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

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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TRIBUTES TO SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD, MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I offer a resolution on behalf of myself, the distinguished assistant majority leader (Mr. KENNEDY), the distinguished assistant minority leader (Mr. GRIFFIN), the secretary of the conference of the majority, and the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BELLMON). The resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

S. Res. 423

Whereas, on June 19, 1970, Senator Mike Mansfield completed 9 years and 187 days of service as Majority Leader of the United States Senate, and;

Whereas, said period of service exceeds in
length that of any previous Majority leader in the history of the United States.

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

Whereas, such service has been of exemplary character in the Senate, as in the Senate now.

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Senate extend to Mike Mansfield its deep appreciation 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, but I have fought the battle. Now we scheme behind the leader's back to extend to Mike Mansfield the courtesy and admiration we feel for his service as assistant majority leader, I can say to the Senate, whose Members know it is not possible to out-think him, that it is equally difficult to out-maneuver one of the Senate's most animated 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 collegy.

For the first time in the history of the Senate when this body has been engaged 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 that it would be most appropriate on this occasion that we take time from the Senate's busy night and day schedule, to deliberate briefly upon the substance of the trust placed in me by the leaders of the Senate, whose Members know it is not possible to out-think him, that it is equally difficult to out-maneuver one of the Senate's most...
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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 pens.

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 we'd tend to 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 stamina.

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 an 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

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 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 serio which sometimes afflict the Senate, because great virtues 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 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—"Yup" and "Nope.

So, instead of relying on six or eight questions, the members 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.

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 1946, and MIKE came in November 1942.

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 him as 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 I observe in him as an 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. Proury).

Mr. Proury. Mr. President, I am happy indeed to join both my colleagues in saluting the distinguished Senator from Montana (Mr. Mansfield).
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An insight into the character of the distinguished majority leader may be gained from a statement he made last year in the Senate after delivering a Memorial Service for a Christian Science Monitor staff writer. After citing a number of major congressional achievements, he examined the problems of the present in these words:

"...this is the key to the way ahead—the ubiquitous and divisive gaps—between the races, between the generations, between the regions, between the haves and the have-nots, 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. A 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:

"Man makes 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. 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. I would like 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 under what I believe is the only 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 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 kindliness, his courtesy, his sincerity, his integrity, his warmth, and his sympathetic understanding is 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 great as the world seems to think. The gratification of being a Senator wears away after the first few years, and in a sense 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 are here the contacts and the friendships we have made with some of the finest men and women from every section of the country and from every field of thought and philosophy—but all of them great Americans.

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 doubled because of having known MIKE MANSFIELD.

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

Mr. PELLE. 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 day as he served in the Senate has deepened my respect and affection for MIKE MANSFIELD. He is honest—w ith himself as well as others; he is fair and even-handed, and, perhaps most important, to the work of the Senate, he has an unflappable 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 in the Senate but also throughout our country. He is spared, too, in the use of his voice. In fact, he is one of the few of us who never lapse into eloquence.

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 we all can most respect our majority leader. His word is his bond. His honor is irreplaceable. His faith and trust in the Senate are complete—and fairly returned by our trust and faith in him.

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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 fervor in his heart for his principles, he is fair-minded toward his adversaries as well as his friends. With this man one may disagree violently, but one never feels anger or a retribution.

I well remember his remark, when he took over the leadership, that though he may be the leader, he was only one of 96 that the legislative branches 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. He is able to smooth those differences throughout the years, and I can tell this Chamber that he catches more Judicaries and troubled 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.

For his leadership, I take this moment to pay him my respect. He has served, I am told, as majority whip in 1957 and as 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.

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 Horne 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 spoken before and after me. 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 diggorge 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.

To 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 persistence and moral force. At the age of 14 years 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
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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), 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 1960 that I had the pleasure of meeting Senator Mansfield, but since then I have been greatly impressed by his ability, sincerity, and dedication to his office. He has been an impartial 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 I always found him to give each side of any controversy an opportunity to be heard and to present its case before the Senate. On all occasions that I was from Montana cast votes with which I agreed wholeheartedly. Very vividly do I recall the first such vote. It occurred in January 1960. 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. Underwood), to a ruling of Vice President Humphrey.

The then Vice President had ruled that, at the opening session of a Congress, a Senator from West Virginia might not consider the Senate could apply cloture 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 the distinguished 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 voting. That vote by the distinguished Senator from Montana impressed me very much.

Then again on the Senate amendment, which sought to achieve uniformity in the use of transfer 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 make him the most powerful single Senator. But in my observation, that power has not been misused by the majority leader. In fact, I have not seen anyone get an opportunity to speak, an 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 Florida (Mr. Underwood), when he mentioned the able 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 a 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 1924 was he the Democratic nomination for President. He remembered as a great statesman. A well known incident in his political career in a Democratic nomination—back before the day of amplifying systems as we know them now—the then Governor of Alabama W. B. Brandon, throughout the 103d ball lots cast at that convention, in a thumbling voice, cast the votes of the Alabama delegation in that convention a "Alabama casts 24 votes for Oscar W Underwood."

Senator Underwood, when a Member of the Senate, owned and resided at 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 which he would have occupied the 92d Congress meets in January of next year.

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

Mr. RUSCOFF, Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. Jackson).

Mr. JACKSON, Mr. President, it rather difficult to add to the remarks that have been made here this afternoon by the distinguished majority leader. I might observe that the able Senator from Tennessee
nese (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. For a long 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.

In all of the Senate on problems of mutual concern and interest, especially to the Pacific Northwest.

With the character of this man. M.KE MANSFIELD is a kindly man, always a gentleman, a selfless individual. If there is any meaning to modesty, M.KE MANSFIELD more than most other individuals is entitled to that descriptive term.

Having said this, Mr. President, let no one get the impression that M.KE MANSFIELD is not a strong, determined man. Behind his kindly approach and interest lies a deep concern for 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 convictions, whatever the issue may be. This quality of firmness obviously comes from his great integrity as an individual.

We must deny the fact that in the Senate from time to time we have our disagreements. But M.KE MANSFIELD is a genius at being able to disagree with you, but not 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.

M.KE 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 M.KE 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 M.KE 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.

In recent years nearly every member of the majority has been majority leader. In the Senate he has kept pace with the rapid and almost dizzying changes by enacting an extraordinary number of landmark pieces of legislation.

It was particularly appropriate that only a few days ago, the President signed a bill which contains the majority leader's 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 is coupled with infinite patience and understanding of his fellow Senators, has made possible a truly impressive record of legislative accomplishment.

I am sure that the sentiments of my colleagues on this side of the aisle will be shared when I say that Senator Mansfield has kept pace with these rapid changes by bringing an extraordinary number of landmark pieces of legislation.

As a member of the Senate on Foreign Relations, MIKE MANSFIELD has been fully and constantly keeping in mind that, serving at the seat of our nation, the world in which we live is a world of great achievements and progress. He has sought to keep pace with these rapid changes by enacting an extraordinary number of landmark pieces of legislation.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, MIKE MANSFIELD has taken the lead in reestablishing the powers of the United Nations, in the establishment 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 very briefly 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, I have been privileged to be second only to the distinguished Senator from Montana, our beloved majority leader. It has been my pleasure to be in his home town in Montana, where he lives, to visit his family, and to know him, to speak with the people in his State whom he serves, to walk in the halls 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 politics, 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 classroom as a student and a teacher, as a Representative and as a leader of our great Nation.

What manner of man is this that stands tall and forward, that moves forward upon each of us, Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, irresponsibly, an effector, who inspires in each of us a devotion and pride?

He is a man of kindness and humility, of understanding and compassion, of vision and of courage, of leadership and to few men.

As a spokesman for this body, 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 Philip 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 a signal honor that is accorded to 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 opportunity to work 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 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 might have voted contrary to the position I had taken on a number of a position that I had taken on a number of issues. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished minority leader, Mike Mansfield.

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 other qualities that attend him—qualities of mind and heart, of conviction, of firmness, and of honor. Many of us have recognized his ability to deal with people broken of the State of Montana and when we heard him speak in the Rotunda at the memorial service for the late President John F. Kennedy and 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 most distinguished majority leader, Mike MANSFIELD.

In this body of competitive and frequently sharply divergent interests, it is frequently difficult to maintain cordial relations with Members, both Republicans and Democrats, and sometimes even within the same State.

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

Who know Mike appreciate that his word is not given lightly and that word, once given, can be depended upon like the jagged granite peaks of his native Montana.

This outpouring of bipartisan praise and support is deep and sincere because Mike MANSFIELD is the 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. Doles). 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 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 the record of 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. ALLETT. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. Alcott).

Mr. ALLETT. 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 seized 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 a member of the Senate, his word has always been good under any circumstances.

There have been many times when people make agreements, not because of pressures from some source or another, they are prone to modify or put a different meaning on the words they say when the agreement is signed into law. There have been times when such situations were presented to Senator MANSFIELD, and if there ever was a question of the keeping of 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 situation 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 allowing 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 minority 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-
June 25, 1970

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

MANSFIELD is an able representative of his State's interests. The Democratic National Committee salutes this man as an able representative of the State. 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 perhaps a glimpse: a man of principle and integrity, a man of quiet resoluteness, a master of the legislative process—and a friend of unfailing personal loyalty.

His bold and imaginative understanding of a political system that often seems to defy mastery and generate only frustration, was focused 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-olds.

As I noted on the floor of the Senate that day, the credit for that achievement belongs to the majority leader. But, of course, it was perhaps greater 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 point-blank accuracy that the 18-year-old would be voted 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 spuriously phrased sentences—how an artist might record MIKE MANSFIELD. To catch the real personality he has in that short time determined with point-blank accuracy that the 18-year-old would be voted 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.

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"Congress shares the responsibility for correcting these discouraging economic trends. Here, the Congress has not concurred completely in the President's approach to them. Nor has the President responded to all of the recommendations he has in these disagreements more often than I. But I have noticed this wonderful attitude of tolerance and of gentleness, which was adopted, 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 one that kept us from meeting at all or a decision to insist that we meet at night. Whatever he thought was right at the time, he was perfectly willing to stand by.

There had been a heavy snowfall the night before, and I remember distinctly the moment I first met Mike Mansfield. His courtesy, his tolerance.

There was no objection, it is so ordered.

(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 American economy began during preceding administrations. The Democratic leader added:

"I 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 rapidly, and that unemployment is growing steadily. He then declared:

"Congress shares the responsibility for encouraging economic trends to be sure, the Congress has not concurred..."
June 25, 1976

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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 subsequent 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 that individuality is in such evidence as in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, when you have a man who can bring elements of various parts together in such smooth fashion, there you find a good leader.

Mike Mansfield does it calmly. He does it temperamentally. 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 it to 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 esteem in which 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 hold us together in a bipartisan way, and having also observed that the other side has even more members in disagreement, than we have, I have been deeply 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 characterized by 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 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 kind, too thoughtful, too considerate, and 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 principles and needs of the people 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 for ever, but I am certain that he will continue to serve the Senate in some capacity, probably as part-time advisor, because he is a most remarkable man. He is a 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 chamber 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.

One thing which his leadership is exemplified by fairness, and, I think, by example, is 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. 420) was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the transcripts 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. INOUYE. 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 with wisdom, understanding, and considered judgment 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 is also known for his astute sense of fairness to those who disagree with him. He 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 in his concern for the party, and his 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 individually 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 considerate 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 50 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. President, 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 matter of measure of the respect 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 record reflects and attests to the majority party share for Mike Mansfield, as 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 years, almost 10 years, as a measure of our majority leader. It has been a decade of most significant legislative accomplishments marked by the enactment of meaningful and durable benefits to the United States and its people. Much of the credit for these accomplishments must go to the majority leader. He is a kind 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 claiming

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 10 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 surpassed the length of time that the late Senator Alben Bark ley, of Kentucky, served as majority leader.

Senator Mansfield has served a long time because he has served with exception to distinction by the people of Montana and the Senate of the United States.

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

I congratulate him on the record of service which he has rendered to the United States. 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 spirit of cooperation and compromise in 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 my majority leader.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the foundations of America's enduring constitutional system of government are the principles of individual liberty and the system of checks and balances enunciated by the wise political philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries as the best means of maintaining the separation of powers and checks and balances.

Montesquieu believed, and wrote, the
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 such power and has never abused it. He is universally regarded for his scrupulous fairness, his honesty, his forthrightness, and, perhaps most of all, for 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 he 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. Mike 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 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 Mansfield.

We particularly pay tribute to Senator Mansfield in recognition of the fact that on June 17 he established a new record as Senate majority leader, a term of almost 9 1/2 years. This is a distinct honor.

Senator Mansfield is an outstanding Senator, a man of parts. He 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. When I think of his credit as a Senator, 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. BURDICK. Mr. President, there are many rewarding aspects of the task of representing one's fellow Americans in Congress.

But 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 let me do so, and I want to say 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 my friend—my majority leader—to my friend—Mike Mansfield.

Today we are paying our respects to Mike for having served the world, the Nation, and his people well during the time 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 have it. 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 that have propelled our body more powerful, and more positive part of the Federal Government. He has led a party with a great majority—so easily divided, to become a responsible, cohesive unit that has contributed much in this decade.

Senator Mansfield has been a leader who has not been pushed 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 civil rights in our history, he has had a profound impact upon our polices. 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 commended.

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 9 or 10 years in that illustrious position.

It has always been a great pleasure for me to be associated with Senator Mansfield, both personally and professionally. I remember the warm trips to Southeast Asia that a group of Senators made under Senator Mansfield's leadership in 1963 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 for 10 years and hope that he will be in a position of leadership among us for many years to come.

Mr. ELLENBERGER. Mr. President, since June 18, 1948, 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, 1927, through January 3, 1947.

Needless to say, I wish our present majority leader exercises the power of the 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 the Senate functions.

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, has met and fulfilled the challenges of leadership role. Many others will express similar sentiments today. They have been convicted of service 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 add to the many affirmative phrases dealing with his personal character and the fact that he "leans over backwards" to protect the rights of Senators, particularly those who may not agree with his position on public policies, we can also notice what seems to be a consensus in the Senate. In the present majority leader.

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, and I believe it is this function, as developed by Senator Mansfield, that is likely to stand as his most important contribution to the Senate leadership role in the years ahead.

As I think back over the many issues that have divided this body over the last 9 years—issues that 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 operations has always 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 and, responsibility and 165 days, or from July 22, 1927, through January 3, 1947.

Needless to say, I wish our present majority leader exercises the power of the Majority Leader Barkley during the Roosevelt administration.

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 services of the U.S. Armed Forces. He was a Navy seaman during the First World War and a private first class in the Marine Corps from 1919 to 1922. He has had practical experience working with his hands as a miner and rancher and has served in the Senate from the years 1922 to 1930. He received a broad education during his schooling and acquired an appreciation for theoretical concerns serving as a professor of history and political science at Montana. From 1933 to 1942, when he was first elected to the Congress. All these trends—humility, a complete lack of arrogance, a profound respect for political and world affairs, experience as a teacher and lecturer—are evident in the manner in which Senator Mansfield has filled the majority leadership role in the Senate. All of us here today and the country at large have benefitted as those past experiences have matured and, year after year, been brought into play during the last decade.

I hope that the Senate may continue to benefit from Senator Mansfield's services as a 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 Senator Mansfield (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 praise is that little can 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 daily routine of his leadership that his influence is felt. It is frequently said that Senator Mansfield's service to the Congress has made him the longest serving member of the Senate. But historians will note more than his endurance in a difficult and demanding position. They will note that his leadership, the Senate in which the majority leader is a believer has passed the great landmark legislation that has reshaped and 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 of the Senate, 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 Member 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 live are at all demanding periods of his many varied skills.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, modest humble, fair, quiet, low keyed, with a single enemy—these are uncommon words to use in describing strong leadership. But with Mike Mansfield, the deff
nition of leadership must be expanded and rewritten. Indeed, what these phrases describe is a unique majority—so unique in character as to have the attributes 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 I think of 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 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 integrity of this Republic.

I honor Mike Mansfield today. I do so as a man who sets itself, 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 thoughtful and 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.

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

His thoughtful, quietly displayed by his legislative leadership in each of us. His uncommon common sense is a stabilizing factor in even the worst of situations, although it has been characteristic of his ability to duty that those 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 a particular ring 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, the steady hand of the majority leader, at the helm, has led us to more reasonable solutions.

The leadership of the 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 issue.

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. MONToya. 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 are a part of themselves here in this Chamber. It is because of such men that the Senate as an institution has evolved, grown and has such an impact upon the history of our Republic.

Mike Mansfield is very much in the tradition of such towering figures.

Mr. President, it is perhaps one of the many things. Party leader. Statesman. Comprisomer 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, Senator, as friend, and as an American.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, today, our distinguished majority leader, Senator Mike Mansfield has the record for service as majority leader set by the late Senator from Kentucky, Albert 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 as their leader since January 1961. And I know that the country has benefited from his tenure.

As inviolate situations and human
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 Montana. You have been in my mind throughout this extended period of time, and I find it difficult to remember how you stood on issues, but I can recall the warm personal relationship that you built with the Members of both parties, and the respect that you commanded because of your wisdom, your leadership, and the personal qualities of leadership that you possessed.

As majority leader of the Senate, Mike Mansfield has made the Senate a pleasant and productive place to be for every Member of this body, and I have been proud to serve under his leadership for the past 6 years. His ability to work with the leadership in both parties has been unmatched, and he has been a masterful ambassador for the Senate.

His leadership has been characterized by his fairness, his willingness to listen to all voices, and his ability to reach compromises. He has been a bridge between the parties, working to build consensus and move legislation forward. His leadership has been marked by his commitment to bipartisanship, and his ability to find common ground on issues that seemed to divide the Senate.

Mike Mansfield has also been a tireless advocate for the importance of free speech and the right of all Members to express their views. He has been a strong proponent of the First Amendment, and his leadership has been instrumental in protecting the rights of Members to disagree and debate.

In this era of political polarization, Mike Mansfield has been an example of what true leadership can be. He has been a leader who has set an example for all of us, and his legacy will be remembered for generations to come.

I want to take this opportunity to thank Mike Mansfield for his service and for his example. As we continue to work together in the Senate, let us all strive to emulate the qualities of leadership that he has demonstrated. Thank you, Mike.
MANSFIELD has always had the time, and the patience, and the interest to help a new Senator to be. 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 marked 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 has acted with himself and with 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 expressing my admiration for the late distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Montana, MIKE MANSFIELD. It is an especially touching tribute to honor the man who has displayed his qualities of leadership for the United States Senate, and for the United States.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I am grateful for the opportunity to join in paying tribute to the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana. I am grateful for the personal counsel and guidance an invaluable aid in my own legislative duties, and I appreciate the many hours we have devoted to discussing the problems of my state, and the needs of the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, the late Mike Mansfield was a great American. He has won a secure place in the esteem and affection of all of us privileged to serve in the United States Congress.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, during my time in the Senate, during the many years I have served in the position of Majority Leader, the late Majority Leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, has served longer than anyone else as majority leader. His leadership qualities have been tested and found solid and true in both Republican and Democratic administrations.

The late Majority Leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, had a great ability, good judgment, and, above all, understanding and patience in handling the Senate's business.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the following:

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, Senator Dirksen, informed his colleagues in the Senate that he was about to commit political heresy. Senator Dirksen said that, while he was willing to go to the moon, he would not visit Montana to campaign for the Republicans because he would not and could not win against Mansfield. Montana 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 served in the United States Senate for nearly 18 years.

During the almost three decades of his legislative service, Congress have equaled the devotion to duty, absolute integrity, complete fairness, and extraordinary skill which he has displayed. He has led the Senate with patience, kindness, and good humor. He has rendered invaluable service to the country 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 Senator" for sending us, as he did, in the finest. I have no doubt that this fine 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 few men whose qualities can be said to typify the qualities of Senator Mansfield's excellent leadership, ability, and his sense of statesmanship, however, in my estimation, are, I think, most important to point out that Senator Mansfield 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 involved in his leadership, Senator Mansfield has always treated every member of the Senate with the utmost courtesy and respect. His quiet, unassuming manner, his dedication to principle, his willingness to compromise at the correct moment, and his ability to foresee the outcome of legislative battles, when tempers reached the boiling point and resistance temporarily depleted, was Senator Mansfield's quick wit which was the "soft answer" that "turneth away wrath" and paved the way for the desirable compromise and conciliation 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 think of the friendships that I have formed with Mr. 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 dedication to the Senate and the Nation. In reviewing his record and the countless newspaper and magazine articles written about him, I find again and again references to his humility, modesty, and patience—that he combines the rare qualities of gentlemen and leadership.

No one can point to a man of greater honesty than Mike Mansfield. Probably the only flaw 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 1955 he represented 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 was a man who had 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 bring federal aid to our national, 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 people of this country as distinctly as those of the open pueblos 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 always be 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 unfailing 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.