Senators, there being no objection, the statement of Senator Mansfield is ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MANSFIELD BEFORE SENATE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to submit to the Senate the text of my statement before the Senate Democratic Conference today.

There being no objection, the statement of Senator Mansfield is ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD BEFORE THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

Let me begin with a brief reference to the situation in the Middle East. The fourth war in a quarter of a century in that region has posed complex diplomatic questions for this nation. There ought to be and there will be from the Senate, understanding and restraint as regards the Administration's handling of that situation. Speaking for myself, I have no hesitancy in expressing a high regard for the manner in which a lid has been kept on developments there.

In making that comment, I reject any inference that the effort of the Congress, the Courts and the former Special Prosecutor to face up to Watergate and related matters in the workings of this government may have in any way, shape or form precipitated the difficulties in the Middle East. This is the fourth Arab-Israeli war, not the first. These conflicts have occurred during both Democratic and Republic Administrations. They have occurred both in the presence and in the absence of Watergates. The fact is that, over the years, the outbreaks of war in the Middle East have shown a supreme insufficiency to the political situation inside this nation.

So I am hopeful we will hear no more about how we must bury Watergate and all it implies in other areas because of this crisis or that abroad. The conduct of foreign relations, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere, is always difficult. It is made more or less difficult not by the appearances at home but by the realities. We would do well, therefore, to avoid in the name of foreign policy a pretense of national well-being when the people are profoundly disturbed by what they see and hear in Washington. The pretense would fool no one but ourselves. It would serve no useful purpose abroad. It would serve only to dig deeper the mistrust and division at home. The need is to not to beat the drums of self-deceit any louder in the name of foreign policy. The need is to restore the people's trust in government by restoring the government's integrity. Then, hopefully, the conduct of foreign policy may be eased. In the interim, it may be that senior officials of the Executive Branch are discomfited by a public cleansing of the nation's politics. Nevertheless, these officials will have to function within the parameters of a deep national concern over the state of the Federal government until there is no longer a need for that concern. I have every expectation that they will be able to deal effectively with events abroad as long as the situation at home is also confronted.

The primary responsibility of the Congress and the Presidency is to safeguard the people's right to a government—legislative, executive, judicial—that serves them with integrity and candor, with responsiveness and justice. If we do not act at home, in this city, to reaffirm that right when it has been jeopardized, what we do or do not do abroad will not much matter. Indeed, if we do not affirm and strengthen that right, in my judgment, whatever this Administration or any other may think it is achieving, our relations will have little of lasting value in terms of the nation's well-being or world peace.

Against that backdrop, I would like to review events of the past ten days or so and their implications for the Senate and the Congress. In the first place, it seems to me that these events illuminate the essentiality of the Ervin Committee on the Watergate affair and the good sense of the Senate in establishing that Committee at the beginning of the year. A debt of gratitude is owed to the members of the Committee—Republicans and Democrats alike—for what they have already done in requiring the truth with the truth of Watergate and related matters. They proceeded in an orderly and impartial fashion and without any suggestion whatsoever of partisan policies. They moved deliberately but relentlessly to bring out the facts of illegality. They have uncovered these facts in great numbers and in sordid detail. They laid them bare for the nation to see and for the Congress to act upon in order that what transpired in the name of a free election does not happen again.

So thorough an investigative had been the work of the Ervin Committee in pursuit of its Senate mandate that, except for the affair of the tapes, it was possible to begin to think in terms of a final report and recommendations. That was before the Justice Department was torn asunder on direct orders of the White House on the night of October 20. Now it is no longer possible, in my judgment, to contemplate the shut-down of the Ervin Committee. On the contrary, I would hope and expect that the Senate would consider forthwith the extension of the Committee, with a mandate enlarged to include all the matters which were under consideration by the Special Prosecutor's office in the Justice Department at the time of the summary dismissal of Mr. Archibald Cox.

In so suggesting, I ask you to bear in mind that, as of now, if the Ervin Committee does not pursue these matters, who will? The Executive Branch? The Courts? There are many proposals for action, but who is in a position, now, to act? As of now, the Ervin Committee is the only body in the Federal government that is duly-constituted and
end, they and they recently chained men
subject safeguarded dent. I do not see, atend and dili
gently in the country--the
agency in the country--the
practice which has been spread through the political
processes of the nation. Mr. Richardson kept
his word to the Senate, and when he was no
longer permitted to keep his word, as an
honorable man, Mr. Richardson resigned from
the office in which he had been confirmed by
the Senate. So, too, did the deputy Attorney-
General, William Ruckelshaua. The Adminis-
tration and the government will suffer greatly
ly the loss of the services of these men, but
the Nation has gained from their decency,
courage, and integrity.

Their departure confronts us with the real-
ity that the principal law enforcement
agency in the country—the Justice Depart-
ment—is in shambles. The vast documenta-
tion gathered by the Special Prosecutor's
office is under protective custody by order
of Judge Sirica, and its future usage has not
yet been determined. I hope it will remain
safeguarded in that fashion until the ques-
tion of its disposition is resolved. At this
nadir of public trust in government, the last
straw would be the scattering or dissipation
of the documentation which was gathered
by Mr. Cox and his staff.

In the end, those records must form the
tool on which the continuance of the
investigation which was proceeding deliber-
ately and diligently in Judge Sirica's Court.
It will not be easy to say how much
reliance can be placed on the
Judgment, can be assured only by an ar-
range ment that is underwritten by the Con-
gress and the Courts.

For the present, I am personally inclined,
therefore, towards the solution offered by
Senators Hart, Bayh, and 52 other Senators
which would establish the Special Pro-
s ecutor by act of Congress, with the ap-
pointment of the individual left to the
Courts. There are, I am sure, other possi-
bilities. In any event, this matter will be exam-
ined with Mr. Cox and Mr. Richardson and
others in the hearings before the Judiciary
Committee, and I would urge the President,
most respectfully, in the highest interests of
the Nation, to cooperate with the Congress
in this matter.

I want to close by commending all the
Members of the Senate—Republicans and
Democrats alike—for their steadfastness in
those critical times. There has been mani-
fested in the Senate, far beyond partisanship,
a responsibility to the Nation and a
dedication to Constitutional principles and
the stability of the Republic which I find
unmatched in my memory. This has been an
incredibly troubled year in the life of the
Nation, an incredible month, incredible
weeks and days. That the Nation is coming
through this period and, in my judgment,
will emerge from it healthier and sounder in
its political life has a great deal to do with the
validity and vitality of its Constitutional
structure. It has a great deal to do with the
fact that we are a government, not of one
part but of three, and that, at the outset of
this session, this Congress, the Senate and
the House set out on a path of reminding
the Nation of that Constitutional fact. It has
a great deal to do with doing the work,
under which the press and other media are
alive and well and doing their job with
competence and persistence. Finally, it has
not a great deal to do with the work of the
people of this Nation—beset and beguiled, harried
and harassed though they may be—still to
express a thunderous indignation when their
fundamental decency is outraged. In the
end, this government exists to serve those
people. It is not the other way around. They
deserve a government that can be trusted
with their freedom, with their lives, and
with their heritage. What has happened to
cast a shadow on that unalienable right of
the people of the United States must not be
allowed to happen again.