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A Call for Cooperation

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD (D., MONTANA)

Mr. President

Under the heading "A Call For Cooperation", the President last Friday transmitted a message to the Senate. With it he takes the Congress to task for apparently failing to attend fully to what he defines as his legislative program. I have read through this message and I am somewhat puzzled. I am puzzled first of all because -- at least as far as the Senate is concerned -- just about every single item mentioned by the President has been, is now being, or will soon be considered and disposed of on the merits.

Indeed the only explanation for such a message is that it has arrived on the eve of campaign time. It is thus a message that should have been anticipated. But even if this is a political document aimed at the Senate, it misses the mark by a wide margin. Whatever may be the reasons for criticizing the United States Senate, attention to the legislative items mentioned in this message is not one. Many of these items were initiated right here in the Senate and only later were embraced by the administration. All or nearly all of them have been or soon will be considered. Some will no doubt be rejected as unfeasible or poorly conceived. Some will be changed drastically to do the job intended. And it is true that some--such as the National Institute for Education proposal--simply cannot be considered at all. Many reasons apply. In the case of this
education measure, it is because the administration fired its Education Chief on the eve of Senate hearings. No successor has been named and therefore hearings would be futile with no administration spokesman.

What is apparent from this message is that it does not reflect the record, at least the record as far as the Senate is concerned. Speaking on behalf of the Senate, the only way to correct the record at this time, would be to take the proposals cited item by item and recall the action taken by the Senate.

Under the caption "Reforming the Institutions of the Past" the message mentions the Tax Reform Act, the Economic Opportunity Act and the Postal Reorganization Act. All of these measures were considered by the Senate. All passed the Senate. Each as I recall was initiated right here in the Congress and it was only later that the proposal was embraced by the administration. Most notable among them perhaps was the reform of our income tax laws. With this action, the Congress acting on its own initiative rewrote the tax laws to provide more equity and a greater distribution of the overall tax burden for the benefit of the lower and middle income groups.

Draft Reform is then cited in the message. Of course the reform of our draft was undertaken recently by executive order with the institution of the lottery system. The President should be commended for that first step. But when his own proposal
for a volunteer army was under consideration in the Senate as an amendment to the Military Authorization Bill, the administration opposed it. It called for delay and urged rejection. I, along with many of my colleagues on this side of the isle supported the President on that occasion. Members of his own party in the Senate sought to defeat his volunteer proposal. Strangely missing in this reference to the military field were the Cold War GI bill benefits initiated by the Congress; and even more importantly, the whole attitude of the Congress toward military expenditures. For example, it was the Congress that cut so severely the administration's requests for military spending in order to provide more money for the poor, for environmental needs, for urban problems and education.

Reform of the Welfare System is mentioned prominently and of course the Family Assistance proposal backed so strongly by the President is on the Senate's schedule to be considered later this month. I personally may have doubts about some of the reforms he suggests, but the President is to be greatly commended for his tenacity regarding this measure. Particularly gratifying were his special efforts to get the approval of key members of his own party who for so long have been apparently blocking consideration of the measure.
The Food Stamp proposal has passed the Senate as have all of the Health Proposals. The measure that would provide revenue sharing with the States is one of those bills which the constitution requires the House to originate. If and when such a proposal is received in the Senate it will be considered.

Manpower Training is on the Senate schedule and will be considered this week. It should be pointed out, however, that this is a far different proposal than that suggested by the President. By contrast this measure goes a long way to solve the unemployment crisis that is now facing this Nation by creating an additional 300,000 jobs. Also scheduled are the Social Security amendments.

The Electoral Reform proposal is now pending. As for the District of Columbia, the Congress has gone at least part of the way with the adoption of the delegate measure. There is talk that a Constitutional amendment proposal to provide for elected representatives may be offered later this month. There is no telling what will be received from the other body in the way of Foreign Trade proposals. If and when they arrive in the Senate, they will be given consideration.

The Merchant Marine Act amendments are on the Senate schedule for action next week.
When the message speaks of unacted upon crime proposals, it does not refer to the Senate's record. On the matter of crime, I need only reiterate what I have stated so often in the past. The Senate has passed nearly all major administration crime, drug and obscenity bills plus several that it originated itself.

With regard to Education, the President should be advised of the fact that none of the on-going education programs expire until next year. The Education Subcommittee is now considering 14 higher education proposals; only one of which was submitted by the Administration. Many hearings have been held already and more are expected. Many of the education experts who have testified have felt that the administration's proposals are neither practical nor feasible. On the matter of the Emergency School Aid program, I recall that the Senate appropriated $75 million for such a program during the fiscal year 1971. It included Senate-written guidelines as well. To state again for the record, hearings were scheduled on the National Institute for Education proposal. They subsequently had to be cancelled because the Administration's Commissioner of Education was asked to resign. There has since been no new Commissioner of Education appointed to fill this vacancy and without an Education Chief in the Nation it is felt that any further efforts to hold hearings on the bill would be futile.
The de-emphasis given education by the administration was best demonstrated with the vetoes of two education bills. It is no wonder then that this message failed to mention the outstanding record this Congress has compiled in the education area. It produced the Elementary and Secondary Education Act amendments of 1969, the Emergency Student Loan Act of 1969, the National Center on Educational Media for the Handicapped, the National Commission on Libraries and Information Sciences and the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities Act amendments. And that's only part of the record. Ready for action is the Environmental Quality Education proposal and the Library Services and Construction amendments.

In the area of Urban Affairs the Senate has passed the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act and the Housing and Urban Development amendments are scheduled for Senate action. The Senate has passed or is scheduled to act on every proposal in the consumer area, including the Consumer Protection Act, the Consumer Warranty Act and the Consumer Representation Act. It should be pointed out that the Warranty measure has already passed and was a Senate initiated proposal. Indeed it was far more comprehensive than the proposal submitted by the administration.

With regard to the environment, again the Senate record is truly outstanding. Not only have each of the proposals cited
been or will soon be disposed of but the Senate on its own has added a good many proposals. It is surprising that the message even mentions this area since it has been the Senate which has taken the leadership in this field. It is recalled that the Administration requested only nominal, if any, funds to finance municipal waste treatment facilities. There is a vital need for these facilities today. We are told drinking water in parts of the land is severely threatened. The Senate saw to it that upwards of $300 million was made available.

Of its Air Pollution record alone, the Senate may be particularly proud. It strengthened greatly the President’s proposal, most notably by requiring fully clean cars by the year 1975.

As for Oil Pollution, the Congress provided rigid standards. Tragically, those standards would be weakened by the treaties that the President has transmitted to the Congress for ratification. I hope the Senate will withhold the ratification of any treaty that would make it easier to contaminate further any ocean, river and lake waters.

The reference to the Federal Oil Leases in the Santa Barbara Channel is also a matter of great controversy. Certainly the goal of terminating these leases is most desirable; but not at the expense of giving away valuable Federal resources.

As for Indian Legislation, Public Broadcasting, the stock-pile proposals, those measures have been acted upon. The One-Bank Holding Company measure is scheduled this week and consideration of
the Farm bill begins this evening. Each revenue producing measure that is pending in the Senate will be acted upon. To repeat, however, under the Constitution, the House is required to act first on all such proposals.

Finally, I would only refer to the list of all measures passed by the Senate during this session of the Congress. I submitted that list for printing in the record on September 1st. It shows that as of that date, the Senate passed 535 measures this session, 200 of those have been signed into law. There have been five treaties ratified.

I ask unanimous consent that the list appear at the conclusion of these remarks. It is there for all to read. It is the record of the Senate for this session of the Congress. It is an outstanding record. One for which we may all be proud. One for which the American people may be proud. One for which the President may be proud.

We have cooperated and we will continue to cooperate with the President because we think the Republic must come first at all times.