not just from his own party. Members on both sides of the aisle have long recognized Mike Mansfield as an able Senator, an outstanding leader, and a superb statesman. When Senator Mansfield ran for re-election in 1964, the late distinguished minority leader, Everett Dirksen, informed his colleagues in the Senate that he was about to commit political heresy. Senator Dirksen said that, while he would be willing to go to the moon, he would not visit Montana to campaign for the Republicans because he would not and could not speak against Mansfield. Many other Republicans must have had the same attitude, because Mike won his 1964 re-election with 64.5% of the vote.

The Majority Leader has commanded the respect of men of both parties and of differing philosophies because he has always been concerned about the well-being of all Americans. He has been first a statesman, then a politician. He has had a distinguished career, both as an educator and in public life. He taught Far Eastern and Latin-American studies at the University of Montana for several years, served in the House from 1942 to 1952 as a Representative from Montana, and has been in the United States Senate for nearly 18 years.

During the almost three decades of his service as a legislator, few members of Congress have equaled the devotion to duty, absolute integrity, complete fairness, and parliamentary skill which he has displayed. He has led the Senate with patience, kindness and good humor. He has rendered invaluable service to both the nation as a whole and the people of his own state.

I am pleased to join other Senators in extending my appreciation to Senator Mansfield for the many courtesies he has shown us through the years and to thank the "Big Sky Country" for sending to Washington one of its finest. I have no doubt that this fall the

electors of Montana will once more demonstrate their faith in Mike Mansfield by again returning him with their mandate to the Senate.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR YARBOROUGH

Mr. President, today the Senate is assembled to pay tribute to a great leader and fine American, Senator Mike Mansfield. There are countless things that can be said about Senator Mansfield's excellent leadership, ability, and his sense of statesmanship; however, as important as these things are, I think it also important to point out that Senator Mansfield is a kind and considerate gentleman who has won the affection and respect of every member of this body.

It has been my pleasure to know and work with Senator Mansfield for over 13 years. In the hard fights for progressive legislation, he has always been an eloquent and effective ally. As Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield has provided the forceful leadership that was needed to pass some of the most important social legislation in the history of this nation. Despite the difficulties and pressures imposed upon him as Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield has always treated every member of the Senate with the utmost courtesy and respect. Many times in the heat of a legislative battle, when tempers reached the boiling point and reason temporarily departed this chamber, it was Senator Mansfield's quick wit which was the "soft answer" that "turneth away wrath" and paved the way to a logical solution and reconciliation of differences.

As Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I shall always be grateful to Senator Mansfield for the many courtesies he has shown and for his help in passing the major legislation that my Committee has produced. However, above all else, I cherish the 13 years of friendship Mike Mansfield and I have shared. I wish for him another nine years of good health and continued success. His place in the history of America is assured.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR WILLIAMS OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, I am delighted to have the opportunity this afternoon to pay tribute to Senator Mansfield, who on June 17 marked the longest record for service as Majority Leader of the United States Senate.

When Mike Mansfield assumed that position in January of 1961, we already were aware of his dedicated service to the Senate and the Nation. In reviewing his record and the countless newspaper and magazine articles written about him, I find time and again references to his humility, modesty, and patience—that he combines the rare qualities of gentlemanliness and leadership.

No one can point to a man of greater honesty than Mike Mansfield. Probably the only fib to which he ever was a party involved a Navy recruiter's belief that he was 17, rather than 14, when he enlisted for World War I.

In 1943 his public service to Montana began with election to the House of Representatives—increasing with his election to the Senate in 1952. Although he represents a rural state he has not been parochial in his activities and concern. Mike has demonstrated his belief that whether the needs of people are met or not depends largely upon Government and those, who by election or otherwise, assume responsibility for Government at each level.

I shall always be proud of the fact that I have worked with a man who has played so large a role in shaping the direction and greatness of our country. Few of us will ever forget his determined efforts to maintain and improve our VA Hospitals, to bring enactment of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, to establish a rational foreign policy and to bring peace to the world, to insist that 1969 would be a year for meaningful tax re-

form, and, most recently, to invest our Nation's youth with the right to vote.

I congratulate the distinguished Majority Leader who is a benefactor of his State, the Nation, and the world.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I am honored today to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a man who has the unqualified respect and affection of us all, the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD).

The Senator from Montana exemplifies the very best characteristics of the State he so ably represents—the individualism, openness, courage, and integrity so often associated with persons from the Western States.

But he is no regional politician. He loves the West, but he is even more devoted to his country—to the solution of the problems of all regions of this great Nation, North, South, East, and West. Senator MIKE MANSFIELD feels the needs of the inner city ghetto as deeply as those of the open prairies and lands. The range of his competence in legislative matters covers virtually the entire spectrum of issues that comes before this chamber.

With his tenacity, his subject area knowledge and his parliamentary skill, the Senator from Montana can be a formidable adversary when he is on the other side of an issue, as all of us can testify. But whether MIKE MANSFIELD is with you or against you on an issue, he always plays by the rules, and as a result the outcome invariably enhances, rather than diminishes, the esteem in which he is held.

As the leader of his party in this body, he works diligently to implement its programs. But MIKE MANSFIELD never loses sight of his broader duty to the United States and to the Congress. A piece of legislation is considered on its merits, not on its source. Blind partisanship is alien to his nature.

Because he harbors no regional, ideological or personal biases and because of his unflinching fairness and courtesy, the Senator from Montana has enduring friendships among Democrats and Republicans, liberals, and conservatives, northerners, and southerners.

I know that my former colleague from Illinois and the leader of my party, the late Senator Dirksen, worked closely and harmoniously with the Senator from Montana for many years. I rarely heard him mention MIKE MANSFIELD's name without adding a word, a sentence or several sentences of praise.

Almost every morning, the Senator from Montana can be found in the Senate cafeteria having breakfast with two of his closest friends, the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN) and the distinguished Senator from Delaware (Mr. WILLIAMS). The fact that both of these men are Republicans is eloquent testimony to the high regard in which Senator MANSFIELD is held on my side of the aisle.

Mr. President, at this difficult time in our history, this body is particularly fortunate in having such a steady hand at its helm. I am confident that MIKE MANSFIELD will continue to help steer us on course toward a better and stronger America.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the Senator from Colorado has been extremely generous in yielding to the leadership for the tributes which have been expressed this afternoon. We interrupted his speech earlier, shortly after 3 o'clock, for this purpose.

Up to that time it did not appear to the joint leadership that it would take the full time until 5 o'clock to express these tributes. However, it has taken the full time.

The leadership wants to be as understanding as we can with the distinguished Senator from Colorado. We do have, in accordance with the order of procedure agreed upon previously, pending business to consider after 5 o'clock.

The leadership was prepared to call up H.R. 16916, the education appropriations measure. I wanted to mention that to the Senator.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I have been holding hearings. Whether there has been some previous arrangement to abolish the 5 o'clock unanimous-consent agreement, I do not know, but I must say to the leadership on both sides that we are ready and willing and able to go on with the education appropriations bill at this time, and the hour of 5 o'clock has arrived.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, if the Senator would yield, I think I ought to explain that some tributes were paid to the distinguished majority leader, and we were all carried away with our enthusiasm.