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third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1123

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 5(c) of the National Trails System Act (82 Stat. 921; 16 U.S.C. 1244(c)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(15) Indian Nations Trail, extending from the Red River in Oklahoma approximately two hundred miles northward through the former Indian nations to the Oklahoma-Kansas boundary line."

The title was amended to read as follows:

A bill to provide for a study of the Indian Nations Trail.

SENATOR MANSFIELD'S APPEARANCE ON "FACE THE NATION"

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a transcript of the program "Face the Nation," on which I appeared last Sunday, in which the interrogators were George Herman, of CBS News, Jack Nelson, of the Los Angeles Times, and Lesley Stahl, of CBS News.

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

FACE THE NATION: AS BROADCAST OVER THE CBS TELEVISION NETWORK AND THE CBS RADIO NETWORK, MAY 18, 1975

Origination: Washington, D.C.

Guest: Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, Senate Majority Leader.

Reporters: George Herman, CBS News; Jack Nelson, Los Angeles Times; and Lesley Stahl, CBS News.

Producer: Mary O. Yates.

Associate Producer: Joan Spiegel Barone.

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HERMAN. Senator Mansfield, has the Mayaguez incident and President Ford's fast action there proved anything about the War Powers Act—that it's too confining, or too loose, or needs any revision?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I think it's a good act. The President did report within the 24-hour period—the 48-hour period; however, there was no consultation. There were briefings.

HERMAN. Is consultation required, in the true sense of consultation?

Senator MANSFIELD. I believe so—not that it would have any effect on what the President might do, but I think that perhaps it would be worthwhile to get the advice of some of his old friends in the Congress as to what the attitude of the representatives of the people would be; not necessary, though.

ANNOUNCER. From CBS News, Washington, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview on FACE THE NATION, with the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana. Senator Mansfield will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Lesley Stahl; Jack Nelson, Washington Bureau Chief of the Los Angeles Times; and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN. Senator Mansfield, I asked you that particular question about the Mayaguez incident because it seems to me it's likely

to be some kind of a precedent in the future. Future Presidents may quote what happened in this particular incident as justification for what they may want to do. Do you think that this was adequate, proper use of all that's in the War Powers Act?

Senator MANSFIELD. All except the consultative process, which is in the act and about which I am really not concerned personally, but as a matter of principle I think it should be applied to the Congress, or at least the leadership and the chairmen and the ranking Republican members. And frankly, I wouldn't have been interested in this question at all had not Ron Nessen at the White House made the assertion, I believe, that all the leadership had been consulted before action was taken and had approved.

NELSON. Well, Senator, you indicated, though, earlier, that you had some questions about that whole incident. Do you question the fact that the bombing of Cambodia's mainland continued for at least forty minutes after the President had been notified that the crewmen had been returned safely?

Senator MANSFIELD. I raised those questions after we were told what the plans were at the White House when the President called us down. I won't raise them now, but I hope that we will be made more aware of what the situation is, in the words of Senator Vandenberg, at the takeoff rather than after the proposals had been agreed to without any consultation.

STAHL. Senator, there are those who are saying that the Mayaguez incident will teach countries around the world that the United States will live up to its commitments. As a student of Asian affairs, do you think that, for example, North Korea will look at this incident and believe that the United States will live up to its commitments to South Korea?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I don't think, as far as the incident is concerned, that was needed to convince North Korea as to what our intentions were. We do have the treaty with South Korea. We will live up to our commitments. However, I would wish that the words of bravado would be muted, because the facts will speak for themselves. Under the Constitution the President has great powers.

HERMAN. I'm not exactly sure I understand the situation—I hate to keep harking back to the War Powers Act—but you believe that it was fully complied with, but you were not consulted ahead of time; but that is not required?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not me. I said—what I said was that it meant little—it had no—it created no difference as far as I was concerned personally, but I think the principle is a good one, and there ought to be more consultation between a President and the Congress before the use of military force is agreed to. That is what the War Powers Act contains.

HERMAN. Well, that implies that it was, to a slight extent, bent or violated—the President not consulting with you before—

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, perhaps, but maybe he didn't have the time, and circumstances had—when they all come out, the story is told, we'll be able to amplify that and explain it.

NELSON. Well, do you think Congress should look further into it, Senator, or do you think that we should wait for the administration to tell the whole story?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I don't think we should look into it. I don't think we should look backwards. We've looked backward too often, conducted too many investigations, and I think we ought to face up to the present and plan for the future—

NELSON. Do you consider the matter closed?

Senator MANSFIELD. I'm just relieved that the Mayaguez incident turned out as well as it did.

STAHL. Well, looking back for one minute, the United States tried to—as you know—reach the Cambodian government in some way. Looking at that aspect of it, and also considering that the South Vietnamese have proposed an opening of relations with this country, would you favor opening relations with—quickly with that part of the world, the countries that are—

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, I would, if for no other reason than to learn a lesson from the Mayaguez incident so that we could establish contact. We had no way of establishing contact except through the People's Republic of China, and its representative returned our note unopened. I understand that Ambassador Bush in Peking did try to establish some contact with the Cambodian Embassy in that city, but evidently it was because of the lack of diplomatic contact that the use of force was recommended.

STAHL. So you favor recognizing South Vietnam?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think we ought to recognize the governments there so that if any such incidents as the Mayaguez occur in the future, we'll have a better chance through diplomatic channels to bring about its release before the use of force is made necessary.

HERMAN. Has Cambodia indicated any interest in recognition?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, but South Vietnam, I understand, has, according to the public prints.

STAHL. Senator, during the fall of South Vietnam, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger implied that he felt Congress was in part to blame for that. Have relations between Congress and the Secretary of State improved any?

Senator MANSFIELD. In the first place, the Congress was not to blame. After all, we have a dual responsibility along with the executive branch, and we made our views known in no uncertain terms. As far as the relationship between Congress and Kissinger is concerned, it's still a very good one.

NELSON. Senator, can I take you for a minute back to the—foreign affairs and China? You've indicated in the past that you thought that perhaps the—our relations with the Taiwan government, the nationalist government of Taiwan, should be perhaps curbed somewhat in order to further our relations with the People's Republic of China. Do you feel that way now? Do you think we should cut our military forces on Taiwan?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would just refer to the Shanghai Communiqué, which called for a reduction of forces on Taiwan, a normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, and a recognition on the part of both Chinas, and now the United States, that there's only one China.

HERMAN. I gather you think we have not implemented that fast enough.

Senator MANSFIELD. I think some implementation has occurred. We have reduced our forces by about half on Taiwan, but on the other hand we have placed contracts there for the manufacture of certain kinds of fighter airplanes, and we have loaned monies within the past four months—four or five months—in the sum of about 300 million dollars for the purpose of building power plants.

HERMAN. Do you object to all of those?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I do not.

HERMAN. Do you object to any of them?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

HERMAN. Well, I'm not exactly sure I understand what your point is. It—you think we are implementing the Shanghai agreement fast enough?

Senator MANSFIELD. That is a question for the executive branch to decide, based on the circumstances in the area. We have reduced our forces by about half, as I've indicated, on Taiwan; and I would assume that when the President goes to China in the fall, that this matter will be discussed further. Progress has been made. Whether it's fast enough or not remains to be seen.

HERMAN. Don't I recall that you said our attitude towards Taiwan was a flaw in our relations with the Peking government?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed, and I did that on the basis of my observations of the situation in China itself, and conversations with some of the leading figures in the People's Republic government.

HERMAN. Well, what I'm trying to find out is, what you think the flaw is—what we should be doing that we have not or vice versa?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, that is up to the executive branch, because the agreement was made between Nixon and Chou En-lai, approved by Mao Tse-tung, and now it's going to be up to Ford and Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping.

HERMAN. You have no advice before you consent on this matter?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

STAHL. Senator Mansfield, on the Vietnamese refugees, it appears that not one refugee who either doesn't have a relative or wasn't a high government official or didn't work for the United States government has yet been cleared out of the camps that we've set up. What is your opinion of the administration's program for these refugees?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think they're doing the best they can under confusing and chaotic circumstances, but it appears to me they did a lot more in the beginning than they're doing now. And the longer they keep these refugees on Guam and at these camps in the United States, I think the more difficulties they're going to encounter. I would say they ought to speed up the process. Other countries, such as Canada, which has agreed to take 3,000; Australia, I believe, about 1,500; France and others, which may take them—that they ought to be considered and the flow out as well as the flow into the country ought to be speeded up.

STAHL. But the State Department says that third countries don't seem to be that willing to take these refugees.

Senator MANSFIELD. Others are not. But the countries I mentioned have indicated their willingness.

NELSON. Senator, last October on Face the Nation, you said that wage and price controls were necessary and it would be only a matter of time before they were implemented. Do you still feel they're necessary, and do you think they'll be implemented?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes, I think they're necessary because I think we're living in a fool's paradise—if we think the energy situation is over, that the depression is on the way out. There are signs, of course—the recession, rather—there are signs, of course, that it's bottoming out, but the unemployment rolls are about 8.9 per cent at the present time, which means about 8.2 million out of work. You have another million who have not applied—who've gotten tired of applying for jobs, and you've got 500,000 and more coming out of the high school graduating and college classes this spring. So the situation as far as unemployment is concerned is bad. We're not doing anything much about it. We did pass an emergency unemployment bill which will take care of about 900,000 or a million, but that isn't enough.

HERMAN. Will it be vetoed?

Senator MANSFIELD. I hope not.

NELSON. But you think wage and price controls, then, will be implemented.

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, eventually. Not at this moment, but I think that they will come, because once—if we do not get away from the recession and the unemployment factor, I think we'll have to do something along those lines.

HERMAN. You paint a pretty grim economic picture for the—

Senator MANSFIELD. It is grim.

HERMAN. —Immediate future. Do you think it's going to result in civil disorder as well as economic disorder?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I'm worried about what might happen in the big cities—the urban areas—this summer, if something isn't done to alleviate unemployment, especially among the younger people, who are suffering the most. And I would point out too that a lot of the veterans of Vietnam are without employment, and their rate is higher than the average.

STAHL. Senator, the Shah of Iran is now saying that he thinks oil prices for imported oil will go up. What is Congress doing about an energy package?

Senator MANSFIELD. Unfortunately, very little. The administration has a program. The President has met the Congress more than halfway as far as deregulating oil is concerned, and holding back on the imposition of the last two dollars on import taxes on petroleum. He has gone more than halfway. The Congress is behind him in that respect. And unfortunately, I have to report in all candor that there's a great deal further for us to go.

STAHL. Well, the House Ways and Means Committee has passed a proposal that would increase the gasoline tax. Do you favor that measure?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

STAHL. What would you do instead?

Senator MANSFIELD. I think that we ought to build up our reserves, at least up to a six months basis; rather than to waste what we have, I think we ought to do away with the profligate use of petroleum products—

HERMAN. How much is that?

Senator MANSFIELD. —which is endemic in this country, impose the 55-mile speed limit, cut down on air conditioners, insulate houses, and try and bring home to the American people that this waste—wastage should not continue because we're not over the hump. And the Shah also announced that he's going to increase prices, as you indicated.

STAHL. Well, there used to be a great sense of urgency about the oil shortage, which doesn't seem to be the case in this country.

Senator MANSFIELD. That is correct.

STAHL. What happened to that feeling?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, the American people have become complacent, the Congress has too. The oil shortage is in the offing, and what they've (the Middle East nations) turned on they can turn off at any time and we'll have it with us again.

NELSON. Well, Senator, do we have any real idea of what our oil reserves are, and if we don't shouldn't the Defense Department and say the CIA have an accurate estimate of the reserves?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, the Geological Survey, ten days or two weeks ago, indicated that our oil and gas reserves are less by half than had been anticipated and announced previously, so we are in a bind. We're behind in the development of nuclear power. Shale oil is a long term proposition, coal will take some time, geothermal and solar energy are still in their infancy, and the Alaska pipeline will not do a great deal to alleviate the shortage which will confront this country at some future date.

NELSON. Do you think we have an accurate estimate then of what our reserves are? Do you think—

Senator MANSFIELD. I think so.

HERMAN. Doesn't the immediate prospect for oil depend on peace in the Middle East,

and how do you assess the chances of continuing peace there?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I'm sorry that Kissinger was not successful in his last trip to the Middle East. The result of that failure means, in my opinion, that there will be a full-fledged conference at Geneva sometime this summer at which time the Arab states will be united along with the Soviet Union against Israel. I think that the attitude of the Europeans and the Japanese will be on the side of the Arab states, and I think the odds have dropped as far as a peaceful settlement are concerned because of this particular failure at that particular time.

HERMAN. How do you assess reports—very recent reports—I think there were some in the paper this morning—that the Soviet Union has had poor luck trying to bring together the forces for the conference in Geneva, and the report that Egypt's President Sadat will seek American money to try to repay loans to the Soviet Union?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, the first part I take with a grain of salt; the second part I would have some belief in.

HERMAN. Do you have any official reason to believe that he's going to seek money from us?

Senator MANSFIELD. None at all.

STAHL. Would you favor giving that money?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would move with great caution on the allocation of any monies to any country because I think we have wasted \$150 billion since 1945, and there again we've been profligate with what we have. I think it's time to pull in a little bit as far as expenditures abroad are concerned, and recognize that we only have so much in the way of resources. As a matter of fact, in many areas we are becoming a have-not country. We should reassess our foreign policy, not only in the Middle East, and where we are doing it voluntarily and in Southeast Asia where we are being forced to, but throughout the world, and recognize the realities.

STAHL. What is your opinion of our government's policy of selling military weapons to Jordan, but holding off giving the same kind of aid to Israel?

Senator MANSFIELD. I'm not in favor of the policy of selling our arms to any country in the world except under the most necessary circumstances. I think we are becoming the armaments merchants of the world, and the figure last year, if I remember correctly, was about 8.3 billion dollars in sales, and they are going up this year. Why should we be the arms supplier of the world? It takes away from our resources; it takes away from our energy in research and development. I think we ought to spend more time in looking after the needs of our own people, technologically and otherwise, than to engage in worldwide adventures in armaments.

STAHL. What's the general congressional attitude about that?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I don't think most of them have given it much thought, but there is a sizable segment in the Congress which is disturbed.

HERMAN. You're coming up to a vote—is it tomorrow?—on the Turkish arms embargo. What do you think will happen?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I hope that we can pass the Scott-Mansfield resolution, because I think it's in the interest of Greece and Cyprus, as well as Turkey, and that it will give added stability to that part of the Mediterranean and that part of NATO.

HERMAN. You counted some noses, I presume. Do you think that the embargo will be killed?

Senator MANSFIELD. We have a fair chance.

NELSON. Senator, what about the armaments at home? Do you think the gun control legislation may pass this session?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

NELSON. The President has come out very much opposed to it.

Senator MANSFIELD. No, it will not pass.

NELSON. You think it will not pass?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

HERMAN. How about the proposition put forward—

Senator MANSFIELD. I think it's a matter for the states to consider anyway.

NELSON. You are opposed to gun control?

Senator MANSFIELD. At the federal level, yes.

HERMAN. How about the proposition put forward by Senators Humphrey and Javits this past week for a national economic planning board to give the United States some kind of central economic planning? Is that a good idea?

Senator MANSFIELD. I haven't read their proposal—it's a pretty long one—it just came out a day or so ago, but I do think we need a reassessment of our domestic policy, especially in the economic area, just as we need a reassessment on a worldwide basis of our foreign policy.

HERMAN. Do you think this is the way to go about it?

Senator MANSFIELD. I haven't read it.

STAHL. Senator, on reassessing our foreign policy, what's your position on the recognition of Cuba?

Senator MANSFIELD. That's something for Mr. Kissinger and the President to decide, because it is purely an executive function; it is not a function of the legislative branch; and what Kissinger has indicated is that they are moving in that direction. The first step, I assume, before recognition will be forthcoming—will be the removal of the trade embargo against Cuba.

STAHL. Well, if they came to you for advice and consultation, what would you say?

Senator MANSFIELD. I'd say, you're the boss, under the constitution.

NELSON. I'd like to ask you about your own political plans.

Senator MANSFIELD. The answer is yes. (Laughter.)

NELSON. You will be running again without question?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes.

NELSON. And you will remain as Majority Leader?

Senator MANSFIELD. That's up to the Democratic conference.

NELSON. But you'll be interested in remaining as Majority Leader?

Senator MANSFIELD. Still, it's up to the Democratic conference; I've never sought the job.

HERMAN. Are you still a candidate for the job? the Majority? Will you still be a candidate for the job?

Senator MANSFIELD. I never was a candidate.

HERMAN. Well, you somehow got the job? Senator MANSFIELD. But I never sought it.

HERMAN. Would you turn it down if it were offered to you again?

Senator MANSFIELD. That depends.

HERMAN. That depends on what?

Senator MANSFIELD. Everything. (Laughter.)

HERMAN. Such as—what kind of things?

Senator MANSFIELD. It depends on the situation at the time.

HERMAN. I don't understand what you mean—what situation?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, you'd better understand it, because that's the only answer you're going to get.

HERMAN. Okay.

STAHL. I hope you will be more responsive to this question, Senator. Could you support George Wallace for Vice President?

Senator MANSFIELD. No.

STAHL. Why not?

Senator MANSFIELD. Because I don't think that he would be able to win the election.