

TRANSCRIPT

All copyright and right of copyright in this transcript and in the broadcast are owned by CBS. This transcript may not be copied or reproduced or used in any way (other than for purposes of reference, discussion and review) without the written permission of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

CBS NEWS
2020 M Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

FACE THE NATION

as broadcast over the

CBS Television Network

and the

CBS Radio Network

Sunday, August 6, 1967 -- 12:30-1:00 PM EDT

GUEST: SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSEN
Republican of Illinois

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS:

Martin Agronsky
CBS News

Peter Lisagor
Chicago Daily News

John Hart
CBS News

DIRECTOR: Robert Vitarelli

PRODUCERS: Prentiss Childs and Sylvia Westerman

CBS NEWS
2020 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HIGHLIGHTS FROM REMARKS OF HONORABLE EVERETT DIRKSEN,
U.S. SENATOR, REPUBLICAN OF ILLINOIS, ON "FACE THE NATION"
ON THE CBS TELEVISION AND THE CBS RADIO NETWORKS, SUNDAY,
AUGUST 6, 1967 - 12:30-1:00 PM EST:

	<u>PAGE</u>
<u>Riots and Urban problems</u>	
Presented Republican Party statement blaming Pres. Johnson for riots, but would personally be cautious about allegations	1 and 13
In a good many communities there is evidence of outside influences triggering riots	2
If conditions not ameliorated--will be "one of the monumental issues in '68"	3
Congress has <u>not</u> been "niggardly"--will read figures to Mayor Jerome Cavanagh before the Committee	8
Cincinnati police chief told Committee city was in good shape	9
Stokley Carmichael--treason is a sinister charge--must be proven	17
<u>Vietnam</u>	
Supports President's policy--he has most expert advice	4 and 5 7
<u>Gun control bill</u>	
Can better be handled at state level Would go along with moderate bill	15

1 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator Dirksen, a recent Republican Party
2 statement read by you blamed President Johnson for the
3 racial riots. Your Republican colleague, Senator Thruston
4 Morton, denounced this as irresponsible. Do you agree?

5 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I did not fashion that statement.
6 I was a sort of an intermediary who was impressed into service
7 to read that statement. But a committee actually fashioned
8 that statement.

9 ANNOUNCER: From CBS Washington, in-color, FACE THE NATION,
10 a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Senator
11 Republican Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois. Senator
12 Dirksen will be questioned by Peter Lisagor of the Chicago
13 Daily News; CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky; and
14 CBS News Correspondent John Hart.

15 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator Dirksen, though the statement was a
16 Republican Coordinating Committee statement, you did read it,
17 and you still really have not answered me, sir. Do you agree
18 with Senator Morton's denunciation of it as irresponsible?

19 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I have not gone as far quite as might
20 be implied by that statement. I like to be rather cautious
21 and careful about any allegations or accusations that I make.
22 And so I think I would be content to let that answer drop just
23 about there.

24 MR. LISAGOR: Senator Dirksen, the Senate Judiciary Committee,
25 of which you are a member, has been spending some time

1 discussing or hearing on the anti-riot bill. I would like
2 to ask you how that anti-riot bill would prevent riots of
3 the kind that occurred in Detroit which has been described
4 as home-grown or indigenous.

5 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, of the witnesses that the Committee
6 has heard thus far, it is quite evident that in a good many
7 communities there were outside influences that came in and
8 rather triggered these riots. Now, the bill before the
9 Committee, which incidentally has already passed the House
10 of Representatives, is designed to get at people who cross
11 state lines with intent to undertake civil disorder, and by
12 that means make them subject to very heavy penalties.
13 Now I think the bill is probably wanting in some particulars
14 and to be effective would probably have to be tightened. It
15 is a little difficult, of course, if you use the word "intent"
16 in a statute to prove that intent as the reason for going across
17 a state line.

18 MR. HART: Senator, there is one more summer to go through
19 before the elections, a summer in which the conventions will
20 be held in a large city. Aside from the people whose lives
21 and property might be in danger from such a summer, what
22 politicians, which parties, face a greater threat?

23 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I don't quite know what you mean when
24 you say threat to a political party. Are you speaking about
25 a physical threat --

1 MR. HART: I am speaking of a political threat.

2 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, by that, of course, you mean that
3 they are not likely to succeed in November of 1968. Well,
4 it is hard to tell. It is purely speculative. That is a long
5 ways from now, as you know. We will have fourteen, fifteen
6 months to go. So many things can happen that may replace the
7 issues that are before us today. And who shall say what the
8 dominant issue will be at that time.

9 MR. HART: Well, now, you said two weeks ago that this country
10 was rapidly approaching a state of anarchy. Is this moderated
11 in the last quiet week?

12 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, it has been approaching a state of
13 anarchy. But on the other hand now that they are giving
14 attention to this matter, and obviously rioting and
15 tumult and disorder is nearly on everybody's tongue, there will
16 be an amelioration of that condition, I am sure, long before
17 November of 1968. If there is not, then, of course, it is
18 going to be one of the monumental issues in '68.

19 MR. LISAGOR: Yet, Senator, you have just been quoted as
20 saying, in a WASHINGTON POST story which talks about the
21 restless mood in the Congress -- and I quote -- "I have
22 always gone on the theory that no political party is ever
23 defeated by another; it defeats itself".

24 SENATOR DIRKSEN: That is right.

25 MR. LISAGOR: "And that is what is happening. Lyndon has

1 exceptional political skill, but there is always a first time."

2 Does that mean you think he has about had it?

3 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I just mean that when you put into a bundle
4 the problems of Viet Nam and the dissidence that is developing
5 in the country, this question of rioting, and certainly there
6 are people who will feel that the Administration may in part be
7 at fault; and then of course the request for a 10 per cent
8 surcharge, and add to it a few other things, you have got
9 yourself quite a package. And it is by the accumulation of
10 those difficulties that parties ultimately defeat themselves.
11 It is like the old ship that gets enough barnacles to put it
12 out of business.

13 MR. AGRONSKY: Well, Senator, where do you stand on those
14 particular issues? Will you support the President on a 10
15 per cent tax increase, for example?

16 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I take them as they come. I think my views
17 on Viet Nam have been pretty well known. I have supported
18 the President. I go on the theory that in his corner he has
19 the Chiefs of Staff, he has the best military talent we have,
20 he has these reports from Viet Nam, probably every hour on the
21 hour. And obviously he is in better position to know about
22 what the situation is than a layman back here 12,000 miles from
23 the scene of operations who has not been to Viet Nam in a long
24 time, and who is in no position to judge.

25 Now, take, for instance, these last rather massive assaults that

1 have been made in the last few days. How telling and how
2 effective will they really be? They may add up to something.
3 I am in no position to tell at the moment, on the basis of the
4 dispatches that come from there. It may be effective.

5 MR. LISAGOR: Your House colleague, Representative Gerald Ford,
6 has said of the Viet Nam war that it has been shockingly
7 mismanaged. He seems to know what is going on there. Do you
8 agree with that, or don't you?

9 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I hope there is somebody who knows.
10 But I think it would be high pretense on my part if I tried to
11 undertake the role of an expert on Viet Nam. I have to take
12 it for what it is. And I try to be a realist about it. Who
13 do we have the Joint Chiefs? Why do we have the best that the
14 Army could offer by way of a staff under the leadership of
15 General Westmoreland out in Viet Nam? And then of course
16 either ignore or brush aside their demands and their advices?

17 MR. AGRONSKY: I find it hard to believe, Senator, that you
18 would abdicate in effect the role of the critic of Viet Nam
19 policy or any other policy because you feel the Administration
20 has the experts and you are not an expert. You certainly
21 do not subscribe to that, sir.

22 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I undertake the role of a critic when I have
23 sufficient information on which to predicate what I think is
24 sound criticism.

25 MR. HART: Well, Senator, are you going to support the

1 President all the way on guns and butter, facing the deficit
2 and the necessity of a tax as we face this year; are you
3 going to support him all the way, or is there a breaking point?

4 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Now, you are asking for a rather anticipatory
5 conclusion.

6 MR. HART: Well, do you anticipate any breaking point?

7 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Wait just a minute, until I finish an answer.
8 That tax surcharge proposal will go to the Senate Finance
9 Committee. I am a member of the Committee. We will probably
10 start with the Secretary of the Treasury. We will have
11 witnesses galore. And I trust I can be at every session of
12 the Committee and hear the testimony.

13 What I want to know is what will be the impact of a ten per cent
14 surcharge upon the economy of the country, and what will be the
15 impact of a possible \$30 billion budget deficit on the economy.
16 One must necessarily outweigh the other.

17 Now, I read the statement by the economist for the Bank of
18 America this morning who thinks that a tax increase would be
19 shocking from the standpoint of what it will do to business.
20 Well, we will have to find out. And I want to find out. Then
21 I am in a far better position to render judgment.

22 I would hate to think of a \$30 billion deficit staring us in
23 the face and what its impact will be on inflation, because we
24 may have to pay more in the grocery store, in the clothing
25 store, in interest rates, in tighter money, in nearly every

1 other phase of activity than you would if you had a tax increase.
2 But I just don't close the door -- why should I -- until
3 we have had that testimony.

4 MR. HART: Well the question is could the strain become such
5 that you would withdraw your full support of the war.

6 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I have to see what the effect there
7 will be. What are the alternatives? Shall we withdraw?
8 Where does it leave us? Where does it leave our prestige
9 so far as the world is concerned? Will we have to make a
10 stand elsewhere at some other time? Because if we did, there
11 is no defense line between Saigon and Singapore.

12 Now, what do we do with our Pacific defense line -- pull it
13 back to Alaska and Hawaii? Then they are only 2,000 miles
14 from California.

15 There are some strategic and long-range objectives that have
16 to be evaluated before you come to that kind of a conclusion.

17 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, clearly you support the President's
18 policy in Viet Nam.

19 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I definitely have.

20 MR. AGRONSKY: OK. Now, what we have today everyone agrees
21 is a question of priorities. We must fight the war in Viet Nam.
22 You support that completely. And at the same time we must
23 deal with the problem of the cities and these riots.

24 Now, your junior colleague from Illinois, Senator Percy,
25 has said that if we can spend \$66 million a day to save

1 16 million people in South Viet Nam, we have the funds to move
2 up to highest priority the saving of 20 million urban poor in
3 this country; and in conditions, as he points out, that we
4 simply cannot tolerate. We have to assign the urban crisis
5 in America, he now says, as the number one priority. Would you
6 agree with Senator Percy?

7 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, the fact of the matter is that the
8 1968 fiscal year budget had a billion dollars in it for urban
9 development. And if you want to know how that was spent or
10 allocated, just take a look at what the Chairman of the House
11 Appropriations Committee said with respect to Detroit. You
12 will find it all in the record. And when I hear these stories
13 that the Congress has been at fault, the Congress has been
14 niggardly, the Congress has been nothing of the kind. And
15 when we get Mayor Cavanaugh before the Committee -- and I
16 trust we will have him pretty soon -- I will ply him with that
17 line of questioning, and then read the figures to him out of
18 the record and see whether we have been niggardly or not.

19 MR. AGRONSKY: Let me ply you with this line of question. Do
20 you think that we have already spent enough and should not
21 spend more on the cities?

22 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Maybe we have not spent enough. I would
23 like to see the rest of --

24 MR. AGRONSKY: Well, that is inconsistent, sir, with your
25 argument before.

1 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Why?

2 MR. AGRONSKY: Well, your argument is that we did spend
3 enough and it did not prevent the riots. I am asking you
4 whether or not we should spend more. Many people feel we have
5 not spent enough and must spend enormous amounts more, as
6 Senator Percy, for example.

7 SENATOR DIRKSEN: You are making it appear that this Administra-
8 tion has not been interested in urban development. Why did
9 they ask for a billion dollars -- and we gave them a billion
10 dollars. They are asking for a billion dollars now. And they
11 will get a billion dollars for it. Now, do they need much
12 more? All right -- let them come in from various places and
13 ventilate their needs.

14 Now, to show you what I mean -- we had the Chief of Police
15 of Cincinnati before the Senate Judiciary Committee. I said
16 to him "Do you have a ghetto in Cincinnati?" He said "We
17 do not." I said "What is your housing situation?" He said
18 "Our housing is in pretty good shape." "What kind of
19 recreational facilities do you have?" He said "We are proud
20 of it." I said "What about your schools?" "Our schools
21 are integrated and we believe they will match the schools of
22 any part of the country."

23 Now, then, what other fields of activity do you think we
24 ought to get into in order to spend some money? Is it jobs?
25 I asked him about jobs. Cincinnati is a machine tool center,

1 made in the present Administration program.

2 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I suppose if I had been on the Senate
3 Foreign Relations Committee I might have gone for a deeper cut
4 than the Committee did. I think they cut roughly about
5 \$750 million out of that bill.

6 MR. LISAGOR: Are you talking about foreign aid now?

7 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Foreign aid.

8 MR. LISAGOR: Yes.

9 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Now, I might have added more. You will
10 recall that last year I authored a cut of \$250 million in
11 foreign aid, which was approved by both the House and the
12 Senate. Last year I offered an amendment to cut the poverty
13 program, and I cited a lot of the waste, a lot of the lag
14 in the poverty program, and the Senate and House both approved
15 it.

16 Now, quite aside from whatever the good aspects of that program
17 are, here you are constantly confronted with these individual
18 instances and examples of where you get waste. Do we sit
19 idly by and let them go, or do we discharge our responsibility
20 and put the knife in if we think the knife ought to go in.

21 MR. AGRONSKY: Nobody argues against the need for economy
22 and using the monies that are appropriated intelligently and
23 well. That isn't the point.

24 SENATOR DIRKSEN: What is the point?

25 MR. AGRONSKY: Well, the question is have we spent enough?

1 Is it just hoodlumism and criminal elements that causes the
2 riots in the cities, or is it a deep-seated sickness in our
3 urban society?

4 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, let people who speak with knowledge and
5 some degree of authority come and lay it on the line. It is
6 one thing to come before a committee and there openhandedly
7 sai "Well, you have got to add a billion here and two billion
8 there." What are the facts in every case? That is why I
9 alluded to Cincinnati. I could allude to Nashville, or to
10 Cambridge, or to Plainfield, or any of these -- in every case
11 I pursued that line of questioning before, as you say, I wanted
12 to find out whether there was a sickness there.

13 But what do you do when your chief law enforcing officer comes
14 before a Senate Committee and in response to these questions
15 says "We do not have that problem."

16 Now, from the other side, they are constantly using the
17 word "ghetto". "You have to get at the spirit of the ghetto
18 and get rid of them, and you have to meet the slum problem."
19 Alright. But there has got to be some specifics, and it has
20 got to be tied to ascertained amounts, not just something off
21 the top of somebody's head.

22 MR. HART: Senator, a moment ago you cited the Administration's
23 interest in urban problems.

24 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Yes.

25 MR. HART: That sounds like a repudiation of the statement

1 blaming the President for the riots.

2 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I didn't blame the President for the riots.

3 MR. HART: The statement you read --

4 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I didn't blame the President for the
5 riots. I made it clear as crystal that I read a statement that
6 was brought about by a committee of three.

7 MR. AGRONSKY: How could you lend yourself to reading it, sir,
8 if you did not agree with it?

9 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Look -- you are a party functionary, and
10 when you have maybe forty, fifty people around, and they think
11 you ought to read what was agreed upon by the Coordinating
12 Committee, and unanimously --

13 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator Morton, who is a former Chairman
14 of the Republican National Committee, a member of your party,
15 denounced it as irresponsible. He would not have read it.

16 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Who else denounced it as irresponsible?
17 Who else? Now that you bring up an individual -- who else?

18 MR. AGRONSKY: No members of the Republican Party did that I am
19 aware of.

20 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Exactly.

21 MR. AGRONSKY: It was widely criticized throughout the country
22 in editorials.

23 SENATOR DIRKSEN: You say one man. Let it drop right there.

24 MR. HART: Well, Senator, you seem to be a little
25 uncomfortable with it.

WARD & PAUL

1 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I am not a bit uncomfortable.

2 MR. LISAGOR: Senator, may I ask you what Representative Ford --

3 SENATOR DIRKSEN: But you don't pursue these things to the end.

4 MR. HART: What is the end, sir?

5 SENATOR DIRKSEN: And I try to. Well, you talk about this
6 sickness. You mean these various urban problems. All right.
7 We have had a look at them, and we continue to take a look at
8 them. And when they cite the need, very well. And what would
9 be the reason for exploring this line of questioning with the
10 witnesses coming before the Judiciary Committee on this anti-
11 riot bill unless I want to find out whether those economic
12 factors are the push for civil disorder and violation of the
13 law?

14 MR. LISAGOR: Senator, your colleague in the House, Congressman
15 Ford, again, thinks that there is a conspiracy involved in
16 these riots. Do you think there is one?

17 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, conspiracy is a difficult thing to
18 prove, to say the least. You see, it takes more than one
19 man to make a conspiracy.

20 MR. LISAGOR: You would not accept that.

21 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, unless you can find two with the
22 same intent, operating with the same idea and the same
23 direction, and in the same field of activity, at a given time.
24 Then of course you can prove a conspiracy.

25 MR. LISAGOR: Senator, on the specific bill, I think that the

1 gun control bill has been languishing in the Congress for quite
2 some time.

3 SENATOR DIRKSEN: So it has.

4 MR. LISAGOR: And I understand that you favor what has been
5 called the more lenient bill, as compared to those who
6 would include rifles that the snipers have been using in the
7 cities, the rifle that President Kennedy was assassinated by.
8 Why are you not in favor of a strong gun control bill which
9 would prevent these rifles from falling into the hands of just
10 anyone?

11 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, if it s a reasonably predicated bill,
12 and if it can be made effective, then very well and good. But
13 I have often thought that that is a job that can better be
14 done at the state level than at the federal level. Although
15 with a moderate bill, I would be inclined to go along, I think.
16 But I don't want them to put too much of a restriction upon our
17 people.

18 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, that kind of --

19 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I think the real issue there is the control
20 of hand guns, as much as rifles and shotguns.

21 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, it was a long gun, not a hand gun,
22 that assassinated President Kennedy.

23 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Yes.

24 MR. AGRONSKY: And long guns that are being used by snipers
25 in the riots.

1 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, we raised that matter of long guns with
2 one of the chiefs of police, and he did not know what we were
3 referring to when we said long gun.

4 MR. AGRONSKY: We mean a rifle.

5 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, a rifle can be longer or it can be
6 shorter, as you well know.

7 MR. AGRONSKY: I am merely trying to point out that it is a
8 rifle that the snipers have been using in the riots, it is a
9 rifle that killed President Kennedy.

10 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I am inclined to agree with you, particularly

11 MR. AGRONSKY: Then why not control them?

12 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Yes -- it if it a long-range rifle. And I
13 would not be averse to that, either.

14 MR. HART: Senator, you just said that conspiracy is
15 awfully difficult to prove. And yet that is exactly what the
16 anti-riot bill would need to be proved. You feel that that
17 could be effective?

18 SENATOR DIRKSEN: No. You don't have to prove conspiracy,
19 because any individual, if you can prove his intent to go
20 across the state line --

21 MR. HART: Is that easier to prove than conspiracy?

22 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Certainly -- in the case of one man. But
23 you have to show concert of action between two people if you
24 are going to prove conspiracy.

25 MR. LISAGOR: Doesn't that require mind reading, and can you

1 put into a statute an exercise like mind reading?

2 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, you know, when you try to establish
3 intent to the satisfaction of the jury, you have to do it
4 beyond a reasonable doubt. And that is not an easy matter.
5 Now, in the case of an ordinary crime, the intent is inferred
6 from the fact itself. But here you go a little bit further,
7 because a man can go across a state line without such intent,
8 but when he gets to his destination, he may get into civil
9 disorder, but he did not have an intention to do so when he
10 crossed that line.

11 MR. LISAGOR: On this question of intent, Senator, Governor
12 Romney has said that people like Stokley Carmichael, one of the
13 militant Negro leaders, now in Cuba, ought to be charged with
14 treason. Do you think that ought to happen?

15 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, treason is precisely defined as giving
16 aid and comfort to the enemy. Now you have to prove it. And
17 I would be the last man to ever put the finger of treason on
18 anybody unless there was a pretty clear showing, because that
19 is a terribly sinister charge to make.

20 MR. AGRONSKY: Does that mean you would not be against the
21 naming of Carmichael as a traitor?

22 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, if you can establish that fact.
23 But you cannot put the tarred stick on anybody unless you
24 pretty well know. Is it any easier than to say that a man
25 is a murderer unless you have some reasonable ground for

1 such belief?

2 MR. AGRONSKY: You demonstrate a concern that is widely shared
3 in the country that perhaps this bill on what is in effect an
4 effort to read people's thoughts and intent may be open to
5 abuse, may go too far, may threaten our constitutional
6 processes. Doesn't that concern you, sir?

7 SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I have not examined too well into the
8 constitutional aspects of the bill. I was thinking in terms
9 of the language in the bill itself, and your difficulty in
10 finding facts of probative value in order to establish such a
11 charge. Because if you cannot do it, then why have it on the
12 statute books. Or better yet, look for a modification that
13 will deal with the problem, that would appear to be before us.

14 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, don't you feel that perhaps this
15 concern about the police approach to the riots and the
16 restoration of law and order is going to obscure the under-
17 lying, fundamental need to do something about the cities?
18 You kept pointing out what proof is there that we need to put
19 in more. Well, there are statistics that demonstrate, for
20 example, that forty per cent of the adult males in Negro
21 ghettos in our cities are jobless these days; that one out of
22 ten of Negro boys and girls are able to get a high school
23 education. Aren't these demonstrations of the fact that we
24 do need to do more, that this is what creates this element that
25 goes out into the streets and riots?

1 SENATOR DIRKSEN: I will go so far as to concede that there
2 is joblessness and particularly among the younger people. But
3 I will admonish you at the same time that testimony we had
4 last year before the Senate Finance Committee by people in the
5 know, and by the research organization from Stanford University
6 disproved the size of the figures that they were using. But I
7 will concede that they are still substantial. Alright. Let's
8 see what is to be done about it. I am quite willing. But
9 when you say we let that be obscured by the tumult and the
10 disorder, what do you want to do -- let the tumult and the crime
11 and the looting be obscured by these other considerations?
12 or do we come to grips? If survival is not the first
13 responsibility of the country, then you just as well forget
14 about this business.

15 MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, I wish I had an opportunity to
16 respond to that question. Unfortunately, we have run out of
17 time. Thank you very much for being here to FACE THE
18 NATION, sir.

19 A word about next week's guest in a moment.

20 ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator Republican Leader
21 Everett Dirksen of Illinois was interviewed by Peter Lisagor
22 of the Chicago Daily News; CBS News Correspondent Martin
23 Agronsky; and CBS News Correspondent John Hart.

24

25