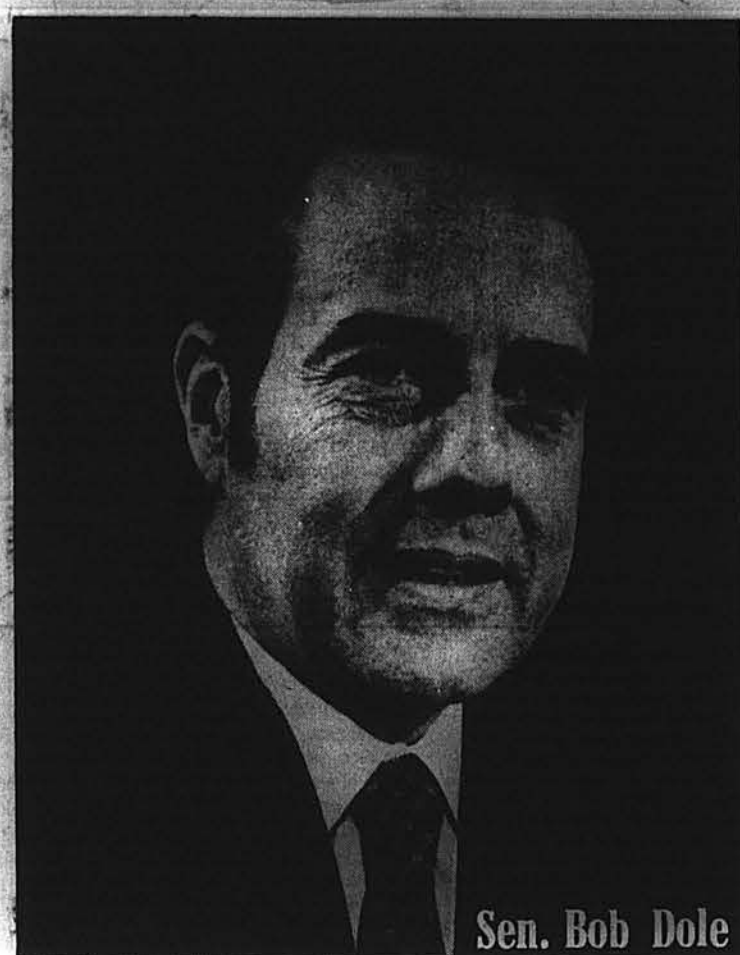


20. 1971



Sen. Bob Dole

**Do you see anything developing in the new Senate that will make it more productive than the Senate of the 91st Congress?**

PEARSON — I hope that there would be some modification in the rules. Sen. Frank Church and I will again this year — as we did two years ago — enter a resolution to amend Rule 22 which is the filibuster rule. Because there were several filibusters at the very end of the last session, we might be operating in a better climate to change the rules. But composition of the new Senate may be more conservative in nature, so I'm not sure that we have a better chance to change the filibuster rule. The Congressional Reorganization Act of last year did have some reforms, not so much in the rules in the Senate but in the procedures. So I am hopeful, primarily because I have to be.

DOLE — There will be some programs, of course, submitted by the President on Jan. 22. Welfare reform will be back again, the revenue sharing — we got some draft reform, governmental reform (in the last session) — so there are going to be great opportunities for the Congress to do more than we did in the past Congress. We have recognized that we are in a political campaign right now, that at least eight Democratic senators — and maybe more — want to be President. But I think on balance there will be some progress.

**What do you expect will be the principal features of the Family Assistance Plan when it's finally signed into law?**

PEARSON — You're going to have what you can refer to as a guaranteed family income or a floor of some sort. But the concept is to provide payments which are connected either with work or training. This is really an enormous and substantial new program, which the Congress is most reluctant to undertake as they think about the history and experience of Medicare. You've heard comments that half the people in Mississippi under this plan will go on welfare. Well, millions more will go on. It'll cost \$4 billion more per year. The present welfare program is such a frustration and failure — it fails the recipient, it fails the taxpayer and it fails society. So we've got to have some reform.

DOLE — I think basically it will be a floor under the President's outline — a minimum of \$1,000 for a family of four. There is going to be more emphasis, however, on welfare reform. I think you'll hear less and less of "family assistance." It's not that Congress is opposed to giving benefits to those who need benefits, but we also need reform, we need to eliminate some of the abuses. Certainly, some of us who have more conservative views want to support welfare reform. In our own state of Kansas, the costs have gone up about 24 per cent in the last year. It's a total disaster. So, reform is needed. If we can take care of some of these abuses it will pass the Senate and House without any problem.

**What change, if any, do you anticipate in either the apparent or real leadership hierarchy of Senate Republicans?**

PEARSON — I don't really foresee any change in the Senate leadership. When you have a Democratic Congress and a Republican administration, the minority leadership isn't too important. You have a spokesman of the administration

announcing administration policies and you have the majority leadership announcing what the schedule and the program in Congress is going to be.

DOLE — I could probably answer that question better next week. Insofar as any contest (for minority leader), I have made it clear to both Sen. (Howard) Baker and (minority leader Sen. Hugh) Scott that I would not become involved. But I don't intend to be a muted voice in the Senate just because I may be national chairman.

**Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has announced that the U.S. combat role in South Vietnam will end within a few months, but will that dampen the hostility in the Senate toward the administration's Vietnamization policies?**

PEARSON — There isn't a great deal of hostility in the Senate to the President's Vietnamization policy. It is centered in a relatively small group of senators who have moved from a position of saying "Get out of Vietnam" to a position whereby — finding that the administration is going to get out — they now say that when you get out, you must get out on a timetable publicly declared and religiously followed. I don't think the President is going to ever adhere to an announced timetable because he says it will take away all flexibility that he may have on both the diplomatic and the military field. I don't think Vietnam was an issue in the last election. I don't think it'll be an issue in the forthcoming Congress to the extent that you will have another resolution along the Hatfield-McGovern line.

DOLE — Probably not. There are a few doves still in flight. They don't fly as long and far anymore, but they have a basic disagreement that goes back as far as (President) Kennedy's time, probably as far as (President) Eisenhower's time. But there will be less and less talk of Southeast Asia because President Nixon is succeeding. If something should happen and the Vietnam program blew up, then, of course, everyone must take another look. But I am convinced that Nixon is committed to getting us out. I think combat will essentially end on May 1 and then you are going to see a gradual reduction of even support troops.

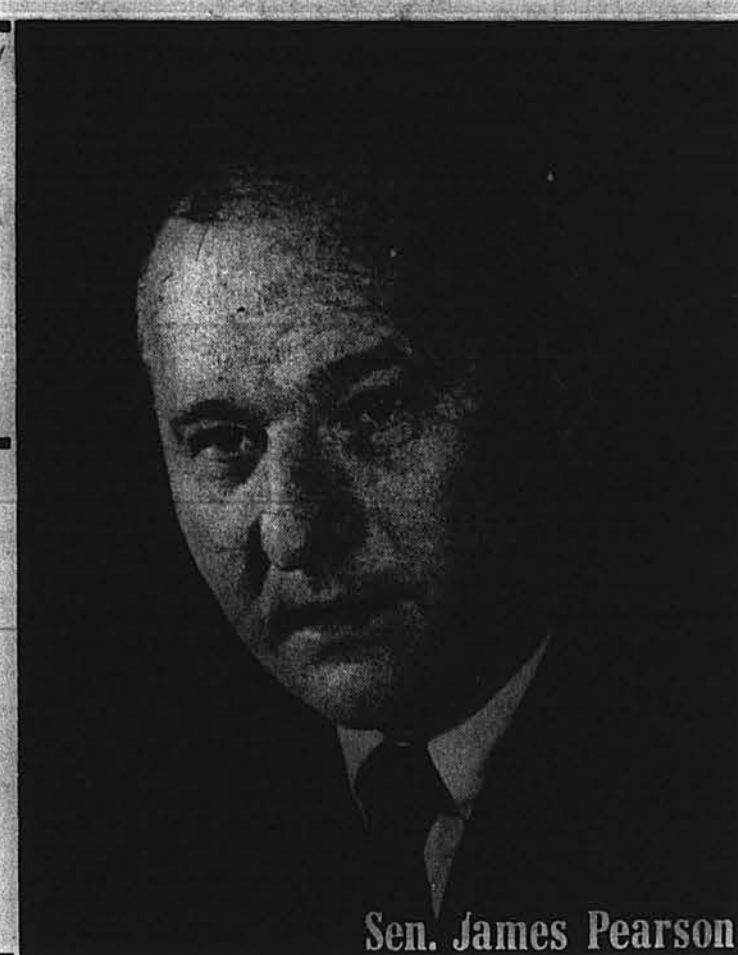
**How well is America's foreign policy working to bring peace to the Middle East?**

PEARSON — I think really that the real bright part of all the President's efforts have been the field of foreign affairs — the revitalization of NATO, start of SALT talks, winding down the war in Vietnam, are all, I think, very significant developments. Now anybody that can take even one small step toward peace in the Middle East — as the (Rogers) proposal did bring about a cease fire and ultimately a resumption of peace talks — it's really a remarkable thing. The struggles there go back to the days of the Old Testament. You have to go over there and talk to some of these people to really get a feeling of the violence of their emotion. They are a volatile, nationalistic, religiously fanatical kind of people. So you have (Egyptian President) Sadat rattling the sabres as we've never heard them rattled before, at the very time his emissary is in flight to the United Nations to talk about peace terms. These rulers over there, and we ought to understand — particularly the politicians — these rulers have to say things for national consumption to maintain

## REPORT FROM THE SENATE

January 17, 1971

The SST, Vietnam, the Middle East, deficits, national health care, and trade. These are among the issues expected to occupy the attention of the Senate when it begins its 92nd session Wednesday. In separate interviews this month, Kansas' two Republican senators, James B. Pearson and Bob Dole, were asked for their thoughts on the issues.



Sen. James Pearson

**What's the outlook for the SST and what would it take to win over enough of its Senate critics to keep it alive?**

PEARSON — The SST was defeated substantially in the Senate. The vote was probably closer than the numbers indicate because there is a tendency, once a thing has gone, to go on its side. We have to count heads of the new people coming (into the Senate). The SST is in very troubled waters on the question of ecology which I think is gravely over-played and on the very serious question of priorities. The SST, for better or for ill, has really gotten to be a symbolic thing. Questions of "Is this reliable transportation?" and questions of superiority of American commercial aviation have gotten lost. So I think the chances are dim.

DOLE — The environment, of course, has surpassed every other issue in consideration of the SST. I remind my Democratic friends who again seem to zero in on SST as some way to get at Nixon or discredit Nixon: This goes back to the Eisenhower administration, at least the idea. The concept was embraced by Kennedy, extended by Johnson and we're trying to complete it under Nixon. If we want to waste \$700 million and more, we can stop the program. Beyond that, I've said to (Sen. William) Proxmire and (Sen. Gaylord) Nelson and others, why shouldn't we build the prototypes and then test all these problems and see if we can find the answer to the environmental question raised — side line noises, sonic booms. Let's not condemn it until we have tried it.

**What's the outlook for Social Security benefit and tax increases?**

PEARSON — Excellent. Assured. The most positive statement I could make in the entire interview. Benefits will increase 10 per cent.

DOLE — The Social Security (benefit) increase will be enacted very quickly. I'd say in a month or six weeks that there will be a (benefit) increase of 7-7.5 per cent.

**What proposals will be made by you or your party to strengthen the Food and Agriculture Act of 1970?**

PEARSON — I think the great effort will be made in trying to strengthen our export position. We really aren't going to entirely change the farm economic situation until we can somehow or other solve the exports situation. The great chicken and the egg kind of proposition. What faces us there is those nations that need grain and wheat but haven't got any dollars and those nations that have dollars don't want any wheat. I don't think you will see any proposals for major modifications of the agricultural act. I think you'll see a lot of efforts for exports, see things like I try to do about rural revitalization. I introduced the Rural Job Development Act again and it made a little more progress this time than ever before. The Rural Development Bank to provide some credit between commercial institutions and small businesses. The Rural Roads Act is just an extension of the old farm-to-market program, pulling a little of that money out of the highway fund.

DOLE — I don't think there will be any legislative changes. There may be administrative changes. This is how it can be strengthened insofar as (farm) income is concerned. It must depend on

what the Bureau of Budget does or the Office of Management does on how these rules and regulations are seen by the secretary of agriculture. It's one thing to get a bill passed in this Congress. It's quite another thing to administer it. I think this is a real test of Secretary Hardin. We really don't know how the farmers feel about him as an administrator. We know some farmers are unhappy with the farm bill, but Hardin has worked hard both with the Democrats and Republicans to get this through. I think the real test lies ahead.

**Will the trade protection proposals of the 91st Congress rise again in the 92nd Congress and how will they be handled to maintain agriculture's interests in free trade?**

PEARSON — I don't really know whether they will come back again. The textile bill came out of the very serious economic situation for the textile industries in the South. There was a campaign promise (by the President). The trouble with that thing is there is just no way to open the door and let one (industry) out. Shoes would be attached, and steel and electronics and et cetera, et cetera. I oppose the trade bill. I recognize the Japanese and the Common Market have not kept their agreements in the Kennedy Round (of international trade negotiations), but I think free trade is still durable. I just have real doubts if they come back with (the trade bill), but if they do, one of two things will happen. Either they will fail to pass it or if they do pass it, it will just be a Christmas tree. And then I don't know whether the President will sign it.

DOLE — It'll rise again and it is a very difficult question to answer. The import quota on beef, for example. We're not so strong for import quotas for shoes because we don't make shoes in Kansas. To say that agriculture is not involved in (trade) protection is really not an accurate statement. I think they can work out some type of voluntary agreement with Japan on textiles. I much prefer voluntary agreements to legislation, because you don't want to become a protection country. We believe in the concept of free trade and when we say that, we must get behind and support this (position).

**What will you or your party do in the 92nd Congress to alleviate the difficulty of obtaining boxcars for grain transportation?**

PEARSON — Do everything I've done in the past nine years again. There are interesting things happening on the one proposal we put in that was radical and revolutionary. The proposal was to appropriate money and authorize the Defense Department to build its own boxcars so that we would release all those cars that the military now uses. We would have a national fleet of government-owned cars which could be leased to shippers and carriers.

DOLE — We'll probably all make speeches and we have a boxcar derby every year. Bill Avery used to win it every time. He'd be the first congressman to announce the boxcar shortage. Since he left, I don't know who is the winner of the derby. But there is still a shortage and there are announcements of a shortage, but we never do anything about the shortage. We have a Kansas, Sen. Pearson, taking a lead in this field. He's now on the committee, which handles the legislation and I think we need to get behind his proposal, in addition to making speeches.

## FEATURES EDITORIALS SECTION B

The Wichita Eagle and Beacon Sunday January 17, 1971

effort by Russia to take over the Mediterranean. I think we have a vital role to play there. I don't mean engage in a war there, but certainly we don't want to be pushed around by the Russians who have greater designs on that territory.

**Republicans regularly criticize Democrats for deficit spending, blaming them for inflation. The President has announced his budget will have a significant deficit. What will be the reception in the Senate?**

PEARSON — Just like we accepted all the deficits. Let me make one thing clear: As I understand it, in relation to the budget which in this fiscal year I think will have a deficit of about \$15 billion, that's not a budget deficit that has its roots in the way we have done this before. It's not really excessive spending on the part of the administration or the Congress. This deficit represents the flatness in the national economy more than it does excessive spending. That is really a different kind of a deficit than we have had before and it is acceptable because it represents some effort to do something about the excessive demand type of inflation. The budget deficit that we are now anticipating is a budget deficit that's based on what we will spend in relation to the full length form of the economy. This is a change of economic policy on the part of the administration because they think they have excessive demand inflation under control. The inflation we have now is cost-push type.

To pick up the economy and to try to take care of this inflation, they are going to go back and probably risk stimulating the excessive demand type. The same people who have complained about budget deficits will continue to complain. The same people who accept the so-called new economics, which is something of the early 1960s, will be able to rationalize.

DOLE — I would guess there will be some Republicans that will criticize this. We are faced with a dilemma of higher unemployment. I think inflation is coming under control. So maybe on the basis that inflation is controlled then perhaps deficit spending can be tolerated. But you can't have all three — deficit spending, unemployment

and inflation. I think if the President's program on inflation is working, there will be little criticism. If not, he will be in real trouble.

**How would you rate the prospects for a comprehensive national health care plan?**

PEARSON — I rate them rather good and I say that because I think health care will be the great issue in the next Congress. I think the minimum that Congress would do is to do something in the field of catastrophic health problems. And if they do that, they may put off for a time a more comprehensive national health plan. This will be interesting to

watch because I see in congressional action today something that is contrary to traditional notions. How many years was Social Security contemplated? Ten years? Fifteen years? We came up with the welfare reform thing and they almost put it through in two years. We had a lot of criticism because we didn't get it done, but if you compare other pieces of social legislation, how long they had to wait for their time to come, you see the movement that was made in welfare reform was quite good, even though the public won't accept that. Neither will the administration.

DOLE — I think, in the broad sense, excellent. There will be some kind of health plan. Every Democrat candidate for President will have a plan for health. I don't fault them for this, seeking some springboard — McGovern about hunger, Muskie about pollution, Kennedy about health. It's a d a l e about education, Humphrey about all of them. You know how he likes to talk.

**With a tax lid on the books and a spending lid proposed in Kansas, how would you rate the prospects for a significant federal revenue sharing plan?**

PEARSON — Until the economic policy of the administration changed, I felt that there would be little or no chance of getting the revenue sharing plan. I thought there would have to be a revenue proposal, such as the value-added tax, or that there would have to be some kind of economic boom to provide the revenue. I thought they would not send this revenue back on a sharing basis unless it could be financed within the tight fiscal policies of the administration. The economic policy has changed, as I indicated earlier. We are going into 1972, the President wants to have something in his hat regarding the "New Federalism." The real big question will be what kind of formula will we send revenue back on and what will be the flow to the cities.

DOLE — I think very good. In fact, I support the revenue sharing and did before I went to the Senate. Last year the President submitted a \$800 million program. I think the new program is going to be more comprehensive because we have some cities on the brink of disaster, and some states.