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Congressional Record S. 9210 - Mansfield Amendment to S.-3526 (End of Military Involvement in Vietnam)

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can military personnel from South Vietnam by August 31, 1972. There are no preconditions. There are no ifs, ands, or buts. Every last serviceman on the ground in Vietnam will be out by August 31, whether he plays a combat or a supporting role.

The second section of section 12 is a separate and distinct proposition. When enacted, it will require the termination of all American participation in the hostilities in, over and around Indochina subject only to the following conditions which follow in sequence and are a part of the whole:

First. That a cease-fire be agreed upon between the United States and the National Liberation Front and those allied with them;

Second. That the release of American POW's has been provided for by agreement; and

Third. That provision has also been made for the release of recoverable American MIA's.

What is envisioned by this second subsection is the complete cessation of American participation and involvement in hostilities in the air and on the sea, as well as on the land and, not only in South Vietnam, but in all the countries of Indochina.

It is most important that these conditions upon which rests the total termination of our involvement be understood in the order in which they are set forth. A cease-fire, a release of American POW's, an accounting for the MIA's—these are the elements. It is for a definite purpose that they appear in this sequence. The cease-fire between the United States alone and the NLF and those allied with them must first be agreed upon as the umbrella under which the POW and MIA issues will be resolved.

The most significant aspect, to repeat, is to reach first the agreement for the cease-fire—a cease-fire negotiated by the United States and the NLF and its allies without veto power granted to any other source or government. Once this most essential step is taken and a cease-fire is agreed to, efforts to meet the remaining conditions can be undertaken immediately. It is that first step—the agreement or the umbrella, so to speak—that is the most critical step. With it will come the beginning of the end, the close of a chapter that should not have been opened in the first place.

Mr. President, in the committee there was some difference in interpretation concerning the intent of the second part of the amendment. I hope that this statement will clear up any uncertainty. While the last of our forces on the ground in South Vietnam are being withdrawn under the requirement of subsection (a), negotiations would proceed between the United States and the National Liberation Front and its allies for an agreement for a cease-fire, which would end the hostilities insofar as our forces were involved and provide for the release of American prisoners and an accounting for those missing in action.

No one can predict when a political settlement can be reached between the peoples of Indochina or the killing of brother by brother brought to an end. There has been a cease-fire in Korea for

19 years—and a state of hostilities still exists. But we got the American prisoners back after a cease-fire was agreed to. We cannot expect to get the prisoners back until our part in the killing stops. To suggest otherwise is callously unfair to these men and their relatives. My amendment couples the two problems in such a way that the release of the prisoners will be related to the agreement for a cease-fire.

Mr. President, I offer this is explanation of the amendment. Before voting, the Senate should be fully apprised of the intent of this provision insofar as an agreement for a cease-fire is involved and its effect upon the return of the POWs and the accounting for the MIA's. It is on the basis of the verified cease-fire agreement and the followup POW and MIA arrangements that it is hoped we will be able to lay to rest once and for all this Nation's direct involvement in any capacity in the hostilities in Indochina.

Mr. President, American military participation in this war has gone on officially for 11 years now. And it has cost us up to May 27, 1972, 55,954 dead Americans. It has cost us 303,066 wounded Americans. It has cost us overall in total casualties 359,020 Americans. The toll for the unfortunate people of Indochina, North and South, is incalculable.

The public wants, not more speeches, but the termination of the involvement in this travesty. Insofar as it rests with the Senate to contribute constitutionally to that end, the amendment in my opinion points the way to action.

✓ THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT TO END AMERICAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Foreign Relations Committee has approved an amendment which I offered to the pending legislation that is designed to speed the end of American military involvement in Indochina. This is the same amendment I originally offered to S. 3526, the foreign relations authorization bill when it was on the floor. As I stated when I introduced that amendment:

It will place no conditions on the continuation of the removal of U.S. ground forces from South Vietnam; in fact, it will require their total extrication by August 31, 1972. It will separately require an agreement for the return of all POWs and recoverable MIAs and a cease-fire only—and I repeat the word "only"—between U.S. forces and those arrayed against our forces—that is, the National Liberation Front and its allies, as a condition for the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from the hostilities in and over Indochina.

Section 12 of the present bill contains the amendment. When it was offered earlier this month, I stated then that it was intended to underscore what is the apparent policy of the administration; namely, the total extrication of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam. To meet that objective, this provision, as it appears in the bill now before the Senate, would require the absolute removal of all Ameri-