

from both agencies would be apportioned on a basis of school enrollment to public and nonprofit schools of high-school grades and under on a basis of need.

2. The Smith-Ellender bill would appropriate \$50,000,000 to be administered by State departments of education through the United States Office of Education to provide lunches and nutrition instruction to school children. During the first year, the State and local systems would be required to contribute 30 percent of the funds and thereafter half the total expenditures.

3. The Wagner bill would continue the present school-lunch set-up, allowing the War Food Administration to spend \$80,000,000 of its funds for this purpose, compared with \$50,000,000 this year.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. MCKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of several postmasters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the calendar.

#### THE JUDICIARY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Elwyn R. Shaw to be United States district judge for the northern district of Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Byron B. Harlan to be United States attorney for the southern district of Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William M. Lindsay to be United States marshal for the district of Kansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Harold K. Claypool to be United States marshal for the southern district of Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### FOREIGN SERVICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of S. Pinkney Tuck to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Egypt.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of R. Henry Norweb to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Portugal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the postmaster nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of all nominations confirmed this day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 51 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Thursday, May 4, 1944, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 3 (legislative day of April 12), 1944:

##### FOREIGN SERVICE

S. Pinkney Tuck to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Egypt.

R. Henry Norweb to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Portugal.

##### THE JUDICIARY

###### UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Elwyn R. Shaw to be United States district judge for the northern district of Illinois.

###### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Byron B. Harlan to be United States attorney for the southern district of Ohio.

###### UNITED STATES MARSHALS

William M. Lindsay to be United States marshal for the district of Kansas.

Harold K. Claypool to be United States marshal for the southern district of Ohio.

##### POSTMASTERS

###### MISSOURI

Hugh W. Parks, Canalou.  
Ida F. Davison, Elkland.  
Joseph C. Mosley, Mokane.  
Earl A. Banning, Oregon.

###### TEXAS

William G. Fuchs, Thrall.  
Sarah B. Morris, Voth.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1944

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, by whom light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart, we are mindful of Thy gracious promise: "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." From that pride which is the root of evil do Thou spare us, and endow us with that grace which is the beginning of virtue. Without complaint and in the spirit of high privilege we pray that we may bear our responsibilities and perform our whole duty. Thou to whom all power and wisdom belongeth, possess our minds that our procedure may be just and upright.

Heavenly Father, a free country dictates its own destiny; how solemn the

thought that the law of liberty becomes supreme and that sentence is pronounced by ourselves. By the power of public opinion, the influence of home, and the law of the state—by these we are to be judged. In our Republic we follow not a path galled by chains that fret and weary the human soul but seek the highway with Thy light like a beacon before our waiting eyes. We pray for a mighty crusade against all giant evils and for those girders of unselfishness which form a human bridge by which the perishing may climb to life and safety. Grant that the consummation of this noble hope may be realized and become a disinfectant in all sections of our broad land. In the name of the Son of Man. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 4278. An act to provide for the control and eradication of certain animal and plant pests and diseases, to facilitate cooperation with the States in fire control, to provide for the more efficient protection and management of the national forests, to facilitate the carrying out of agricultural conservation and related agricultural programs, to facilitate the operation of the Farm Credit Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, to aid in the orderly marketing of agricultural commodities, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill and requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. SMITH, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. SHIPSTEAD, and Mr. AIKEN to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Vice President has appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments:

1. Department of the Navy.
2. Department of War.

#### ERADICATION OF INSECT PESTS, FOREST CONTROL, AND AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION

Mr. FLANNAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill (H. R. 4278) to provide for the control and eradication of certain animal and plant pests and diseases, to facilitate cooperation with the States in fire control, to provide for the more efficient protection and management of the national forests, to facilitate the carrying out of agricultural conservation and related agricultural programs, to facilitate the operation of the Farm Credit Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, to aid in the orderly

marketing of agricultural commodities, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments, disagree to the amendments of the Senate and ask for the appointment of conferees.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: MESSRS. FLANNAGAN, COOLEY, PACE, HOPE, and ANTON J. JOHNSON.

#### REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS ON ESTABLISHING POST-OFFICE BRANCHES AND STATIONS

Mr. BURCH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to file a supplemental report on the bill (H. R. 4517) to remove restrictions on establishing post-office branches and stations.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BURCH]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hopes that Members will not ask to proceed for 1 minute. We have a special order of 2 hours for today, after which the House will take up consideration of a tax bill.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, did I understand the Speaker to say that I could not speak for 1 minute?

The SPEAKER. The Chair suggested that Members not request time to speak for 1 minute, but the gentleman may submit his request.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article and a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LESINSKI]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. LESINSKI addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

#### COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation may sit this afternoon during the session of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, this meeting will start at 1:30.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and I also ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEICHAH] may be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WEISS]?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask unanimous consent that leaves of absence be granted on May 5 and 6 to Mr. BONNER, of North Carolina, Mr. CAPOZZOLI, of New York, Mr. BRADLEY, of Michigan, Mr. McWILLIAMS, of Connecti-

cut, Mr. FORAND, of Rhode Island, and me, to attend the meeting of the Board of Visitors of the United States Coast Guard Academy called for that time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLAND]?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(Mr. OUTLAND, Mr. COFFEE, and Mr. SUNDBROM asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the Appendix.)

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an editorial and in the other to include an article from a newspaper.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. BRYSON]?

There was no objection.

(Mr. HEBERT, Mr. KELLEY, Mr. TALBOT, Mr. McWILLIAMS, Mr. DEWEY, Mr. ARCHINCLOSS, Mr. BENNETT of Michigan, Mr. BUFFETT, Mr. HOWELL, Mr. JEFFREY, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. KEARNEY, Mr. DAY, Mr. PLUMLEY, Mr. BRUMBAUGH, and Mr. TOWE asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. STEARNS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. COMPTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of Poland Still Lives.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. COMPTON]?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial from the Farm Journal.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two places, in one to include a letter from a constituent and in the other a letter from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, together with a petition.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD]?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILCHRIST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a letter I have just received on the question of school lunches.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. GILCHRIST]?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, on account of the absence of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. SCHIFFLER] I ask unanimous consent that he may have permission to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in view of the great significance of today in the history of Poland.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Dictatorial Practices of the New Deal Administration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEONARD W. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a radio address of Governor Dewey, of New York, and a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LEONARD W. HALL]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CUNNINGHAM]?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject Polish Constitution Day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RODGERS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech by Mr. Clarence K. Streit.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a statement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD]?

There was no objection.

Miss STANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of Polish Constitution Day and also to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech by the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York [Miss STANLEY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL]?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a statement of myself with reference to Polish Constitution Day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'BRIEN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a statement by Governor Dewey of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HANCOCK]?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow after disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK]?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address by Gov. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, also an address by former Ambassador Bullitt. The cost thereof will be \$117, according to letter I have received from the Government Printing Office. I ask unanimous consent that these addresses may be included notwithstanding the additional cost.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I offered an extension of my remarks the other day and it was ruled out because it violated the rules of the House. What is the gentleman's request?

Mr. CELLER. This is an address delivered by Gov. J. Howard McGrath, of Rhode Island, an old line Democrat of that State, and an address by former Ambassador Bullitt, of Philadelphia.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, unless I can get unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include an address therein recently delivered in New York by my friend Eugene Gary, which would cost, I believe, \$156, I shall object.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to that request.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, then I make the request that I be permitted to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address of Mr. Gary.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] temporarily withdraw his request? The Chair can only entertain one request at a time.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address recently made in New York by my friend Eugene Gary, which exceeds the limit as fixed by the rules of the House. I believe the additional cost will be \$156. I ask unanimous consent that this may be included notwithstanding the additional cost.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I renew my request that I may be permitted to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include the address by Governor McGrath, the additional cost being \$117, and that this may be included notwithstanding the additional cost, and an address of former Ambassador Bullitt.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a special order heretofore entered, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. WASIELEWSKI] is recognized for 2 hours.

#### POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, may be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege to briefly address the House on this one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the great Polish charter, known to all of the world as the Constitution of May 3, 1791.

This historic document like our own great Constitution marks another milestone in human civilization and progress, and was doubtlessly the inspired work of the leaders of that day in Poland.

The lofty purpose of the constitution was to elevate the people to a plane of permanent security and happiness, and moreover, to perpetuate the realm through a virile and a democratic citizenry.

Well, on her way to the goal, Poland was thrice attacked and partitioned, her

progress interrupted, but the unquenchable spirit of her people burned without flicker for more than a century until after World War No. 1, when her persecution and suffering was terminated, and she as a rejuvenated, progressive Nation, assumed her rightful place in the world.

Throughout her entire history Poland stood out as a bulwark of freedom, a haven of the oppressed and a defender of Christianity. Unfortunately for the world she fell victim to the conspiring Nazi hordes and today, though helpless in that she has temporarily lost her freedom, she is not without hope. She was not abandoned. Eternal is the hope within her breast which will materialize in the near future when her complete emancipation is brought about by her own and the combined arms of her allies. Poland will march triumphantly with other democratic nations making historic contributions on her journey eternal.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the minority leader, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] such time as he may desire.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, May 3 stands out in the history of Poland as a memorable date. One hundred and fifty-three years ago, the people of Poland adopted a written constitution; a charter of freedom of the people. The constitution came after centuries of persecution; years of subjection. While Poland was vanquished 4 years later the constitution has never died.

The sparks of liberty have never burned out after years of despair. They still burn brightly and all Poland is looking forward to the day when the Republic of Poland will once more be free; free from the tyranny of the Nazis; free to give freedom, peace, and security to the Polish people.

The Atlantic Charter was hailed as a beacon light for Poland. It gave to the Polish people the belief that with the vanquishing of Hitler, all their own land will be returned to the Polish Government. May that wish be fully realized is the ardent hope of every American.

The history of the Polish people has been tragic but most inspiring. Never have the people of this great race ever hesitated to fight for the cause of freedom. It was the armies of Poland which saved Europe for Christianity by stopping the pagan armies when they threatened to dominate the world. History records many other notable contributions of Poland to the precious cause of liberty.

We in America can never forget that Pulaski and Kosciuszko contributed materially to the winning of our freedom. We do not forget that men of Polish blood have fought in all the battles of the American Republic, and many died for the preservation of our liberties.

We do not forget the scientists, the educators, the artisans, the writers, the professional men, the skilled and unskilled workers of Polish extraction who have worked faithfully to build up and make America a better land.

There is a close bond of sympathy between the American people and the peo-

ple of Poland. This bond has been strengthened as we have read the awful sacrifices of the Polish people in the last few years. On this anniversary of their ancient constitution, we fervently pray that with the coming of victory to the arms of the Allies, it will bring peace, liberty, and happiness to the Polish Republic.

May the Government of the Polish Republic soon be able to function in their own country and rule over the land they love because it is Polish soil. The sympathy of the civilized world is with the heroic, liberty loving Polish people.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate Poland's Constitution Day. Though Poland's Constitution was adopted May 3, 1791, this was not her first venture into the sphere of democratic government. As early as the latter part of the fourteenth century, Poland had elected her kings.

Poland was the first country in Europe to have a written constitution. It came into being after the second partition of Poland and was the fruit of the famous Four Years' Diet, assembled in Warsaw to draw up a new constitution. The nation was in a feverish state, and Europe at large was shaken with political disturbances. The leaders of Poland perceived that social and economic reforms were needed if the country was to survive.

The constitution was drafted on December 18, 1789, but as the sentiment of the Diet was not ready for its acceptance, it was not until May 3, 1791, that it was presented and duly adopted. Unfortunately, the constitution was short lived, for in 1795, Poland was completely deprived of political being by the last partition.

Poland's Constitution was created and adopted in a peaceful manner, even though many of its provisions were considered revolutionary in those times. It provided for freedom of religion. This was nothing new since Poland has been the haven of the oppressed for centuries. Even though Roman Catholicism was declared the religion of the State, yet all forms of worship within the Polish territory were to be tolerated. Class distinctions were obliterated as far as possible. A bridge was thrown over the chasm separating the nobility from the lower classes. Provisions were made for an evolutionary rather than revolutionary transformation of the masses to the state of freemen. Industry was given a free outlet. Every man was free to exercise any trade or profession he pleased. All this was accomplished without violence, without murder, solely through the courage of the Nation. The world acclaimed the high virtue of Polish citizenship, highly esteemed Polish loyalty to principles and Polish unity in trying to preserve national dignity. A constitution like that of the 3d of May could have come only from a united and liberty-loving people. It could emanate only from people possessing political aptitude for self-government.

It has been suggested by historians that one of the principal reasons for

Poland's being torn asunder by her despotic neighbors was the great stride she had made in the direction of political freedom and democracy. These despotic monarchs were fearful that this political freedom might prove attractive to the people they ruled.

Recently we witnessed a fourth partition of Poland by Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany—two of the three nations that had participated in the past dismemberments. Soviet Russia has since become our ally and one of the United Nations and renounced her benefits in that partition. Today, however, she has virtually renewed her claim to the lands she took over under the Soviet-German treaties of 1939.

The territory in dispute has belonged to Poland since 1385, when representatives of Poland and Lithuania decided the latter should be dynastically united with Poland by the marriage of the Lithuanian Duke Jagiello with the Polish Queen Jadwiga. At that time most of Ruthenia and the Ukraine, as it is now known, were an integral part of Lithuania. According to Stanislaw Grabski, professor of political economy at the University of Lwow, in his manuscript entitled "The Polish-Soviet Frontier," Lithuania and White Ruthenia adopted the Polish language and in the eighteenth century Lithuania and its White Ruthenian dependencies were incorporated with Poland as closely as is Wales today with England. Thus, these territories had been acquired by Poland, not through conquest, but by the voluntary union with Poland of Lithuania, Ruthenia, or White Russia, and the Ukraine for the purpose of collective security against the Muscovites and the Teutonic Knights.

The Soviets claim that the land they now aspire to was wrongfully taken from them by coercion under the Treaty of Riga. They fail to remember that in September 1918 the Soviet Government published a decree canceling all treaties concerning the partitions of Poland, as well as all subsequent treaties relating to Poland up to 1833. By virtue of this decree Poland was given the right to reclaim all the territories which belonged to her prior to the partition of 1772. However, under the Treaty of Riga, Poland renounced her right to a substantial part, amounting to about 60 percent, of these territories.

It has been the established American policy to support the self-determination of people. The United Nations have bound themselves to the pursuit of this democratic principle by the execution of the Atlantic Charter. Therefore, we, as well as the other participants in the execution of that memorable document, should not recognize any unilateral boundary changes.

Newspaper columnists and commentators speak a great deal about the so-called Curzon line as though it were a boundary set by international agreement and attempt to tie it up with the Treaty of Versailles. The conference of Versailles did not settle the eastern boundaries of Poland, nor was the so-called Curzon line the line of demarcation of Polish

and Russian nationalities. The Curzon line was a temporary armistice line suggested by Lord Curzon, then British Foreign Secretary in July 1920, in the hope of stopping Soviet-Polish hostilities. It was rejected by Soviet Russia and on the termination of hostilities, free negotiations between Poland and Soviet Russia resulted in the signing of the Riga Treaty, which finally settled the frontier as it existed on September 1, 1939.

Prior to our participation in the present conflict, our President and the representatives of the State Department set forth on repeated occasions the lofty ideals we as a Nation are interested in securing, to guarantee lasting peace. They stated and restated our belief in the self-determination of all peoples, big and small; that no nation should be allowed to aggrandize itself as a result of this bloodshed. After we had been forced into the war, these aims were reiterated and have been repeatedly endorsed and approved by the people of our country.

The little nations that are our allies in this conflict, particularly those that are now Nazi dominated, are wondering whether we have cast aside our high and lofty ideals of freedom, democracy, and justice and have substituted instead power politics, political expediency, and appeasement. For the policy we have pursued during the past several months seems to be suited more to a personality of a meek and timid Caspar Milquetoast than to a strong and powerful nation of our stature. These people are asking "What are we fighting for? Whither are we going?" This confusion causes only disunity and delays the day of victory. The occupied countries have well organized underground militia. If given something to fight for, they can greatly speed up the day of victory through their cooperation with the invading armies.

The underground forces in Poland, as well as those in other parts of Europe, are ready and willing to give their lives for freedom and liberty. They are fighting for the same cause that their liberty- and freedom-loving forebears had planned and fought for 153 years ago. These descendants of the authors of the Polish Constitution look to us for guidance and assistance just as did their forefathers when they created this memorable historical document. Let us put into execution our foreign policy which we have so fluently expressed on many occasions. Let us exercise resoluteness and firmness in the handling of individual problems as we meet them, thereby demonstrating to the people in Nazi-dominated countries that we are true to our word and sincere in our purpose, that as long as there is a United States the ideals of justice, freedom, and democracy shall be forcefully supported. America's interest is not alone the freedom of Poland and other Nazi-dominated countries but, in a broader sense, the freedom of the world from future wars and the assurance of a lasting peace.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LESINSKI].

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a great honor and privilege for me,

as an American in whose veins flows the blood of my Polish ancestors, to have this opportunity to stand here as a Member of the greatest legislative body of the world, and pay tribute to the land of my forefathers on this one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Constitution of Poland, it being adopted on May 3, 1791. For the third consecutive year, the Congress has set aside a portion of its time to celebrate Polish Constitution Day, which is comparable to our own Fourth of July celebration.

The people residing within the boundaries of Poland today, of course, cannot openly celebrate the anniversary of the founding of their constitution, but we can be assured that there will be gatherings of Poles who will secretly celebrate the birthday of the constitution in their homes and other places where the penetrating eye of the ruthless invader will not interfere with their efforts to pay homage to their great charter of liberty.

The very secret of Poland's strength throughout the centuries lies in the fact that when Poland has been confronted with problems and almost unsurmountable barriers, they have had the patience to suffer and endure—and though they have been crushed many times and have had their country partitioned four times, they have never been defeated because in the hearts of every Pole there burns the light of freedom which will never be extinguished as long as a single Pole draws breath. It matters not how many times Poland may be invaded they will never be conquered—and it matters not how many times the Polish Nation may be partitioned and its people taken as slaves in shackles to foreign soil—they will never be conquered. The determination to carry on the fight of Poland is the fervent expression of every Pole in the first words of Poland's national anthem: "Poland is not dead while we live." Thus, the blood that flows through the heart of every Pole is the life fuel that feeds the torch of freedom that will keep alive the spirit of Poland, and, today, in this, the darkest hour of Poland's history, hearts of valiant Poles throb on this, their Constitution Day, and they dream of the day when the symbol of Poland—the white eagle—will again stretch its strong wings over an again liberated land and again shriek its traditional cry of freedom to a reborn nation within its rightful boundaries.

One, to appreciate the grandeur of old Poland, must know its history. Some historians regard it as romantic, but the Polish people of today find nourishment in the history of their great nation and the influence Polish culture has had upon the world. Few people today realize that the territory of Poland one time extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In this day, we hear much about the Russian-Polish boundary controversy, and it is not of general knowledge that it was Poland in yesteryears that prevented the expansion of the Russians to the west, and, indeed, in 1610, just 1 year after the English established the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Poland actually occupied the Kremlin. Poland believed that in resisting the imperialism of Germany,

Russia, Sweden, and Turkey, it was fulfilling a mission of importance, not only to itself, but to the nationalities which it ruled.

Robert H. Lord, the distinguished American historian and chief of the Polish Division of the American Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, has written:

The old Polish state was an experiment of a highly original and interesting character. It was a republic both in name and in fact, although nominally it had a king as its first magistrate. It was the largest and most ambitious experiment with a republican form of government that the world has seen since the days of the Romans. Moreover, it was the first experiment on a large scale with a federal republic down to the appearance of the United States. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this republic was the freest state in Europe, the state in which the greatest degree of constitutional, civil, and intellectual liberty prevailed. In an age of religious persecution and chronic religious wars, Poland knew no such troubles; it offered almost complete toleration and an asylum to those fleeing from persecution in all western lands. Like the United States today, Poland was at that time the melting pot of Europe, the haven for the poor and oppressed of all the neighboring countries—Germans, Jews, Czechs, Magyars, Armenians, Tartars, Russians and others. The complications of the nationality problem in Poland today are due in no small measure to the great number of aliens who here found a refuge from political and religious persecution.

\* \* \* A great enthusiasm for freedom in almost every branch of life; the principle of the sovereignty of the nation, calling the citizens to participate in the responsibilities of government; the conception of the well-being of society; aversion to absolute monarchy, standing armies and militarism; disinclination to undertake aggressive wars, but a remarkable tendency to form voluntary unions with neighboring peoples—such are some of the hallmarks of the old Polish state, which make it stand out as a unique exception among the rapacious and militaristic monarchies of that age.

The love of freedom has always prevailed in Poland, and 200 years before the English Habeas Corpus Act, Poland guaranteed liberty of the person by the *Neminem Captivabimus* Act of 1430, as well as personal property rights. No one could be arrested without a warrant from legal authority. Poland, at that time was the greatest power in central Europe and was the bulwark of European civilization at a period when the German Empire was seeking to spread its tentacles throughout central and eastern Europe, and Poland resisted the might of the German Empire, as well as the attacks coming from the east by the forces of Genghis Khan. It was at Lignica in 1241, that Polish troops under Duke Henry the Pious stopped the invasion of western Europe by the Tartar hordes. One often hears the quotation that, "There is nothing new under the sun." It was in this battle that the Tartars used choking vapors that had an effect similar to that of poison gas. The united armies of Poland and Lithuania, in 1410, defeated the Teutonic Order of the Knights of the Cross in the Battle of Grunwald. By that victory the Drang nach Osten was stopped, but that great Polish success was unexploited and it was not before another war of 13 years,

which Poland had to fight in the middle of the century, that she could enjoy 300 years of almost uninterrupted peace from the Germany side. The lesson should not be forgotten: Partial or unexploited victories over the Germans, give only short-lived and precarious peace. Poland entered into a union with her north-eastern neighbors, Lithuania, in 1385. This union was strengthened by the act of Horodlo—1413—which proclaimed:

Let those be united to us by love and made equal, who are bound to us by common faith and identical laws and privileges. We pledge our immutable and solemn word never to desert them.

In 1569 the complete union of Poland and Lithuania was achieved by the Act of Lublin, and the Commonwealth of Poland came into being. On the same occasion the constitutional position of the Ruthenian provinces, including Volhynia and Ukraine, as parts of the Commonwealth, was definitely fixed. The principles of this union were virtually those of the United States. Under an elected king and one parliament, local state government existed. Moreover, Poland and Lithuania kept separate armies under separate commanders in chief. Other provinces of the Polish Commonwealth were East Prussia, Livonia, Courland. They enjoyed wide autonomy. Ruthenian and Lithuanian upper classes had the same rights as the Polish gentry. Cracow University was founded in 1364, and in the fifteenth century became the great intellectual center of central-eastern Europe. The father of modern astronomy Mikolaj Kopernik, was its most famous student. Attracting distinguished scholars and thousands of students from many European countries, it prepared the Golden Age of Polish literature and culture. By the Confederation of Warsaw, in 1573, Poland established freedom of conscience and worship at a time when religious persecution was rife. Ever since Poland has been the refuge in Europe of oppressed religious minorities. Already in 1264 the Statute of Kalisz had been granted to the Jews in Poland by Boleslaus the Pious, the only document of its kind in all Europe giving them cultural autonomy and their own coinage. From the fifteenth century onward Jewish religious schools flourished and won world-wide recognition. The Polish King, Jan Sobieski, in 1683, ran the risk of Russian aggression to go to the assistance of Vienna, besieged by the Turks. By his victory, one of the world's decisive battles, Poland saved Europe for Christianity. This is one of the outstanding events in the glorious history of Poland. A *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, and these words were uttered from the pulpit:

There was a man sent from God whose name was John.

Later, Poland signed a pact of perpetual friendship with Turkey, the only state that never recognized the partitions of Poland, keeping an empty seat at all diplomatic receptions for the temporarily absent Polish Ambassador. The civilized world owes Poland a debt that can never be repaid, because by preventing the Turkish and Tartar invasions they were

the instrument that saved European civilization, and, incidentally, thus prevented the collapse of the German Empire. Had it not been for Poland at that time Germany would have been erased from the map, and the German race would have been no more. In fact, Germany's very existence was threatened for centuries after that, and had it not been for the constant vigil maintained by the Poles in resisting the onslaughts of the Cossacks, the great Russian Bear would have long ago crushed the German race. The generosity and the arm of protection stretched forth by Poland in those trying times was repaid by the treachery of the German people under Hitler when they invaded the fair plains of Poland early in the dawn of September 1, 1939.

The celebrated Constitution of Poland was adopted by the Diet of Poland on May 3, 1791, 2 years after the Constitution of the United States was adopted. This historic document was the result of deliberations of the Four Years Diet, Poland's great Parliament which sat from 1788 to 1792. The Polish Constitution was a democratic constitution, inspired by the events of the times and shows the influence of both the American and French Revolutions and was brought into being without violence which is in keeping with Poland's historical tradition. The diet of Poland at the time of the adoption of the constitution was composed entirely of the nobility and in the general interest of the people as a whole, the members of the diet renounced many of their traditional privileges. The constitution ratified the rights accorded to the burghers, which class was composed of freemen and the merchants, and they were permitted to hold public offices and to enter the Parliament, which erased the barrier which had heretofore separated the burghers from the nobility. The peasant population under the terms of the constitution were placed under the protection of the Government and they were encouraged and guaranteed the right to enter into individual contracts with the gentry. The constitution also provided for a central administration of affairs and the management of finances. It was a constitution drafted and adopted by patriots for a freedom-loving people and it is the symbol of a nation, though many times invaded, yet has never been conquered. It made many important concessions to the people for which they have ever been grateful, and Constitution Day, May 3, is celebrated by Poles and those of Polish descent throughout the world. In Poland, this day will be celebrated under the ground, in silence and sorrow, and the church bells will not proclaim the anniversary of this celebrated event.

No better commentary on the principles of the Polish Constitution of the 3d of May can be given than in the eloquent words of Burke, the great English statesman and orator:

We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people without trenching on their liberties \* \* \* not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the King to the day laborer, were improved in their condition. Everything was kept in its

place and order: but in that place and order, everything was bettered. To add to this happy wonder—this unheard of conjunction of wisdom and fortune—not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals or manners; no spoils; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled! The whole was affected with a policy, a discretion, a unanimity such as have never been known before on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know how to proceed as they have begun. Happy prince, worthy to begin with splendor or to close with glory a race of patriots and of Kings and to leave a name which every wind to heaven would bear!

The Polish Constitution is to the Polish people their charter of liberty and is comparable to the Magna Carta for the English and the Declaration of Independence for our own beloved America. It is fitting and proper that the Congress of the United States should set aside a portion of its deliberations on this, the great national feast day of the people of Poland, and pay tribute to the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution. The people of America have ever been grateful for the services rendered during the dark days of the revolution by the brave Polish patriot, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the father of American cavalry who gave his life for the cause of freedom while leading his troops into action during the Battle of Savannah. Count Pulaski was a tried and trusted friend of our own immortal George Washington, as was Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who likewise served under Washington. General Kosciuszko was a great general and military engineer. It was he who fortified West Point, and it was he who by his courage and unexcelled leadership rendered such an outstanding service to the American cause in the Battle of Saratoga. He fought throughout the American Revolution with honor and distinction and returned to Europe in January of 1793, and endeavored to induce the leaders of the French Revolution to organize a league of republics against the coalitions of sovereigns who were under the leadership of Catherine of Russia. The French monarchy had aided the American Revolution, and despite the fact that the French revolutionists, in December of 1792, publicly offered aid to all peoples who should wish to recover their freedom, France did nothing to save Poland even though it would have been of material assistance to her had she done so. History again repeated itself in 1938 when the World League of Democracies failed to again materialize to check Fascist and Nazi aggressions. General Kosciuszko surprised Europe by driving the Russians out of Warsaw and Vilna in the spring of 1794. He, however, was overwhelmed by superior Russian forces, and the Poles were forced to flee or surrender. Despite the fact that the revolt failed, it did, however, accomplish two results, as it saved the French Republic from the blow that had already been planned by the partitioning powers to be delivered across the Rhine, and it also created a new Polish patriotism among

the gentry which continued to burn during the next century. A Polish historian has written:

It is not too much to say that in those hours of failure and downfall the foundations of a new existence for Poland were laid. The happenings of those days are the first of a series of Poland's protests against the loss of its independence. \* \* \* The Poland of today and tomorrow is essentially the Poland of Kosciuszko and of the makers of the constitution of the 3d of May.

The history of Poland is indeed a glorious one; a history based upon efforts of its people to maintain its freedom and independence. During her first 400 years of existence—from 986 to 1410—when the Battle of Grunwald was fought, Poland's chief enemy was Germany, and her efforts of resistance were principally concentrated against the Germans. For the 150 years following the Battle of Grunwald, Poland was almost continually at war with Russia, followed by more than a century of wars with the Turks who had forced their way into Poland. After the wars between the Poles and the Turks, they became friends, and full harmony existed and continued to exist between Poland and Turkey. Following the Polish-Turkish wars, Poland was again at war with Russia, which concluded with the partitions. In the meantime, the Tartars, Swedes, and Cossacks at intervals attacked Poland, but they were just temporary hostilities and not especially dangerous enemies to Poland. Only the Russians and Germans were Poland's real enemies. It is of interest to note that Poland never fought against Hungary, although both countries had a common frontier, and there has always been a good understanding with the Czechs, apart from occasional disputes at the beginning of her existence. The relationship between Lithuania and Poland was so good that the two countries federated voluntarily and for 500 years formed one state. Poland has always been a sincere friend of France despite the geographical distance, and Poland has never fought against Austria, but on the contrary, even saved her from disaster. It is the normal thing in the crowded European area for countries to quarrel with their neighbors, but Poland has had real strife with only two of hers—Germany and Russia, who have always aimed at conquering and subjugating Poland.

Since 1657 up to September 28, 1939, the boundary lines of Poland has undergone eight distinct changes, and there have been four major partitions of the territory of Poland. As I have heretofore stated, the territory of Poland at one time extended from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, from the countries of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Prussia, and a part of Germany on the Baltic Sea, and Poland as we knew it before 1939. It took in also a part of the territory of Czechoslovakia, as well as Ruthenia, and the Ukraine, and the territory south to the Black Sea. In fact, within the boundaries of the 1657 borders were the great cities of Smolensk, Minsk, and Kiev, which cities and the territory surrounding them came under the control of the Russians by the annexation of 1667, at which time

Prussia also annexed certain parts of East Prussia. The boundaries of 1667 and the territory ceded to Russia was according to the terms of the Treaty of Andruszow, which ended the Polish-Russian War of 1654-67, and after East Prussia ceased to be a fief of Poland in 1657. Poland retained these boundaries until the first partition by Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1772. These three neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, absolute monarchies, were unwilling to have on their frontiers a free and democratic Poland. The second partition, engineered by Prussia and Russia, occurred in 1793, 21 years after the first partition, and 2 years after the adoption of the Polish Constitution. In this partition of 1793, one of the most critical periods in Poland's history, she was abandoned by both France and Britain, which countries one would suppose would be interested in maintaining liberal institutions. Poland learned a lesson in 1793 when Britain and France abandoned her, that was not forgotten, and that is why Marshal Pilsudski, of Poland, in 1934, decided that Poland could not be tied to either London or Paris. The second partition was soon followed by the third 2 years later, in 1795, which was again engineered by Prussia and Russia, together with Austria. Warsaw was given to Prussia, and Poland completely disappeared from the map of Europe for 123 years. The author of our own Declaration of Independence and the father of the Virginia Bill of Rights, the freedom-loving Jefferson, called the partitions of Poland "A crime"; and the great benefactor, the tried and trusted friend of Poland, Woodrow Wilson, said that the partitions were "one of the great crimes of history." The partitions were also condemned spontaneously by the "people's commissars" of the Communist regime in Moscow in 1919, and they were termed: "Contemptible imperialism."

Poland recovered a part of her territory after the World War, and again took her rightful place among the nations of the world. It was under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles that Poland was resurrected, and on June 28, 1919, the Versailles Treaty was signed by the immortal Polish statesman, Ignace Paderewski, and Roman Dmowski as the representatives of Poland. In 1920, the Red Army of Russia again attacked Poland and marched as far as the suburbs of Warsaw. The Polish Army, without any assistance from the western powers, defeated the Red Army and single-handedly saved western Europe from communism. The Army of Poland was under the leadership of Poland's hero, Marshal Josef Pilsudski, with the immortal Paderewski at the helm of the ship of state, as Premier of Poland. The Battle of Warsaw in this war has been referred to by historians as "The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World." The Polish-Russian War was ended by the Treaty of Riga, signed on March 17, 1921. This treaty definitely established Poland's eastern boundaries, and the treaty was a definite compromise as to Poland's territory. In fact, Lenin even offered more territory, but Poland exercised a statesmanlike restraint, and

Lenin, the dictator of Russia, called the Treaty of Riga "A voluntary and just agreement to stand for all time." Victorious Poland gave up to Russia two-thirds of the prepartition territories in the east. The Polish frontier included the city of Wilno, which had a population of 94-percent Poles, and the city of Lwow, which had a population of 87 percent Poles. In the settlement of the boundaries Poland nowhere extended her frontiers to that of the eighteenth century, not to speak of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Over 1,500,000 Poles were left in Russia and 134,000 Russians were left in Poland. Poland's eastern frontier is the boundary of western civilization, as witnessed by Poland's devotion to Christianity, her architectural styles, peasant costumes, folklore, music, dances, decorative art, and literary taste. Today, we hear quite a bit from Poland's opponents as to the so-called Curzon line, and that ethnographically this so-called Curzon line really constitutes Poland's eastern frontier. This line was proposed in 1920 by Lord Curzon, the then British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as an armistice line in the Polish-Russian War, which ended victoriously for Poland. Incidentally, this so-called Curzon line was flatly rejected by Russia at the time it was proposed.

The Government of Poland was confronted with a task of reconstruction in 1919, so colossal that it seemed impossible to accomplish. Despite their colossal program of reconstruction and the fact that they were wedged between a vast mass of Germans on one side and a vaster mass of Russians on the other, the reconstruction of Poland had to be carried out simultaneously with the expenditure of an enormous proportion of the national income on military preparations. Under these circumstances, the progress made by the Republic of Poland from 1919 to 1939 was almost miraculous. The greatest desire of every Pole was to live in peace and continue the work of reconstruction, and the Polish Government did all it could in order to preserve the peace of Europe, and refused to be drawn into a hostile attitude toward either Germany or the Soviet Union. In fact, in 1932, the Republic of Poland concluded a pact of nonaggression with the Soviet Union which was renewed in 1934, and bound both Poland and the Soviet Union until December 31, 1945. At the same time—in 1934, the Polish Government also concluded a pact of nonaggression with Germany, which bound both Poland and Germany until January 1944. These pacts of nonaggression were both in force in 1939. It is a known historical fact that Russia has never regarded treaties as more than scraps of paper—Russia broke these nonaggression pacts of 1932 and 1934, as she has ignored and broken her agreements with the United Nations as signatories to the Atlantic Charter.

The fiend, Hitler, first unleashed his barbarous hordes upon the fertile plains of Poland on September 1, 1939—and, though a small nation, and greatly outnumbered, Poland earned the admiration of the entire world by her gallant

stand against the most powerful military machine ever assembled up to that time, and, fighting like no other people had ever fought before, they gave ground slowly, and while the Polish Army with its back to the wall was striking back blow for blow against this great military machine, the death blow was administered on September 17, when Russia invaded Poland from the rear and stabbed her in the back. Even though mortally wounded, Polish patriots continued to fight until the death. The people of Poland, and for that matter, the peoples of the entire world, will never forget the heroic defense of Warsaw by its mayor, Stefan Starzynski. The Allies can never repay the debt that they owe this gallant defender because that heroic defense of Warsaw by the Polish legions and civilians delayed the German and Russian hordes and permitted the Allies to regain their balance from the terrific blow that was so cowardly struck at a peaceful nation by the Austrian paperhanger and His Excellency Marshal Joseph Stalin, the dictator of Russia. With the German Army in front of them and the Russian Army in the rear, the collapse was inevitable. The collapse of the Republic of Poland was followed by the Fourth Partition, on September 28, 1939, when Von Ribbentrop went to Moscow and divided the territory of Poland with Commissar Molotov, the then Premier of Russia, and as a result over 14,000,000 Poles and almost one-half of the Polish territory came under the domination of the Russian Government. Hitler, however, later unleashed his treachery on his Russian ally, whose help it was necessary for him to have in order to annex the Polish territory, and as a result Russia became one of our allies and signatory to the Atlantic Charter.

However, before Germany unleashed her military machine upon Russia—in 1940 and 1941—Russia deported more than 2,000,000 Polish citizens to Siberia, and Stalin and Hitler jointly proclaimed the destruction of Polish civilization and lives and the annihilation of the Polish state. Russia conscripted for the Red Army citizens of Poland residing in Polish territory then occupied by the Red Army, and executions, arrests, religious persecutions, forced plebiscites, and unspeakable ill treatment of Polish prisoners of war was the order of the day.

After Russia became one of our allies the Republic of Poland was the first to extend the hand of friendship to her former foe, and on July 30, 1941—only 5 weeks after the German attack—the Russian-Polish treaty was signed at London, providing that the partition of Poland operated by Von Ribbentrop and Molotov was declared null and void, and as a further evidence of sincerity and in the interest of complete harmony, the late General Sikorski, the then Premier of Poland, went to Moscow, and on December 4, 1941, signed with Stalin himself, the Premier of Russia, a declaration pledging both countries to fight together until complete victory is achieved, and committing themselves to neighborly collaboration, friendship, and mutual honest observance of the undertaking they have assumed. In view of all that

Russia had done to Poland it was not easy for General Sikorski to shake hands with Stalin and to enter into such agreements, but he did enter into these agreements because it was for the best interest of the United Nations. But this treaty like all others in the entire history of the Russian Government was also broken. However, Poland and the great General Sikorski kept their promises. General Sikorski has made for himself a niche in modern history that will live until time is no more. He is one of the greatest figures to come out of this Global war, and as time goes on his greatness will increase. After General Sikorski met Stalin and the agreements were concluded, he expressed his admiration for the resistance of the Russian Army and pledged full cooperation with Russia in his speeches and newspaper interviews.

The Polish citizens who had been deported to Siberia and separated from their families—all of them in abject poverty—saw in this settlement between Sikorski and Stalin the first hope of life and liberty—and thousands of these Poles, ragged and barefoot, walked from the Arctic Circle to Kuibyshev in order to enroll in the fighting units. How tragic was their enthusiasm when they learned—along with other Polish citizens—that Russia considered all Poles on Russian territory as Russians, and after months of futile and painful discussions in regard to these matters, the Russian press began to refer to Polish cities, such as Wilno and Lwow, as Russian cities, and Stalin began a diplomatic campaign to obtain the recognition of its annexations in Poland from England and the United States.

It was about that time that the Stalin regime became more embarrassed because of the Polish Government's interest in the Ehrlich-Alter case. Henryk Ehrlich and Victor Alter, two Polish labor leaders, and leaders of the Jewish Social-Democratic Party, were murdered in cold blood by the Russians. For convenience, the Soviets charged them with being German spies. No sane person will ever believe that dastardly Soviet lie that these two labor leaders of Jewish faith were agents of Hitler. Leaders of the great American and British labor organizations insisted upon an explanation as to what had become of them because it was obvious that the real offense of Ehrlich and Alter was in resisting Hitler at a time when Stalin was playing along with him. The publicity given by the American and British press to this brutal murder of these outstanding labor leaders is said to have so enraged Stalin that he actually saw red. The disclosure of the execution of these two labor leaders by the Soviet Government placed Stalin in a bad light, and to offset this, Stalin, instead of supporting General Sikorski's prestige as a Polish statesman who had prepared the way for a lasting Russian-Polish collaboration, tried to undermine Sikorski's prestige and position everywhere and threatened the Sikorski government with the possible creation of a Polish puppet government in Moscow with what would be the first Quisling government in Moscow—and would be the first Quisling government among the

United Nations. The great Sikorski refrained from making public the unhappy failure of the Russian-Polish cooperation pact.

The Polish people and the friends of Poland throughout the world, however, were aware of the conditions and the fact that the Polish sacrifices had been in vain and that the hopes for a peaceful cooperation were vanishing. Matters came to a head when the Polish Government asked the International Red Cross to investigate the Katyn massacre. The reaction of the Soviet Government to this request of the Polish Government in exile was in the most brutal style to break off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government and accuse them of even being in collusion with the Axis. The Russian Government should have been the last one to accuse the Polish Government of being in collusion with the Axis. The Polish Government was approached several times by Hitler with a view toward entering into collaboration with him to invade Russia, but each time Hitler was turned down. Talk about being in collusion with Germany—it was Germany and Russia that attacked Poland and divided the territory of Poland, and during the Battle of Britain Polish pilots were dying in the sky over London while Mr. Molotov was wine and dining with Hitler and Von Ribbentrop in Berlin. Lest you forget, it was also about that same time that so-called Americans, taking their orders from Moscow, were picketing the White House objecting to lend-lease. Those tactics were changed overnight when Hitler attacked Russia, and Russia, without supplies, had to look to America for food and vital war equipment. The city of Detroit and the adjacent area is often referred to as the arsenal of democracy, and it is my honor and privilege to represent the largest industrial congressional district in the world, and within my own district many of the tanks, guns, and instruments of war were manufactured and sent to Russia, as well as to our other brave allies.

The matériel provided by lend-lease, which was made by the sweat of American labor, made the Red Army invincible—and without these weapons they would have gone down to defeat—the Red Army would have been nothing but a band of guerrilla fighters. Even Stalin himself recently admitted that it was the matériel from America that turned the tide of battle and without these supplies Russia would have been unable to recapture much of the territory taken by Hitler. I yield to no man for my profound admiration of the fighting spirit of that glorious Russian Army, but in the same breath I yield to no man for my admiration of the abilities of the American soldier who can make as good use as any other fighting man of any implement of war. It is no secret that General MacArthur has been sorely in need of material such as we have sent to Russia to carry on his all-out war against the Japanese. Material such as we have furnished Russia will be needed by General MacArthur before he can free the Philippines of the Japanese invader and hoist

the Stars and Stripes over the land of the setting sun.

As the Russian bear became strong and powerful because of the nourishment and material she had received from the United States under lend-lease, she became arrogant in her relations with the Polish Government in exile, and her attitude and position became increasingly difficult to understand—yes; more difficult to understand—because, on August 14, 1941, the Atlantic Charter came into being. This joint declaration—a common program of purposes and principles of the United Nations engaged in a common struggle against the savage and brutal forces of the Axis—in its first three points, to which all signatories subscribed without reservation:

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

On September 24, 1941, Russia endorsed these objectives. The Polish Government in exile also signed this document, and the Poles took new heart because in the principles of the Atlantic Charter were clear-cut declarations that wrongs would be righted and the crushed and oppressed peoples rescued from domination, and that unilateral settlement of Polish problems would cease. Thus the rebirth of Poland was promised on the deck of a British battleship. Russia, however, has repudiated the principles of the Atlantic Charter on more than one occasion. Great Britain and France went to war with Germany over Poland's territorial integrity, and so long as Russia disavows the principles of the Atlantic Charter there can be no peace in Europe. If Stalin is permitted to have his way in regard to the Russian-Polish boundary controversy and gobble up territory which rightfully belongs to Poland, it will mean that he will gobble up all of the small countries of central, eastern, and northern Europe, which will result in only one thing—a transfer of continental supremacy from Nazi Germany to Soviet Russia. Current events prove without a doubt that Russia's war is not only to repel the German aggressor but is also to consummate her own aggression in relation to a number of smaller, now helpless, nations.

There is no doubt that Russia—ridiculing all concepts of honesty—is deliberately attempting to cripple the Atlantic Charter and deprive it of all its real meaning. This is quite apparent by Russia's announcement in regard to her annexation of the three small Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The annexation of these small states is in direct contradiction of the agreement entered into in Moscow in October of 1943, when Russia made it plain to the world that her troops would enter the territory of these republics for military reasons and after the accomplishment of which she would retire. She has now made it plain that she intends to stay there permanently. It is

rather easy for a powerful nation to invade a smaller one and deprive the smaller nation of territory which is rightfully theirs, but it is not easy to kill the spirit of the subjugated people, and the fires of freedom will be kept alive and the people will eventually, when sufficiency strong, rise up and reclaim their territory. That has been the history of moral. Despite the fact that the Russian Government has not renewed diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in Exile, and the Red Army now occupies territories which rightfully belong to Poland, the Polish Government in the spirit of cooperation and harmony, in an official statement issued on January 5, 1944, disclosed that on October 27, 1943, 2 months before Soviet troops actually crossed the Soviet border, it had instructed the Polish underground movement "to continue and to intensify their resistance to the German invaders, to avoid all conflicts with Soviet armies entering Poland in their battle against the Germans, and to enter into cooperation with Soviet commanders in the event of resumption of Polish-Soviet relations. The Polish Government still considers such an arrangement highly desirable."

These instructions have been confirmed in the underground proclamation, issued on November 15, 1943, by the Polish Government's Plenipotentiary in Poland, "To the Inhabitants of the Borderlands," and reprinted in the official underground organ of the Government, *Rzeczpospolita Polska*, the Polish Republic, on November 20, 1943. This proclamation even contains an appeal urging all Polish citizens—not only members of the underground army—to remember that "the entering Soviet troops are allies of our great allies in the struggle against Germany." In spite of the unjustified invectives contained in the Soviet Government's statement of January 11, 1944, and of the fact that it had ignored the earlier Polish proposal, the Polish Government on January 14, 1944, reiterated its "sincere desire for the Polish-Soviet agreement, and discussion of all outstanding questions." On January 17, 1944, the official press agency of the Soviet Government, Tass, released the Soviet answer, which reads in part:

It is easy to understand that the Soviet Government is not in a position to enter into official negotiations with a government with which diplomatic relations have been severed.

Subsequently, on January 26, 1944, the Soviet Government even rejected the offer of our American Government for mediation. In so doing, the Soviet Government asserted that "the conditions have not ripened." In spite of the Soviet Union's systematic refusal to enter into an agreement concerning the "rallying of all forces within Poland to help defeat Hitler," the Polish Government went as far as to order its underground army to cooperate with the Soviet military, irrespective of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. On February 24, 1944, the commander in chief of the Polish Army disclosed the following information:

Recently, in connection with the development of the war situation, our underground

authorities received orders to approach the entering Red Army with a proposal to cooperate in military operations against the Germans. This approach will establish whether the Soviet Government respects the legal status of emerging Polish civilian and military authorities.

Under the circumstances, there was no reason for the opponents of Poland to say that Poland has not cooperated with the Red Army, as Poland has cooperated in every possible way. It is the Soviet Government that has refused to cooperate with the Polish Government in exile. Governments come and governments go, and the Polish Government certainly will have to undergo changes in the post-war period, but these changes are a Polish affair. It is the inalienable right of every nation to determine its own destiny without outside interference, and certainly Poland, the first to withstand the might of the Hitler war machine, should have that right of determination under the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Charter will stand or fall on the Polish issue, and as America is a signatory to the Atlantic Charter and the most powerful nation in the world, the nations of the world will learn to trust or distrust the value of the pledge of the United States until the Polish issue will have been solved to the satisfaction of all concerned under the principles as enunciated by the Atlantic Charter. If the Polish issue is not solved satisfactorily, it will, in my opinion, hamper the post-war settlements and drive American public opinion to the side of isolation.

It is not incumbent upon the United States of America, in my opinion, for the sake of diplomacy, to preserve a discreet silence and inaction while a proved friend is being treated outrageously, and Herr Goebbels, the chief of the German propaganda, is proclaiming to the world that both America and Great Britain have abandoned the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Poles are fighting in every theater of the world for the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and I recently received a letter from a sergeant who is serving in the Polish Army in the Mediterranean area, who feels very strongly about the fact that both the United States and Great Britain have so far not taken a definite stand against Russia in regard to the boundary controversy. However, he states that the soldiers of Poland would fight on to the last man, and even though they perish, they will hold their heads high, and with a clear conscience meet death.

It is indeed apparent to the most casual reader that Russia is apparently determined to do things her own way in both Europe and Asia. Her recent recognition of the Badoglio government of Italy is an example, as well as her refusal to accept the invitation of the United States to arbitrate the Finnish-Russian dispute. It behooves all democratic governments to be on the alert—let none of them again be rocked to sleep in the cradle of appeasement, as appeasement serves only to satisfy temporary appetites, and as soon as the food is devoured, new appetites are certain to arise. The small neutral countries of Europe today are beginning to under-

stand more clearly the stand taken by Michajlowicz, of Yugoslavia. There can never be a Tito in Poland, because the Polish people are united, and no rival government can be set up to the legitimate Polish Government in exile that will find a following.

The Polish Government in exile could receive no finer tribute on this their great national holiday, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of their constitution, than to receive a joint declaration from Great Britain and the United States that both Governments would stand foursquare behind the principles of freedom and democracy and the nonrecognition of territorial acquisition by force as so ably set forth in the Atlantic Charter. It would be both tragic and futile to go through the ordeal of this ruthless Global war and all its sufferings if, after victory, the United Nations were to falter on the subjects of principles so ably set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, Polish Independence Day has a deep significance, not only to the Poles, but also to the other conquered countries who now, more than ever, realize the full value of independence. Our own great country has admired the Polish spirit which came into being May 3, 1791, at which time Poland adopted its Constitution which was patterned along the same lines as our own. We in America perhaps have been closer to their ideals and aspirations than any nation because, during the American Revolution when we were struggling to become an independent country, two Poles, Gen. Casimir Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, came to our aid. They left their home to come to America and help our few small colonies gain their freedom and in so doing they aided a Nation wherein today rests the hope of all free men of the world. General Pulaski gave his life for America, but General Kosciuszko lived to return to Poland and carried with him American ideals which also became the ideals of his countrymen.

The Polish Constitution was adopted by the Diet of Poland by overwhelming majority 2 years after our Constitution was adopted. The diet at that time was composed almost entirely of the nobility who, in the general interest of the people as a whole, voluntarily renounced many of their former rights. It was a Constitution drafted and adopted by patriots for freedom-loving people and it stands today as a symbol of a nation though many times defeated, yet never conquered. The Polish Charter was inspired by the events of the times reflecting the influence of the American as well as the French Revolution and was brought into existence without violence which is in keeping with Poland's historical tradition. They are a peaceful people.

A few years after the adoption of the constitution, Poland became overrun with greedy aggressors, like those who now

occupy the land, and for over a century, only this constitution held together the hopes of people who lived and worked for the day that Poland would rise again as a free nation. After the Treaty of Versailles, Poland was liberated and again restored to a strong, free state. The ideals and hopes of generations had been realized. They are a grateful people.

A quarter of a century rolled away and since the First World War the forces of tyranny again invaded this peaceful republic. It was on Polish soil that the great conflict which now rages was started. Though a small nation and greatly outnumbered by superior forces, the Polish people arose in rightful indignation to resist one of the greatest war machines ever assembled in the history of the world. The Poles fought with all the courage and gallantry of a people long devoted to freedom. The invaders have left no technique of persuasion or torture untried in their attempt to destroy the spirit of Poland, but the Polish people fight on. Today the enemies of Poland know from past experience they cannot break the Polish spirit which still lives. They are a determined people.

In the Polish underground there exists a complete Polish state, fully organized in all phases of state administration—political, military, social, and economic. There even exists a "shadow parliament" which meets from time to time somewhere in Poland to discuss political issues. The underground resistance in Poland is perhaps the best of its kind in any occupied country. It is not possible at this time to obtain a full picture of the many acts of its resistance which have contributed materially to depleting the resources of the enemy. Guerrilla bands roam the countryside dynamiting and destroying that which might be of value to the enemy. Poland is the one occupied country that has not produced a puppet government, although their country has suffered perhaps more than any of the other unfortunate nations. They are a courageous people.

On other fronts the Polish armed forces have added great military strength to the United Nations. Polish soldiers are courageous and determined fighters and have distinguished themselves in front-line fighting. The Polish Air Force distinguished itself in the Battle of Britain and daily fights beside the American and British Air Forces in our air war against occupied Europe. They are a brave people.

These are very difficult times for Poland, and yet, despite their sufferings, Poles, wherever they may be, are commemorating their independence day, the same as we observe our Independence Day on the 4th of July. This year it has a deeper meaning, for with it is the knowledge that the hour of liberation is near.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND].

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay my humble tribute to a great na-

tion—a nation who values her honor and liberty more than even life itself. One hundred and fifty-three years ago today the people of Poland enacted a national constitution. It was the first national constitution—the first bill of rights—to be written by a European nation, and each year since that time, while Poland was at peace, its citizens gathered together to celebrate this great national holiday.

This year, with its church bells silent, its streets guarded by German troops, living in fear, in poverty, and on the brink of death through starvation, those Poles who have escaped slaughter at the hands of the Nazi monster are underground, and in silent prayer and sorrow, I am sure, are observing in a quiet way, the anniversary of great Polish Constitution.

In 1791 Poland was partitioned because she would not surrender to the dictates of the three absolute powers Prussia, Austria, and Russia. In 1939 she fell, after 4 weeks of stubborn opposition to Hitler's invaders, because she valued her honor and liberty more than life under foreign rule.

Of her 1939 population of some 35,000,000 souls she lost, perhaps, more than half of them to the aggressor. Yet, to this day, Poland has never produced a national traitor—a Quisling who would sell his people for a few pieces of silver, one who would espouse the cause of the invaders, hoping, thereby, to obtain some personal benefit.

I join, Mr. Speaker, with the nearly 7,000,000 Americans of Polish extraction in this country, in saying to those staunch Christians now remaining in Poland; persevere, the day of victory is close at hand. Because of your brave fight and your unswerving belief in the democratic ideals, justice and right will again prevail and liberty will be restored to you.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DILWEG].

Mr. DILWEG. Mr. Speaker, little can I add to the factual presentation of my colleagues on Polish Constitution Day, but I would be remiss in my duties as Representative of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin, if I did not pay tribute to the 3d of May constitution and to this most important national holiday of the Polish people.

Many loyal Polish-Americans who reside in my district are contributing their all to our Nation's war effort today. To me, the preamble of the constitution of the 3d of May 1791, which indicates the general purpose for which the Polish people ordained and established their constitution, portrays the spirit and determination of the Polish people in their present fight to retain the ideals of democracy and liberty. No greater tribute could I pay to the Polish people than to repeat this preamble:

Valuing above life and personal happiness the political existence, external independence, and internal freedom of the nation, we have resolved upon the present constitution.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New Jer-

sey [Mrs. NORTON] such time as she may desire.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, today marks another tragic anniversary in Poland's history. The Polish people have gone through the agony of seeing their homes destroyed, husbands and wives separated, sons and daughters killed, and even little children forced to become cogs in the Nazi war machine. While we join the people of Poland in paying tribute to their great courage and faith, on this, their anniversary, our hearts go out to them in sympathy.

Perhaps never in the history of civilized man has a greater crime been committed than the Germans' deliberate and systematic brutality during 4 years toward masses of Polish people, and particularly children. Through the children, the Germans strike at the future of the race. By starving, degrading, brutalizing, imprisoning, exiling, and killing the oncoming generation, the Nazis pursue their terrible purpose to reduce the Poles to the slave state. The Nazis have ruled that all Polish children over 12 years of age are liable for labor in Germany. Thousands have already been deported. According to an authentic report, 850 children, some of them tubercular, are laboring at breaking and carrying stones for German fortifications in the Baudienst forced-labor camp near Kielec.

Thousands of wooden crosses on little graves bear dreadful witness to the martyrdom of Poland's children under Hitler's "new order."

No record of bravery in this war is more touching or significant than the resistance of these Polish children, who distribute underground newspapers, work as messengers for patriot troops, even fight with the patriots. By their treatment of children, the Germans reveal their own monstrous inhumanity. This epic of children fighting against the tyrants is the last word on the totality of Polish opposition and is the measure of the German failure in Poland.

God grant that these children will soon be free and that Poland's national holiday may be celebrated next year by uniting families long since parted. The Polish people have been long-suffering, but their faith and courage will be rewarded when, once more, in the not too distant future, Poland will resume the place that was hers among the nations of the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, this day marks the adoption of the document known as the Polish Constitution of the 3d of May, an instrument which ranks as a historic document along with the Magna Carta and the American Constitution, as a bill designed to safeguard the interests, the happiness, and the freedom of its people. A great deal has already been said of the intent and the far-reaching effect of the Polish Constitution, so I shall not go into further treatment of this subject.

I might state in passing on to the subject matter of my discourse that I am

happy in the thought that the inauguration by me of the Polish Constitution Day program of the House of Representatives has become an accepted and an annual event with an ever-growing interest among the Members. The popularity of the program, intended to bring to the mind of America the glory and the greatness of Poland, is established by the ever-increasing number of speakers on these occasions.

The subject of Poland and her welfare as it may bear upon the future peace of the world is something in which we Americans are deeply interested. The errors of the reestablishment of Poland after the last war must not be repeated again. Poland must not only be reestablished and revitalized but she must be made strong and independent with a democratic government which will assure to her all the rights and privileges which we in America hold as God-given and inalienable. For Poland to be independent rather than dependent, for Poland to be made strong rather than weak, for Poland to be made democratic rather than despotic or bureaucratic, she must of necessity have the right to choose her own government in a free and a democratic way. She must be permitted not only to retain every inch of her 1939 territory but she must likewise acquire additional liberated and traditionally Polish territory which has been taken from her by a treacherous and a persistent foe over the centuries.

Poland's boundary should be extended to the west at the expense of the aggressor Germans. Her western boundary should begin at the eastern bank of the Oder River and should run due south from and including the port city of Stettin at its mouth to a point which touches the old Czechoslovakian border. On the western side of the river there should be provided a demilitarized zone for a depth of 50 miles paralleling the Polish and Czechoslovakian littoral and policed at Germany's expense by a Polish-Czechoslovakian Army for a period of at least two generations. All of East Prussia, historically Polish and peopled by a great number of Poles, should promptly revert to a reconstituted Poland. Over and above that the aggressor Germans should be compelled to pay an indemnity sufficient to restore all of the destruction within this unfortunate country. The aggressors should be obliged to pay in addition a punitive indemnity which would permit the Poles to reestablish themselves at or about the level which they might have enjoyed were it not for these periodic and unwarranted incursions by a plunderbund bent on rapine, destruction, plunder, and enslavement of a people whose history antedates in that part of Europe the history of their traditional enemies.

Germany must be made to restore and return all that she has destroyed and stolen even if it takes a hundred years of compulsory labor of her blustering and bloated militarists. If needs be, this element within Germany should be chained to a wheelbarrow and made to return not only the stolen gold, art treasures, and literary works, but also the

sacred wares pilfered from the altars and the bells stolen from the churches and shrines of her neighbors. The fiendish and almost inconceivable thievery by the Germans of the fertile top soil of the subjugated countries should make an endless and a timeless parade of wheelbarrows radiating in all directions from Germany as it is being returned to the nations which were so despoiled.

The concessions to be made to Poland in the west should not depend upon the pleasure of the Soviet Government. Poland is entitled to proper recompense without consulting her eastern ally. She expects no more and she is entitled to, no less than the moral and the whole-hearted support of Russia in this matter. As to the eastern boundary, the 1939 Polish boundary should be maintained inviolate. It should have been sacred and inviolate. The boundary was protected not only by pre-1939 treaties but also by a post 1939 agreement. It is moreover sustained by history as just and proper. It is Polish historically and to a great extent ethnographically. The greatest single element all through this disputed territory is Polish in language, religion, and custom. There are relatively few Russians to be found in this section. It is incomprehensible to me, as it is to millions of Americans, that Russia would insist upon what she acquired by a direct violation of her pledged word. After administering to Poland what America should remember as the original and the all-important stab in the back—for it was following the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement that Germany attacked Poland and was shortly thereafter similarly treated by her Russian neighbor—to think that today Russia finds fault with the Polish Government in exile when, as a matter of fact, that government ought to object to the unfriendly government at Moscow. Russia seems to have a distorted concept about who is the aggrieved party.

Russia is today treating Poland as an enemy, not as an ally. Russia, in fact, shows a disposition to be more temperate with her outright enemies who attacked her. Certainly Poland, attacked by Russia after a Russian agreement with Germany, and which it must forever be borne in mind precipitated the blood bath for the whole world, cannot now be expected to cede territory to her aggressor neighbor to the east. If there are to be any concessions, and as yet I do not believe that Poland has demanded any, the Soviet Government should be prepared to yield territory and substantial indemnities. The so-called liberation of Poland by the Russian armies is a mockery. Poland would not have needed Russian liberation if it were not for Russian betrayal of not only Poland but all of the Slavic countries. If the demands of the Soviet Government, unjustified and sinful as they are, are forced upon her traduced neighbor, the Polish people will be impoverished to the point of total dependency.

The Poles are a proud and an intelligent people. They do not ask charity. They will not eat humble pie. They naturally will resent such proffers from a country which they cannot trust. Po-

land will die; she will be obliterated from the face of the earth if needs be, but she will not surrender principle and we in America can understand her attitude. She will live or die as a freeman, not as a slave or satellite. The addition of the disputed Polish Provinces mean everything to Poland and her future. The great bulk of her wealth and of natural resources, such as timber, minerals, and oil, lie to the east. She cannot subsist without them for to her they are indispensable, they mean strength and vitality, freedom and permanence. In area it approximates 50 percent of her 1939 terrain. To Russia, on the other hand, the acquisition of the territory means in depth or in area but a mere fraction of what Russia already possesses, as in this war it was proven that the additional terrain does not mean additional safety for the Soviet. Russia will derive far more benefit economically and from the standpoint of safety by aiding in the reestablishment of a stronger, self-sufficient, and independent Poland than she would by a land grab and the acquisition at the expense of Poland of the natural resources in the disputed area.

If America and Great Britain, and their allies, permit Poland's further despoilment, it will mean for a certainty another war at some time in the future. The Poles will not be subjugated, they will not be enslaved, and Poland some day will live once again. That Poland is the key to the future peace and security of all Europe was proven in this war. Had Poland been sustained and supported, had she been given proper aid within boundaries that were extended to include millions of additional Poles, and had East Prussia been ceded to the newly created Polish Republic, the story might have been entirely different. Even so, the world will forever remember, and we in America will always appreciate and recognize, the fact that Poland was the first to challenge the foe, that she laid down her life to save civilization, Christianity, and perhaps all mankind from German enslavement. This she has done, as history records, on more than one occasion. Concededly she is the bulwark of Christianity and in Europe the keystone in the arch of peace. Poland desires to live in peace and harmony with her neighbors. That includes Russia, her Slavic sister, who has betrayed her into the hands of her enemies, but she cannot do so at the price of servile submission and permanent subjection.

Poland knows only too well that the terms and the conditions offered by Russia mean positive and absolute conversion to Godless Communist despotism. Freedom, independence, and Christianity—these she cannot forsake and these she will not give up even if she must once again become a martyr to the cause for which she fought so valiantly. More than once before she was bruised, battered, and beaten, and her boundaries were rubbed out by a combination of her enemies who could not dominate her, who were jealous of her progress, and she has, like the good Lord whom the people of Poland have served so well and faithfully, risen from her grave and taken her place among the nations of the world.

The proof of Poland's vitality and faithfulness to an ideal, even while she is enslaved and in chains, can be proved in a thousand and one instances in her sorrows and suffering, but practically and particularly in the fact that to date she has not weakened, has not faltered or produced a single Quisling. Similarly she has repudiated the pro-Russian expatriate, Wanda Wasielewska. The doubtful and subservient Soviet sympathizers, Prof. Oscar Lange and the Rev. Stanislaus Orlemanski, who soiled his sacerdotal robes of priesthood to kowtow to Stalin and to others who betrayed the Polish people and the Roman Catholic Church into the hands of their enemies.

The unbroken authority of the Polish Government in exile will withstand the sinister and unwarranted challenge of the Communist regime at Moscow. The recognized government of Poland, functioning on English soil, deserves the wholehearted support of the entire civilized world. It is not antagonistic to any other government. It can only be, and positively is, pro-Polish and that is precisely what is wrong with the officials in the eyes of Stalin and Molotov. Russia's desire is to implant within the borders of Poland a pro-Soviet Communist government, subservient to the views and wishes of Moscow, but the average intelligent Pole, wherever he might be found, would prefer martyrdom and death of his country to the sacrifice of an ideal, of a sacred principle.

America, and I trust the world, will understand the noble aspirations of the Poles and, at the proper time, will sustain them. The best evidence of the caliber and character of Poland and her valiant sons and daughters are to be found in the glorious pages of her past history, and more especially, in the brilliant defense of her terrain which was a true symbol of her defense of all that we in this country, in our hearts, hold near and dear, and for which millions of our young men and women have undertaken to bare their breasts to the fire of the same common enemy.

Poland was always an ally of the United States of America. In this role she has never permitted a break. Russia is an ally of the United States today only because she has fallen out with her erstwhile German ally, who with violent treachery turned upon her as the Soviet Government turned upon an unsuspecting and innocent Poland. Were it not for the German attack upon Russia, the Communists here and abroad would still be shouting that this is an imperialist war. Our American people are too intelligent and the world is too well civilized to accept Russian propaganda.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, the history of Poland and of the Polish people is one of the most tragic in all the annals of the ages. It is at the same time one of the most inspiring to all lovers of liberty and believers in the deathless invincibility of the human spirit.

Beset on all sides by powerful and aggressive enemies, torn by racial antago-

nism, partitioned by its conquerors, and divided by domestic tribal differences, this heroic nation battled its stormy way out of the obscurity of antiquity until on May 3, 1791, its government formulated and adopted a constitution which will stand for all ages and countries as a model.

This Polish bill of rights gave the Polish people a hereditary limited monarchy. It provided for decennial parliaments presided over by responsible ministries.

It did away with divisive class distinctions. It guaranteed local self-government, political and judicial, to municipalities.

Religious toleration was one of the foundation principles expressed in this most modern of constitutions.

Since that fateful day the Polish Government and people have passed through many grim vicissitudes. At this moment they lie prostrate under the brutal rule of their Nazi conquerors but the spirit of freedom and self-respect still burns unquenched in their unconquerable souls. And when the brutal aggressors are finally crushed, as they will be, Poland will rise again strengthened and glorified by the purging fires of affliction and her people will, I am sure, enter upon a new era of peace, prosperity, and security.

The people and Government of the United States are in duty bound to insist that in the final peace settlement Poland be assured full opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from the shadow of outside domination. The millions of Polish people who have made so notable a contribution to this, their adopted country, will, I am sure, give every help within their power as American citizens toward the reestablishment of their kinsmen in the old homeland upon the great liberal principles of the constitution of 1791.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] such time as he may desire.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, today is truly a proud day for all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, for it marks the anniversary of the establishment, 150 years ago, of the Constitution of Poland. This constitution was not the product of whim or caprice, nor was it the fortunate outcome of happenstance. Its adoption climaxed a struggle that lasted 350 years from the adoption of the Statutes of Nieszawa; a struggle to bring the right of franchise to the peasants—and to break down the evils which had crept into the existing government. It was a struggle to make freedom and justice actualities for all the people of Poland.

From that time to this very minute the people of Poland have never lost sight of their goal of freedom. The sons of Poland who wandered from their mother country have always been in the vanguard wherever freedom has been assailed. Polish heroes fought side by side with the great men of our own land's fight for independence. Poles have

fought under freedom's banner in France, in Italy, in Turkey, and in South and Central America.

Once again, in our time, the sons of Poland fight valiantly for that cause. In all this war-weary world—on this earth, darkened as it is by the pall of war—there is no brighter light than the shining star of faith and hope which is the spirit of the Polish people. Rising above their anguish they offer to the world the example of a people in whom the love of freedom never dies, no matter how violent may be the accursed invader who would crush and destroy them.

We in America pay tribute to this great spirit of Poland—for the fact that no son of Poland was found to kiss the foot of the invader in order to curry a few crumbs of favor; for the fact that her sons fought and died rather than surrender; for the fact that her sons still fight to save Europe as their forefathers did of old.

The enemies of Poland in the past have learned by bitter experience that temporary defeat will not quench the fire of freedom which burns in the heart of every Pole. The invader of our day will learn at a terrible price that that fire burns more fiercely today because, in truth, the hopes of Poland are today closer to complete achievement than at any time in history. For, as sure as a just God looks down on Poland in her tatters, her tears and blood, so surely will Poland's reward, among civilized men, be great enough to measure up to the great sacrifice she has lain on the altar of liberty and justice.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, during all of the efforts of the Polish people to establish governmental institutions which would uphold and safeguard the inherent rights of man, no one showed a higher standard of intelligence, more unwavering courage, or made greater sacrifice than did Thaddeus Kosciuszko; no one more truly represented the cause of his people.

He was no mere sword rattler, not a man who gloried in gold braid and dazzling ornaments on his clothes. He was wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of human freedom and, of course, loved his fellow man intensely.

Armstrong, in his *Heroes of Defeat*, says of Kosciuszko:

His family was noble but poor. Though of the privileged class, he had cherished from boyhood the most ardent sentiments concerning human rights, his first act on coming of age being the freeing of the serfs on his estates. His examination of history and the misfortunes of his own country had blown into flame his zeal for popular causes. Foreseeing the day when Poland would need the services of all her sons to preserve even a remnant of her soil, he determined upon the career of a soldier.

His zeal for the rights of people brought him at Paris in contact with Silas Deane, the accredited Commissioner of the revolted American Colonies. The young Pole's conversations with Deane determined the offer of his sword to the cause of liberty west of

the Atlantic. In the summer of the memorable revolutionary year 1776 he landed in the western world and tendered his services to the American Commander in Chief. "What can you do?" asked Washington. "Try me and see," answered the Pole.

Pleased with his address, Washington made him his aide, and, in the autumn of the year, Congress gave him the appointment of engineer with the rank of colonel.

Kosciusko served with the armies both of the North and the South through the entire war, and served with distinction. It was asserted that his "deeds naturalized him as an American."

According to Jefferson, his personal friend, he "rendered General Greene the most important service to the last moment of the war, the ardent and repeated acknowledgments of that officer inducing Congress, in October 1783, to bestow upon him the brevet of brigadier general and to pass a vote declaratory of their high sense of his faithful and meritorious conduct."

Such at the close of the conflict with England with her western colonies had been the record of the Pole—of the Lithuanian who had become an American, the son of ancient Sarmatia, who had won glory fighting for the freedom of the youngest of nations.

As I have said, Kosciusko was not ostentatious. He was not a show-off. He was unassuming even to the point of humility, and his heart went out to all those who were in distress. Let me quote from the language of Count Orginski, as contained in the *Memoires sur la Pologne et les Poles*:

From Kosciusko's tent we passed to a table prepared under some trees. The frugal repast which we made here among about a dozen guests will never be effaced from my memory. The presence of this great man who has excited the admiration of all Europe, who was the terror of his enemies and the idol of the Nation, who, raised to the rank of generalissimo, had no ambition but to serve his country and fight for it, who always preserved an unassuming, affable, and mild demeanor, who never wore any distinguishing mark of the supreme authority with which he was vested, who was content with a suit of coarse gray cloth and whose table was as plainly furnished as that of a subaltern officer, could not fail to awaken in me every sentiment of esteem, admiration, and veneration which I have felt for him at every period of my life.

I quote further from Armstrong in regard to Kosciusko's last visit to the United States:

Liberated from confinement, his country's prospect blasted, his mind turned to the land where his youth had been glorious. In the summer of 1797 he sailed for the United States. On American soil he was received with enthusiasm that measured his splendid service to the cause of the Revolution. Hundreds of his fellow officers in the memorable struggle yet survived in the vigor of manhood to extend to him affectionate greeting. His paternal friend, Washington, took him by the hand in hospitable welcome on the banks of the Potomac. Congress gave him a life pension and a tract of land in acknowledgment of his aid in the War of Independence. The Society of the Cincinnati hailed him as the chief guest at their reunions. Sympathy and honors were everywhere lavished freely upon him, not only the voluntary champion of liberty in the New World but as the hero of its fallen fortunes in the old.

It may be said, however, that he lost in his great struggle for the freedom of Poland. I prefer to say with the Amer-

ican poet, Lowell, "There are those who triumph in a losing cause."

Henry George, in his great work entitled "Progress and Poverty" in discussing the age-long struggle for the advancement of truth gave expression to the following most noble sentiment:

For those who recognize justice and would stand for her, success is not the only thing. Success! Why, falsehood has often that to give; and injustice has often that to give. Must not truth and justice have something to give that is their own by proper right—theirs in essence and not by accident? That they have, and that here and now, everyone who has felt their exaltation knows.

The important fact to be remembered in the great struggle made by Kosciusko was that he earnestly and tirelessly worked for the cause he knew to be right. No man can do more.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZPATRICK] such time as he may desire.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, today, May 3, is the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of the Polish Constitution in 1791. Although today Poland cannot openly celebrate her great national holiday, I hope the day is not far distant when she will be functioning under a democratic form of government and will be able to commemorate this notable event in her history in an appropriate manner.

I trust this will happen when victory comes to the United States and her allies, at which time the Nazis will be driven out of Polish territory and Poland will regain her long-fought-for independence.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, it is a genuine privilege and an honor to be permitted to join my colleagues in this great legislative body in commemorating the birthday of the Polish Constitution.

On May 3, 1791, just 153 years ago today, Poland became the first country in Europe to have a written democratic constitution. This was but 2 years after the people of our own country blazed the trail and placed upon the pages of history the American Constitution. On July 4 we celebrate our national birthday. May 3 is Poland's national holiday. On that date Poles throughout the world commemorate the signature of its immortal document. That constitution means to all Poles a just freedom. It means to Poles what the Magna Carta means to the English and the American Declaration of Independence means to us. Its immediate consequences were tragic, its lasting influence great. It recognized that "all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." Like our own Constitution, it accepted the philosophy of the division of authority, setting up executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and, of no less importance, it accepted the principle of religious toleration.

The Polish Constitution brought about a great reform, peaceful in method, revolutionary in effect, and carried out according to law. Its purpose was to pre-

serve the existing regime by improving it, concentrating the moral forces of the nation, and inspiring the building up of Poland's national strength. Seldom, if ever, in human history has so much been accomplished with so little sacrifice. In short, Poland believes in peaceful, democratic revolution, and in this respect there is a natural bond of sympathy between the Polish people everywhere and their American and British allies.

On this occasion, let us not forget our country's debt of gratitude to Pulaski, Kosciusko, and other Polish patriots. Down through the years it has been our privilege to commemorate the lives, the deeds, and the sacrifices of these two great Poles who gave so willingly in order that freedom in its truest sense might be best exemplified in the American cradle of liberty. In the fields of music, literature, and science, Poles and their descendants have always been in the forefront. Their culture and progress has been the envy, if not the fear, of many other countries. The fact that Poland was free, independent, and democratic, has possibly contributed to some of the trials and tribulations through which this heroic country has passed since 1791. A country that always fights tyranny and immoral international agreements is worth while.

Mr. Speaker, for almost 5 years the people of Poland have suffered unspeakable martyrdom and experienced almost unbelievable atrocities under the Nazi yoke. They met the Hitler invasion with determined resistance. They were outnumbered, outequipped, and not prepared for the terrible Nazi blitz. Their spirit, however, was undaunted. Again, they compel the admiration, respect, and applause of the entire civilized world. For months they fought that which they must have known to be a losing battle until the lovers of democracy in the European theater could further prepare for the world-wide assault. Their traditional bravery and military skill will go down in history as determination and action unparalleled.

Today the Polish people and their descendants everywhere are joining with the United Nations in a determination that war-seeking, war-making, and aggressor nations shall be brought to book and that the Polish constitution shall be vitalized. This objective is sure of accomplishment.

There are no Quislings in Poland. There was conviction and a will to die, if necessary, in support of international morality. There has never been complacency in the present conflict so far as our Polish allies are concerned. Their cities have been destroyed, their people maltreated and murdered, yet they have continued to fight for freedom and morality in international affairs.

And, so Mr. Speaker, again the world celebrates the adoption of the Polish Constitution and must guarantee that that constitution will again become an actual and living reality in the land of its adoption. The Poles must be permitted to carry on.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the

gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCANLON].

Mr. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely fitting that we the Members of this law-making body of the world's greatest independent nation should pause today to pay tribute to another nation on the anniversary of its independence day.

I refer to Poland for today marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the date of Poland's independence. We have close ties with Poland. Nearly every school child is familiar with the name of Kosciuszko, a great Polish fighting man who aided in our own fight for independence. He fought then side by side with our ancestors on an American team, joining wholeheartedly in a struggle for liberation, just as today we are fighting side by side with modern Poles on the United Nations team. Today we are continuing the struggle for liberation and one of our war aims is the liberation of Poland from German aggression and tyranny.

Our ties with Poland, however, are not confined alone to the help Kosciuszko gave us in our own fight for liberation and the fact that today we are spilling blood for the liberation of all enslaved peoples, including Poland.

The Polish people have contributed materially to the growth of our own country. Burning with a fierce desire for freedom, Poles emigrated to this country and in the surge forward Polish sweat helped forge our own great country. Polish sweat is helping us forge the tools for liberation now, just as it helped us build a great nation. I represent a district in the great arsenal area of Pittsburgh. Take a look at the roster of workers in any of the plants in this area which are well sprinkled with Polish names. Go to Bridgeport, Conn., another great arsenal, and the same is true there. At Detroit, another of our great arsenals, the work rosters of war plants are more than liberally sprinkled with the names of Americans whose ancestors were Poles. In Chicago, in the packing houses, where meat is packed for shipment to our fighting men and our allies overseas, more Americans of Polish descent are conspicuous by their numbers.

In any walk of American life today we find those of Polish descent taking an active part. Our colleagues in this body who are of Polish descent are held in the highest esteem by all of us. Our sports pages are well sprinkled with the names of leading athletes whose names would not be out of place in the columns of a newspaper published in Warsaw.

I have briefly called attention to these things as a demonstration of how easily Polish immigrants and their sons and daughters have fitted themselves into our American way of life, a way of life which is not strange to any people in whose hearts burn the flame of freedom. Such are the people of Poland, the first to feel the might of the German Wehrmacht. Because this small nation was quickly overrun by the Nazis we are wont to overlook the fact that Poland bitterly contested every inch of ground given up. We should remember that, in the face of overwhelming odds, Poland refused to

be bullied by her larger neighbor. The German Army conquered these people, not because of any lack of spirit on the part of the Poles, but because she had more of everything to throw into the fight. We should pay tribute to this fighting spirit. We should pay tribute to the spirit which continues in Poland, where an underground was formed and placed in operation almost before the dust had cleared from the rubble of ruined cities.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New York [Mr. KLEIN].

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to rise along with my fellow Congressmen to pay tribute on the occasion of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Polish Constitution, a day which I understand has long been regarded in Poland as an occasion for a national celebration.

The anniversary this year reminds us that Poland was the first country to take up arms in defense against aggressive Nazi Germany. The years since 1939 have been years of suffering and trial for all Poles, of all faiths. Surely, they have learned within that country that their common aspirations for an independent Poland imposes upon the entire population the obligation to secure rights of conscience and freedom of opportunity for all within the country.

Poland has made a real contribution to the war effort of the United Nations from the days of the heroic defense of Warsaw until the present time when the Polish airmen are flying over Germany. The saga of Polish resistance has captured the world's imagination. It is the hope of every friend of Poland that after the war, Poland will set an equally magnificent example of the pursuits of peace, of justice to all within its borders, of friendship and good will and harmony among all those whose task it will be to revive the glory and integrity and pride of Poland.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. McMURRAY] such time as he may desire.

Mr. McMURRAY. Mr. Speaker, in this fifth year of torture and suffering which has been inflicted upon Poland, I think it is fitting that we in the Congress of the United States should pay special tribute in commemoration of the signature on May 3, 1791, of the Polish Constitution. This constitution is one of the world's great charters of freedom, and it is especially significant that this instrument of government should have been adopted at this early date.

My own city of Milwaukee and my own State of Wisconsin contain hundreds of thousands of fine American citizens whose ancestors came here from Poland. Among these people are many dear friends of mine, and I think it is not amiss here, Mr. Speaker, to use this occasion publicly to congratulate the Right Reverend Monsignor R. A. Kielpinski, who has just recently received this new title from His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. Father Kielpinski represents the best type of American citizen even though his own parents lived in Poland, and he him-

self was born in Europe. He is an outstanding citizen of the city of Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin.

In paying tribute to Father Kielpinski and the many other Americans of Polish descent resident in my own State, we pledge that their cousins in Europe shall be soon freed from the crushing heel of Nazi tyranny and that from the ashes of this conflict will rise again a great Poland to take her proper place in the council of nations. This is the meaning of the Atlantic Charter, a great document which is a logical extension to the entire world of the ideas and sentiments expressed in the Polish Constitution of 1791.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mrs. LUCE] such time as she may desire.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Speaker, today Poles all over the world are celebrating their national holiday. May 3 this year marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the first written democratic constitution to appear on the European Continent. Therefore, for all Europeans, as well as for Poles, this document takes its place beside the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence as one of the greatest declarations of free men for freedom.

Once again this year, as in other years, tributes will be heaped upon Poland, which dared, as early as the eighteenth century, to try democracy. Once again lesser orators and feebler poets will try to match the eloquence of great poets and great orators long dead in praising Polish courage, Polish gallantry, Polish love for freedom. Once again historians and Senators, scholars and Congressmen, leaders of public opinion—and just plain ordinary patriots everywhere will extol Polish names which still strike sparks on the anvil of freedom—Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Pulaski. Their theme will echo Victor Hugo's when he said: "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization, Poland was its knight."

And once again these distant echoes of fulsome praise, ringing in Polish ears, will be muffled by the iron ring of the invaders' heels on the streets of Poland's conquered cities.

For today again, as often in the past, while Poland is the recipient of the far-off praise and attenuated sympathy of the outside world, she is the immediate victim of vicious aggressors and greedy conquerors. No nation in all the world knows better than Poland the emptiness of such praise and the hollowness of such sympathy. To patriotic Poles all over the world and in Poland much of what will be said of Poland this May 3 must sound suspiciously like an obituary notice. On this May 3 true lovers of freedom will not be those who rise to praise Poland, but those who rise to ask how she may be saved.

Therefore, instead of giving Poland the customary pat on the back on this anniversary, let us Americans discuss a question which, if we will not admit it, confronts us today, will certainly confront us immediately after the shooting stops. This is the so-called Polish boundary question. Let us politicians discuss it, not

as a fine political opportunity to garner a few Polish votes in our own districts, but as a patriotic opportunity to face a problem which concerns not only the Poles and the Russians, but all Europeans and all Americans. For in the question mark that today is the Polish boundary lies the answer to peace in Europe when this war is over.

The post-World War No. 1 boundary of Poland was arrived at after a bitter armed conflict between Poland and Russia which exhausted both countries. During that war the Curzon line was proposed by Great Britain as a temporary boundary until Poland, Finland, the Baltic countries and Russia could arrive at a definite settlement of their frontiers.

Russia rejected this proposal, refused to discuss the question with outside powers, and officially declared that instead of the Curzon line a settlement should be reached which would be "more favorable for the Polish people." Such a settlement was made by the Treaty of Riga, in 1921, a treaty which Russian history books for more than 18 years, indeed until the start of World War No. 2, considered satisfactory to the Soviet Union from a territorial standpoint.

Then in 1939 Germany invaded Poland. On September 17, 1939, Russia, as a passive ally of Hitler, occupied more than one-half of the territory of embattled Poland. Immediately following the Russian occupation there were widespread organized arrests of all anti-Communist or even vaguely suspected elements in eastern Poland. Polish Government officials, persons who belonged to Polish patriotic organizations, persons who had any connection with foreign firms or foreign governments, and, for some reason known only to the Russians, even stamp collectors were arrested with their families and deported en masse to the depths of northern and eastern Russia. It is said that in all 1,500,000 Poles were deported by the Russians, many of them, including an estimated 45,000 children, dying from hunger, disease, and other hardships.

After the Russians had effectively disposed of all suspected anti-Communist elements, they held plebiscites in the occupied sections of Poland, which they had divided into western Byelorussia and western Ukraine.

These newly occupied and thoroughly purged territories were flooded with Russian political agitators who voted under election provisions which granted the franchise to temporary as well as permanent residents. The candidates for the popular assembly from the various districts were selected by the Russians. Among these candidates were Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov and Marshal Voroshilov, according to a Pravda report. However, not all of the Russian candidates for the popular assembly were so well known to the Polish electorate as these two front-line Communists.

The Poles and Ukrainians and Byelorussians who voted in these plebiscites did not have to trouble themselves about the qualifications of the candidates, since there was only one name on each ballot. To cross it off, the voter had to

retire behind a screen—a practice which seems to have been vigorously frowned upon by the Russian election officials. While the election was being held, members of the N. K. V. D., the Russian secret police, canvassed the communities to get out the vote. This they did far more persuasively than the most enthusiastic party workers in an American election. Those who had failed to vote were threatened with deportation or other reprisals.

But just to make certain of the results, the cautious Russians themselves appointed the tellers who counted the votes. Neither the Russians nor the Poles were very much surprised when the popular assemblies elected under these circumstances voted at once and unanimously—by a show of hands—for the incorporation of western Byelorussia and western Ukraine into the Soviet Union.

This was the plebiscite conducted on a broad democratic basis to which the Soviet Government alluded in its statement of last January on its relations with Poland.

Twenty-one months and four days after it occupied Poland, Russia was involved in a war with Germany. The next month, Russia, hard pressed by the on-rushing Nazis, signed an agreement in London with the late Polish Prime Minister Sikorski in which the Soviet Union renounced its claim to eastern Poland and promised to release all Polish prisoners of the occupation—military and civilian.

But in April, 1943, Russia, no longer so hard pressed, her armies reinforced by Allied lend-lease, abruptly severed diplomatic relations with Poland. The Polish Government had requested the International Red Cross to investigate the disappearance of 8,300 Polish officers who had been taken prisoner by the Russians. The Germans claimed to have discovered their slaughtered bodies.

The Russians insisted that these officers were butchered by the Nazis, but the Polish Government, perhaps undiplomatically but at least patriotically, wanted to know how these officers, captured in 1939 by the Russians, pledged their freedom in 1941, had happened to fall into the hands of the Germans. This question has never been satisfactorily answered by either the Germans or the Soviets. One thing is clear: it provided the Soviet Government with a reason to sever diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in exile in London.

After dropping some resounding hints, which Great Britain and the United States tried hard for some months to ignore in the interests of harmony among the Allies, the Soviet Government candidly expressed its determination to annex Polish territory along the general pattern of the Curzon Line. In Great Britain and the United States the moral and historic justification presented by Russia to explain this seizure is accepted enthusiastically only by American and British Communists and fellow travelers. It is too flagrantly in opposition to the whole spirit and purpose of the Atlantic Charter. In fact, the only possible justification of it is Russia's nationalistic claim to a necessary security sphere.

Such nationalistic needs were also expressed by Germany and Japan to explain their own moves toward territorial expansion in middle Europe and on the continent of Asia.

But as things turned out, possession of more than half of Poland in 1941 did not prevent Russia from being invaded and struck almost to the heart by Germany. It did not prevent Moscow from being bombed. Today or tomorrow Russian security will never lie in the erection of a human wall of Poles—or Finns, or Lithuanians, or Estonians, or Latvians—intended to absorb the punishment of Russia's continental enemies. Russia's security in Europe depends on the effective disarmament of Germany for many years to come. To this the United Nations have already pledged themselves. Poland is one of them. In a post-war world of vigorous cooperation between Great Britain, the United States, and the other United Nations to prevent the resurgence of an aggressive Germany, the annexation of Polish territory by the Soviet Union should not be necessary. The very measure of Stalin's faith in the Moscow agreements themselves is the way in which he handles the Polish boundary question.

In the January declaration the Soviet Government stated that it stands for the reestablishment of a strong and independent Poland. But a Poland robbed of about 10,000,000 of her citizens, or nearly one-third of her entire population, even should she seize land from Germany, as Russia suggests, could be neither strong nor independent. She would be a puppet state. Her strings would be manipulated from the Kremlin.

It is plain to all thoughtful Americans that the question of the Polish boundary is not whether after the war we will have a strong and independent Poland or a weak and subservient Poland. It is not a question of the future of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, the Poles, and the Russians. It is a question of whether the millions of men of all the United Nations who have died in this second war for democracy and a better world have died in vain. It is a question of whether the Europeans and Americans and British who survive them will be worthy of their sacrifices for a free Europe. Without a free and democratic Poland a free and democratic Europe is impossible. And without a free and democratic Europe World War No. 2 will be lost. And though the shooting may stop when the Germans are militarily beaten, peace will not come. We will have, instead, another long armed armistice which will break out in World War No. 3 inevitably. There can be no peace where causes for war exist. The freedom of Poland will always be a cause of war in Europe.

So this is not a matter to be mediated privately by the strong and victorious Russians, well reinforced with American lend-lease supplies, and the weak and shattered Poles, somewhat less well reinforced by the world's praise and sympathy. It is a question to be settled quietly and calmly across the peace table by all the nations, since the future of each of them will be affected by the final

dispensation of the Polish boundary. Henceforth the security of Russia is of great importance to the whole world. But it must not be purchased at the expense of a neighbor, for to do so is to purchase it at the expense of all the ideals and goals of the United Nations.

Should the fate of Poland and the Baltic states be decided by the loaded dice of nationalistic expediency instead of by the scales of international justice, we will know what the future holds for all of us. We will not then, if we are wise, ask for whom the bell tolls in Poland. It will toll for all of Europe. And for us.

But surely our Government is strong enough and wise enough to persuade our Russian allies that we will work with them so closely and so realistically in shaping the peace that they will have no need to rob their neighbors of liberty in order to safeguard their own. In this effort we will have the valiant aid of the British Government. The great crisis of confidence between ourselves and the Russians is at hand. I pray with all my heart our three mighty nations will see that crisis through, united in friendship and purpose.

**Mr. WASIELEWSKI.** Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MRUK] such time as he may require.

**Mr. MRUK.** Mr. Speaker, since this House last paid tribute to Polish Constitution Day the prospect that the old, old democracy of Poland will live again in our time has been materially improved. Spiritually the certainty of a Poland restored has persisted throughout the modern trial of the history-old suffering Poles.

It is better for a nation to lose its body than its soul. If the soul dies it cannot be restored, but if it endures a new body will be created for it in the fullness of time.

I am quoting, Mr. Speaker, from a book published during World War No. 1, in which G. P. Gooch, a student of Polish literature, wrote these lines. From this same book I wish to continue with the following:

The Polish state ceased to exist over a century ago. Yet her bitterest enemy would not dare to contend that Poland is dead. Her sons \* \* \* cling tenaciously to the hope that the colossal crime of partition will be undone, and they are resolved that their nation, which played an honorable part in building up the civilization of Christendom, shall once again raise its head and be numbered among the states of Europe. They know that even after a total eclipse the sun shines forth again as brightly as ever.

We in America, the democratic kinsmen of Europe's Poles, those of us who are also of Polish ancestry—we have always retained the conviction through these latter years that Poland, the ancient free Poland, while having lost its territorial body would keep its soul, and that in the fullness of time the soul and the body would be together again in a reincarnation of Polish independence.

More than 2 centuries before England instituted habeas corpus, Poland, in 1430, adopted its law guaranteeing personal immunity.

The first free press was Poland's. When all Europe had either silenced or shackled the press, freedom of the press

was a fact in Poland, along with freedom of speech and of worship.

But Poland was a democratic country surrounded by despotic kingdoms which impeded her progress. "Poland fell," said the great Paderewski, "because her neighbors were greedy, unscrupulous, and strong. Poland fell because she was generous, humane, and weak. Poland fell, to tell you the truth, because she had no permanent army to defend her possessions."

The constitution of the 3d of May 1791 was the supreme act of the Polish Nation to safeguard its integrity. The United States had just won the War of Independence and France was being reborn by revolution. Democracy was making its first open stand against autocracy.

That new, stronger Polish Constitution was an epochal document for Poland and for all Europe.

In France—

Said Baron d'Escare—

to gain liberty, they began with anarchy; in Poland the law for person and property was assured, and all this without violence, without murder, solely through the virtue of the courage of the nation which \* \* \* knew how to heal her wounds.

The Poles presented the world with an example of patience, moderation, wisdom, and integrity in popular assembly.

Humanity—

Exclaimed Burke—

must rejoice and glory.

The Polish Nation had risen of its own strength—in the constitution of the 3d of May—to a new and greater charter of human rights, an inspiration then and since to all the oppressed of earth reaching for emancipation.

A History of Poland, recently written by O. Halecki, gives expression to the Polish faith, which is the faith of all freedom-loving peoples everywhere, in these words:

As a nation, Poland is still more grievously afflicted now \* \* \* but infinitely more conscious of her unity and immortality; moreover, she has not ceased to exist as a state, and in the struggle for that existence now she has allies. \* \* \* More clearly than ever before, the Polish cause has again become a great symbol belonging to universal humanity, and its just and final solution the indispensable condition of the victory of right over might and of Christian ethics over a pagan conception of the state, the nation, or the class.

The merely partial realization of these supreme historical ideas after the victory of 1918—partial throughout the whole world, including Poland—led to the fact that the resurrection of Poland and her first reconstruction were followed by the returning wave of destruction.

May God grant that instead of submerging Poland, Europe, and Christian civilization that wave shall be the last to be hurled back, and that future generations, happier than ours, may accomplish a new, this time undisturbed and enduring, work of regeneration.

**Mr. WASIELEWSKI.** Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CANFIELD].

**Mr. CANFIELD.** Mr. Speaker, I rise both to give Poland a pat on the back

and to express the belief that that back will soon rise again.

**Mr. Speaker,** the Arfa Singing Society of Passaic, N. J., is composed of a group of charming and talented young women of Polish extraction. They are most ably directed by Mr. Edmund Sennert and over a period of years this society has been one of my district's finest institutions. It has contributed to the cultural and patriotic life of our people and has won renown in national contests. I have been privileged to be an honorary member of this organization and, addressing one of its concerts last November, I expressed the hope that it would not be long before the forces of tyranny and aggression would be defeated and world peace and sanity restored. Then, I said, I wanted Arfa to come to Washington to sing its inspiring songs of hope and cheer on the steps of the United States Capitol.

I think of Arfa today, as we in the House pay tribute to Poland on the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of that country's famous constitution, because Arfa's girls are the daughters, the granddaughters, and great-granddaughters of valiant Polish citizens and soldiers, lovers of liberty, who have constantly fought against oppression.

I think too of the thousands of American-Polish boys, domiciled in my district, who are now in America's fighting forces. They derive inspiration from those brave Polish patriots who laid down their lives that there might be an American Constitution protecting the rights of a free people. In June of this year they will be joined by Lt. Raymond Janeczek, my first appointee to West Point, who in his life at the Military Academy has distinguished himself in scholarship, leadership, and athletics.

Not far from the Pulaski Highway connecting the cities of Newark and Jersey City are those other great defense cities of Paterson, Passaic, and Clifton. Here years ago came thousands of substantial immigrants, poor but honest and industrious. They sought work in our factories and farms. They practiced thrift, built homes, schools, and churches. They sang the songs of the old country and they sang the songs of the new country. Today, besides their mighty contribution to the fighting forces, they are buying War bonds and helping to provide the food and construct the instruments of war which will help bring about a victory and peace guaranteeing freedom to Americans, Poles, and liberty-loving people everywhere.

**Mr. Speaker,** I was deeply impressed by your great tribute to Poland in this House 2 years ago when you said, "Poland's battle today is our battle and our battle is Poland's." With you and all my colleagues I trust the time is near when Poland will rise again.

**Mr. WASIELEWSKI.** Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

**Mrs. BOLTON.** Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest to the splendid addresses made here on the floor of this House on this the great anniversary day of the Polish Nation. There is little that I can add to the much that has been said but I cannot refrain from just a

little word of appreciation. Poland, to all of us here in America, is an example of courage, of patriotism and of friendship. Poles have died for the freedom that is ours. Americans are dying that Poland may once again be free. Let me tell you a little story—a true one!

Some years ago a lovely Polish girl came all the way from Poland to take nurse's training at the Old Lakeside Hospital Training School in Cleveland. She knew the hospital was right on the shore of Lake Erie. She thought of it as a sparkling blue water, rippling up on a sandy shore. But the muddy reality did not daunt her, nor the language, nor the hard work. She wanted to be a nurse, just the finest nurse in all the world—not for herself, but for Poland. She stood high in the class and patients and students alike called her the nurse with the starry eyes. We hated to see her go, for she had brought to us so much of Polish courage, Polish determination, Polish faith. We hope she took with her the certainty that the Lakeside nurses who knew her will never forget the stars that were in her eyes, the strength that was in her hands, the friendship that was in her heart. The golden threads she wove between our two countries cannot be broken.

Women of Poland, I, a woman of America, greet you on this day of remembrance and glory. I await with you the day of your freedom and until that dawn breaks I join you in prayers before the throne of the Most High God to give you and your beloved ones constant courage, unswerving determination, and an unquenchable faith.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAHAM].

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, gathered here today are 435 Representatives of the Congress of the United States, we represent the greatest nation in the world of 136,000,000 people, and we stop to pay tribute to a great nation, a nation that has withstood every form of despoliation, of tyranny, and oppression, whose spirit has never been broken so that today it rises in a resurgent spirit one of the great outstanding peoples of the world. I pay tribute to the great Poles in my own district, the men who have made valuable contributions in the steel mills, in the plants, in the industries, who have brought forth in the arsenals of America the munitions that made it possible to carry on this war.

So much for the physical characteristics and the tributes to these men and their character. Today we pay tribute to their valiant spirit. In my own district we have two places named after Casimir Pulaski who gave his life at Savannah. Above and beneath it all is our recognition of the bravery, courage, and determination that Poland will rise again and lead as she has in the past. God grant that every activity, every prayer, every contribution will be now to help Poland achieve her destiny.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. LEFEVRE] may extend his own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LEFEVRE. Mr. Speaker, on this 3d day of May, we pause to observe the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of the Polish Constitution.

In the constitution of May 3, the Polish nation sees not merely the text of constitutional provisions then given force of law, but the embodiment of great conceptions of fundamental importance. In times of good fortune the constitution is a source of noble pride; in times of difficulty and sorrow it is a consolation and a hope, and above all a source of strength. Always it is a signpost pointing to the future.

The principles of the sovereignty of the nation—"All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people"—were embodied in the constitution. Further, it adopted the principle of the division of authority, establishing three separate and equal authorities—legislative, executive, and judicial. The principle of religious toleration, which had been known in Poland since 1573, was also accepted. In the organization of the Polish Sejm, the May constitution assigned a basic role to the Chamber of Deputies, claiming the elected deputies "the representatives of the entire nation, being the repository of general confidence."

As a further consequence, the constitution introduced the principle of parliamentary responsibility on the part of the ministers.

In laying the foundations for a new, better state system the May 3 constitution did not overlook the question of military power. It laid down that the entire nation, that is, all citizens, were obliged to defend their motherland. The question of mutual relations between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not ignored. The obligatory force of the constitutional law was extended to both parts of the state which had been united by a factual union since 1569. The constitution declared:

We decide that, as we have a single, universal, and inseparable governmental law, serving all our state, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, so we wish to have our common army and treasury united in a single indissoluble national treasury governed by one government.

Relations between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were thus drawn closer by mutual desire. A common, supreme, administrative authority was set up, based on the principle of equality.

The reforms affecting the burgher class consisted of granting this class a number of rights, which they had not previously enjoyed, and which had been the privilege exclusively of the nobility and gentry. The reforms of May 3, 1791, had grown out of Poland's own national tradition and had arisen out of Polish political thought. So it was a native creation, witnessing to the high level of the political and legislative culture of the Polish Nation.

In certain states, the constitution was warmly welcomed by representatives of public opinion. British opinion reacted extremely favorably and with profound sincerity. At a session of Paris Municipal Council on May 24, 1791, Garron de Coulon made a long speech on the Polish Constitution, proposing that the municipality of the capital of France should send greetings to the municipality of Warsaw on the happily accomplished reform. The Pope expressed his sincere and profound good wishes for the constitution. The Swedes also gave it a friendly welcome, comparing it with their own reforms carried out 20 years earlier. In Holland a commemorative medal was struck in honor of the new constitution.

Two fundamental features of the Polish commonwealth state system—the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the nation—constituted not only the main principles of Polish policy during the period of enslavement, but gave the Polish cause a universal character. Wherever the struggle for freedom was fought there Poles were to be found. Fighting for their own freedom, they realized that they were fighting for the ideal of universal freedom.

It is more fitting now, than ever before, to recall and emphasize the importance of the principles embodied in the constitution of the 3d of May. Now, in the most tragic hour of Poland's history, is the time to rightly appraise her contribution to freedom and liberty.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GORSKI].

Mr. GORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I join with the Members of the House of Representatives in conveying greetings to the Polish Nation, on this historic date, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the signing of their constitution; and to the Polish people whose citizens are now scattered all over the world, and who are fighting side by side with the Allies on all fronts of this present world conflict.

On May 3, 1791, Poland, by the adoption of their constitution, stepped into the forefront of the great democracies of the world, giving its people a constitutional form of government. Since the adoption of that historical Polish document, Poland has suffered bloodshed, torture, sacrifice, hunger, and separation of families. Conquest and brutality are not new to the people of Poland. These and many other sufferings have been inflicted upon the Polish people by strong militaristic nations whose aim was to enslave the people and to take their land.

The conquerors have subjected the people of Poland to every imaginable torture, both mental and physical. The Polish people have suffered all of this in their fight for freedom and independence.

Before the present war broke out, the Nazis endeavored to get Poland to collaborate with them in their new order in Europe, but the Polish people wanted peace, and also wanted to live up to their agreements with the other nations. The Nazi rulers wanted the Polish Government to join Germany in an attack on Russia. Poland, because of her nonag-

gression agreement with Russia absolutely refused, and as a result of this refusal, on September 1, 1939, Germany attacked and invaded Poland.

After the invasion and conquest of the country, the Polish soldiers, eager to continue the fight for freedom and against totalitarian government, fled to other countries to join the fighting Allied nations, and to this day, in the fifth year of the war, Poland is still fighting side by side with the armies of the United Nations.

Day by day the Allied nations are showing more and more strength, while the Nazis are weakening and shall eventually collapse. We all hope this great struggle will soon end and that righteousness, freedom, and justice, will be triumphant and that after hostilities have ended, the Allied nations will establish a peace which is based on honesty and justice, and that Poland will emerge from this struggle a reestablished, strong, free, and independent nation. Poland does not covet any other nation's territory. She only wants what rightfully belongs to her.

I am sure that when total victory is achieved and the peace is restored, the Polish Nation whose people have sacrificed so much and who fought so gallantly for the same high ideals as the other freedom-loving nations, will have freedom and independence restored to them, without the loss of any of their land, at the peace conference.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues on the occasion of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

The history of Poland has been one of the glorious pages of history. The part she has played in the development of the civilized world is likewise a glorious one, in science, the arts, religion. The genius, accomplishments, and leadership of Poland have been outstanding.

Men and women of Polish birth or ancestry have struggled, fought, and died not only for Polish freedom, but for the cause of freedom on the world's battlefields.

In this connection, the names of Pulaski and Kosciuszko as heroes of the Revolutionary War are written indelibly in the pages of American history and America's fight for freedom.

When the hordes of Genghis Khan overran and laid waste to Europe, it was the Polish arms who defeated him and his hordes and saved the Christian peoples of Europe.

On May 3, 1791, the Constitution of Poland was enacted, and this action by Poland won the acclaim of the world for its leadership in democracy and government.

Poland today has been overrun by the Nazi forces. Outnumbered but not out-fought, the spirit of Poland lives on in the breasts of the dauntless men, women, and children who have survived the madness of the conqueror.

Poland will and must rise again. It would be idle for us to pay tribute to

Poland today if we did not render more than lip service to Poland. It is our duty to insist that the boundaries of Poland be restored to her; that her sovereignty be reestablished; and that Poland with her unconquerable spirit take her appropriate and respected position among the great nations of the earth.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LAMBERTSON].

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, every fair-minded American sympathizes today with the Polish people on this anniversary. They have been between the devil and the deep sea, in the last few years in particular. They are a sturdy people, with fine sensibility and great courage. Everything possible should be done to perpetuate their nationality.

God bless them and help them to be restored to national life and independence.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BATES].

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as a war-inflamed world seeks to mold its destiny based on principles of liberty and independence and for which ideals our own sons are now giving their lives, it is appropriate that we should devote a part of our proceedings to note the fact, that on this day in 1791, Poland adopted a new constitution providing for liberty and equal rights for all men.

Historians tell us that this was the first written democratic constitution in Europe, establishing the rights of the middle classes and of the peasants. History also records that in 1430, some 200 years before the English Habeas Corpus Act, Poland guaranteed liberty of the person, and in 1573, it established freedom of conscience and worship at a time when religious persecution was rife. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this country was called the freest in Europe, the state in which the greatest degree of constitutional, civic, and intellectual liberty prevailed.

Bowed but unbeaten Poland still fights for these sacred rights and for her freedom against dictators and oppressors. Her valiant men and women, sons and daughters, are striking hard on land and sea, in the air and underground and are making notable contributions to the Allied drive to final victory and peace. Poland's people have been terrorized, her country devastated but her spirit and determination to fight for the cause of human freedom remain uncrushed and unbeatable.

The flame lit by Poland's independence centuries ago has and will continue to flicker wherever liberty and free people meet and it is fitting that we should pledge ourselves to assist immortal Poland in regaining the liberty and independence of a democratic republic to which she has made such great sacrifices.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SADOWSKI].

POLAND, THE POLISH CONSTITUTION—POLISH—RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, today the Poles the world over are celebrating their national holiday, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the 3d of May constitution that marked their Nation's spiritual rebirth. The 3d of May 1791 marks Poland's new birth of freedom. It commemorates the Polish Constitution, one of the world's greatest documents of freedom, like Magna Carta, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the American Declaration of Independence.

The feeling of the Polish people for their constitution is perhaps best expressed by their greatest national poet, Adam Mickiewicz:

This law did not emerge from the brain of an isolated sage, from the lips of a few administrators, but was drawn from the heart of the great mass; it is not merely written in black and white but it still lives in the memory, in the desires, of the generations, and it is a living law, rooted in the past and developing in the future. \* \* \* In the May constitution \* \* \* the national element, the child of past traditions, is nurtured on the new present-day needs of the Nation. Hence it has been well and justly said that the May constitution is the political testament of the former Poland.

The freedom of the individual and the freedom of the Nation, these two fundamental features of Poland, constituted not only the main principles of Polish policy during the period of enslavement, but gave the Polish cause a universal character. Wherever the struggle for freedom was fought, there Poles were to be found.

The May 3 constitution stated, among others, the principle that—"All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." Since 1573 Poland had religious toleration. The constitution restated this principle, as follows:

For us the same sacred faith enjoins us to love our neighbors; therefore, we should guarantee to all people peace in the faith and government protection, and therefore freedom to all rites and religions in the Polish lands, according to the country's laws.

As a result of the adoption of this constitution, the state system of Poland took on a form different from that of other European states. The disproportion which thus arose between Poland and the other states was bound up with problems of essential state importance. Poland, with a system based on liberty, found herself surrounded by countries governed by absolute monarchs.

The liberals of England and France were loud in their praise of Poland. Sweden and Holland and the Pope all sent messages expressing sincere and profound good wishes.

No such expressions, however, came from the Tsaritsa Catherine II or from the Prussian King Frederick. They took a hostile attitude to the Polish reforms. "The Poles have outdone all the insanities of the Paris National Assembly," the Tsaritsa declared, and dreamed only of the day when she would be able to punish the Poles.

Poland had been previously partitioned in 1772 by her imperialistic, powerful,

and greedy neighbors—Russia, Prussia, and Austria. She was, however, still the third largest state in Europe when 19 years after this partition she proceeded to pass a constitution recognizing the equality of all men and extending religious liberty to all.

In 1793, just 2 years after the adoption of her constitution, Catherine the Great, the Tsaritsa of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria decreed the death penalty for Poland. They envied Polish culture and progress; they feared that Polish love of liberty and democracy might infect their own subjects. So because Poland was free, independent, and democratic, these greedy and bloodthirsty militarists ordered the second partition of Poland. Poland was doomed. But Kosciusko started the insurrection and resisted the Russian armies until October 24, 1795, when Warsaw capitulated.

So, from then on the Polish people and their great leaders like Kosciusko and Pulaski have continuously fought for freedom and justice in all parts of the world. We can well understand why Poland will always fight tyranny and aggrandizement.

Our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, expressed the American tribute when he said:

The heroic and determined manner in which the Polish people have struggled and sacrificed in the face of tremendous hardships and deprivations has been an inspiration not only to the people of the United States but to liberty-loving people everywhere.

Poland will always support every lawful expression of international morality, such as the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms," and demand that they be strictly adhered to and implemented. In this they are joined by all freedom- and liberty-loving Americans who cherish justice and fairness.

In defense of Poland's freedom and independence, all Poles are united and of a single mind. Nothing can loosen or weaken this unity. All attempts to impose upon Poland a government or a regime from the outside, or to meddle in her internal affairs, to violate her territorial integrity, or to dictate her foreign policy, will always and everywhere meet with unanimous resistance.

#### FULL JUSTICE FOR POLAND

Poland has scrupulously discharged her obligations in the war against Hitler. There is no Polish Quisling. All collaboration with Germany has been refused. There has never been even any suggestion of contact or any understanding with Hitler. Poland, although the first attacked and subsequently, for the last 4½ years, subjected to every Nazi trick and scheme, threat and cajolery, has nevertheless stood firm and unyielding. Poland's gallant and unswerving fight against German aggression, Poland's immaculate moral and ideological record, give her the undeniable right to full justice, and to compensation for the incredible sacrifices made by the Polish people in their fight for world freedom.

The sacrifices of the Polish Nation are greater than those of any of her allies.

More than one-tenth of the entire Polish Nation have laid down their lives in the fight for freedom.

Poland in a spirit of democracy looks to the world for the realization of her hopes, for Poland is really a test case. We know that without justice to Poland there can be no better world.

#### TWO LONG CENTURIES OF SUFFERING—POLES ARE BOUNDARY CONSCIOUS

For the past two centuries Poland and her people have been partitioned four times, ravaged, despoiled, murdered, and enslaved by greedy and imperialistic nations. No nation, no people, have suffered so much in the last two centuries. National honor, national integrity, the nation's boundaries, after two centuries of suffering, are sacred things to every Pole—young and old, rich and poor. Two long centuries of Polish tears, prayers, songs of sorrow, have made it so. For two long centuries their women and children were starved and slaughtered, husbands, fathers, and brothers shot and sabered or condemned to prisons for life. Two long centuries of the most cruel and inhuman practices upon a peaceful and agricultural people, of persecution, brutal barbarism and savagery have instilled in every Polish heart a deep consciousness of national honor, national integrity, and that the nation's boundaries be respected.

Why did they fight the powerful Nazi military machine? Why did they not submit to the territorial demands of the Germans? Did they not know defeat was inevitable? Had not all the other nations conceded to German demands?

Yes; the Poles knew all this.

They had to fight—or cease to exist. They chose to fight. It should be plain, that they will not tolerate aggression by anyone.

#### POLAND A CHRISTIAN NATION—PRACTICED RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Poland is one of the strongest Catholic nations in the world. Her people are deeply religious, and devotedly attached to their churches and clergy. Poland has been referred to as the "Knight among nations." She has been the bulwark of Christianity, religious freedom for all, and the opponent of persecution. She has been faithful to her pledges, promises, and agreements. She was always the haven of refuge for those religiously persecuted.

It was because of this policy that Poland had 7,000,000 Jewish people out of a total European population of 11,000,000 Jews.

Yes; but Poland had pogroms, some will say. This is true. But the first and worst pogroms took place in Czarist Russia, and, although some of the anti-Jewish propaganda did seep over into Poland, the Poles would not tolerate it and quickly stamped it out. Likewise, when the Hitler Nazis started in recent years the new anti-Jewish pogroms the most vicious and devastating that the world has ever witnessed, Poland was likewise flooded with this German propaganda. But the Polish people would not succumb to it. Their religious tolerance is deep and sincere. They respect every individual's right to pray and worship in his own way. That is why more than 60 percent of the

entire Jewish population of Europe found a haven of refuge and peace in Poland. Some have accused the Polish clergy and the Catholic Church of practicing intolerance. These statements are viciously false and untrue. The Polish clergy have been the world's greatest preachers of religious tolerance for all faiths, and Poland's record bears this out.

#### REBIRTH OF THE POLISH ARMED FORCES

Everyone knows today that the Polish Army, defeated in September 1939 by overwhelming mechanical and numerical superiority, did not lay down its arms, did not lose its morale, and did not leave its mother country defenseless. All who avoided capture by the Germans or escaped from prison camps arrived in France by way of Hungary and Rumania. There they entered the army then being rebuilt by Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski.

Six months after the German attack on Poland, General Sikorski had about 100,000 men under arms in France, and Polish aviation was rendering a good account of itself in the dog fights over the front.

The Polish Highland Brigade, under General Szysko-Bohusz, fought in Norway and distinguished itself at Narvik.

Out of the French collapse Poland salvaged its Government and its Army. Following the reorganization of the Polish Army in Scotland a new Polish Army sprung into being in Russia. The forces which left Russia are now among the new Polish divisions in the Middle East and in Italy.

Mention of the Polish Navy is constantly recurring in Allied communiqués. The part played by the destroyer *Piorun* in the sinking of the *Bismarck*, the successes of Polish submarines, the unceasing work of the Polish naval and merchant vessels are offering endless evidence of Poland's determination to fight on all fronts.

It was that little Polish destroyer, *Piorun*, that was the first to sight and attack the mammoth German warship *Bismarck*. It was likewise this little *Piorun* that first sighted and attacked the giant German warship *Tirpitz*. The courage, bravery, and the fighting spirit of the Polish naval men surpasses all comprehension and has won the stout praise of the American and British seamen. The Polish Navy has now been built up by the Americans and the British to the extent that it has more warships and is more powerful than it was in 1939 when Poland was attacked by the Germans.

It is the Polish Air Force that has really enraptured the hearts and minds of the English people. Their gallant fighting during the German air blitz on London and the English and Scotch cities, was so heroic and so marked with bravery and fearlessness that the praise and gratitude of the British people resounded throughout the British Isles. Those were dark and grim days for the British. The eagerness and fearlessness of the Polish aviators to meet the Hun inspired the British with confidence and deep respect for their Polish allies. The Poles now have an air force of 15 squadrons—larger and stronger than that of Holland, Bel-

gium, Free French, Norway, and Czechoslovakia, all combined. It is the fourth largest Allied air force. The Polish Air Force is now engaged in fighting the enemy every day—side by side with the American and the British. The Polish Air Force has taken continuous participation and has been actively engaged in bombing and fighting the enemy ever since September 1939. This is really some record. One Polish bomber squadron has sunk seven German submarines.

There are more than 30,000 in the Army Corps with the Motorized Division in England. There are two fully equipped Polish Divisions on the Italian front fighting side by side with the French and Canadian divisions and with our American forces.

All told, the Polish armed forces total about 250,000 men and occupy fifth place among the United Nations, ranking after the United States, England, Russia, and China.

The Polish underground is the strongest, most powerful, and the best organized in Europe. Their important work will be revealed to the world later, when information can be revealed without aiding the enemy. This much can be said: They have caused the Germans untold grief, and have continuously hampered and obstructed the smooth operation of the German military organization. They are actively aiding and assisting the Russian armies, and are rendering services of inestimable value. This cooperation has the sanction and approval of the Polish Government in exile.

#### THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

I met General Sikorski in January 1943 and spent an hour with him discussing Poland and the war. He impressed me as a great statesman and a great leader. Poland certainly suffered a great loss when this great leader was killed in the plane crash last summer. I have also met Vice Premier Kwapinski, who appeared to me to be a very sincere and honest man. I have heard the Polish Government in exile praised warmly as a representative and democratic government, as a delegation representative of the peasants, industrial labor, socialists, Jews, and all of the elements that go to make up the Polish nation. I have also heard the exiled government referred to as undemocratic and unrepresentative and as anti-Russian. Of one thing we may be certain, that the Polish people will never stand for a puppet government, that no Polish government can ever exist that would compromise Polish territory without full agreement and acquiescence of the Polish people.

I do not think it matters much what we think of the Polish Government, or what is said about it. The Polish people in Poland will solve that problem themselves. They shall elect and choose a new government and new officials at their first opportunity. We have only the obligation to see that the Polish people have the opportunity to vote in a free democratic election. The same thing holds true for France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and so forth. Give the people a free election, and I am sure that they will elect a peoples' government.

#### POLISH LABOR

In discussing Poland, one cannot help but pause and give praise and credit to Polish labor. It was the Polish worker who waged the centuries-old struggle for liberation from the Czarist regime. It was Polish labor that proclaimed its solidarity against violence and inequality, and kept up the bitter struggle for freedom and social justice.

Today, when they are enslaved and fettered by the brutal Nazis, the Polish workers still stand fast with the United Nations until every last one of the hated Nazi invaders and oppressors are driven from Polish soil and the Hitler Huns are completely annihilated.

The coming victory will be labor's victory. The workers of the United States, Great Britain, the working men and women of the occupied countries bear the brunt of the fighting and of resistance. Labor is marching in the forefront of all who fight against nazism and fascism. The victory that will be won by labor will bring stable peace, freedom, and social justice.

This year, May 1, 1944, in Poland, the Polish underground circulated the May Day order:

On May 1 we shall not be out on the streets in order to count our numbers—

It read—

We shall not parade, but we shall take a good look at our friends. In their eyes we shall see the same flaming hatred toward the enemy, the same unquenchable determination to enjoy a new life, the same preparedness for the struggle to come. Every worker is today fully aware of the goals and methods of the struggle he wages in common with the peasant, the white-collar worker, and the intellectual.

The Nazi terror has temporarily muted the voice of Polish labor. Trade-unionism has been abolished. The foe has stolen the Polish workers' May Day, their labor day, and their constitution day—the Polish Fourth of July. They have lost their homesteads. They have been murdered by the hundreds of thousands. They have had their property seized. Hundreds of villages have been burned to the ground. Mass murders and executions that have horrified the civilized world, and the most terrible cruelties have been practiced against the Poles in order to break down their morale.

Yes, all of these things the Nazis have done, but still they have not broken the Poles' will or their spirit.

Polish labor will arise to strike the final blow at their archenemy. The day shall come. It will not be long. Their flag shall fly once more. They shall carry the flag of vengeance, the peoples' wrath.

Polish labor shall lead the reborn Poland to freedom, to justice, to glory. Polish labor shall lead to a unity and understanding with all of their Slav brothers in Europe. Just as the American Slav workers in America have learned to understand each other, to work together, to fight together, united in one cause, and have demonstrated their extreme loyalty to the United States and their profound determination for a United Nations' victory.

#### THE SLAVS

The Slav people of Europe—the Slav workers, Polish, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Ukrainians, Croatsians, Serbs, Slovenes, White Russians, Russians, as well as those of the Baltic States—are all united in their cry for freedom and social justice. Their one desire is peace and happiness, freedom to till the soil, to work, and freedom of religious worship. They are not interested in greed or intrigue.

The Slavic workers in America have demonstrated their ability for unity, solidarity and faith, and confidence in one another. We have confidence that their Slav brothers in Europe will likewise demonstrate that deep understanding which can only come by eliminating selfishness, envy, greed, and suspicion of one another.

The Slavs are a valiant and courageous people. They must show wisdom and leadership. Upon them and their actions will depend the future peace of the world. When victory is won they will be charged with a world trust—to keep the peace of Europe.

There are hundreds of thousands of American Slavs in the United States armed forces fighting for the same ends, in complete understanding with one another. The Nazi Huns have shown their hatred for all of the Slavs. For centuries the Huns have conspired against Poland and the Slavish countries to bring about confusion and distrust amongst them. Slavish unity, understanding, and cooperation is the key to future peace of Europe and to the future peace of the world.

#### "THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG"

My district is made up of every Slav nationality, and I have the honor of being chosen honorary president of the Michigan Slav Congress. There are a few Poles and a few Russians who take the narrow and adamant position that the respective governments and the respective political leaders of their mother country have always been right and faultless, and all wrongs were committed by the other side.

As a Democrat and an American, I cannot subscribe to the old belief that "the king can do no wrong." Everyone makes mistakes and no one is always right. I say that mistakes have been made on both sides and that it is the duty of every Slav to speak up strongly and vehemently when such a mistake is made, because that is the only way that they can preserve Slav unity. The Slavs in America have demonstrated that they can live, work, and fight together in unity and harmony.

They can tell their brothers and cousins in Europe to do likewise and to eliminate controversies and disputes. They should tell them to lay strong foundations for a harmonious post-war world, to eliminate bigotry and intolerance, baseless suspicions, and unreasonable demands. This should be done to insure the unity necessary for speedy victory and post-war harmony.

WHAT DO THE POLISH AND THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WANT?

The Polish and the Russian people want the same thing that the American people want, namely: Peace, a lasting peace, freedom from fear and want, the right to pray in their own church, and all of those other things that the American people want and that President Roosevelt has so eloquently and clearly outlined to the world.

Neither people want conquest or aggrandizement. The Polish people do not want a puppet government in Warsaw. The Russian people do not want a puppet government in Moscow. The Polish people want a friendly government in Moscow. The Russian people want a friendly government in Warsaw. It is my belief that the will of the Polish and the Russian people will prevail in this respect. The Russian people know that acquisition of Polish land will not give them security. They have had Polish land several times before under the Czars, but that did not bring them peace and security. Lenin, the great Russian statesman, understood this well, and so told his people. It is time for Russian and Polish political leaders to read into the hearts and minds of their own peoples or they shall be removed and discredited. The Polish peasant and the Russian peasant have enjoyed many a glass of vodka together in the past, and they intend to enjoy it more often together in the future.

U. S. S. R. MUST NOT FOLLOW POLICY OF CZARS

This is a new day. This is a new world. The days of kings, and czars, of reactionaries and Fascists, are over. This has been a people's war, and it must be a people's victory. Let the dead past be forgotten. The czars of Russia are no more. The Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia must not follow in the footsteps of the imperialistic czars. Their future is before them—glorious and bright with hands of friendship and appreciation extended by all democratic peoples. I am certain that in order to maintain this respect, to maintain confidence and leadership, to be the instrumentality for human hope, peace, and friendship and leadership in the new world, the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia realize her obligations and that she must respect the wishes of her smaller neighbors; they must not follow in the footsteps of the czars. To take from Poland the cities of Lwow and Vilna would be like surrendering our cities of Boston and Philadelphia, two of our oldest centers of American culture and learning.

The Polish people, in fact all of the Slav people of Europe, have turned their eyes with hope and confidence toward Russia. Russia must not disappoint them by making unfair demands. Her duty now is that of a mother—to extend the hand of protection and help, to give aid and assistance to the smaller nations and their peoples. This is Russia's greatest opportunity. This, in fact, is her responsibility. This opportunity may not come again for centuries.

Joe Stalin is a great leader. The Russian people are valiant, heroic, and generous. They occupy today a position in Europe that the people of the United

States occupy on the American Continent. Our program is to aid, to assist, to be generous with our sister republics. Russia must provide vision, faith, and inspiration to bring united action among the nations of Europe for the cause of righteousness and human justice. Cannot Russia do this? Will Russia do this? I believe she will. I sincerely hope she will.

AMERICAN PRINCIPLES WILL PREVAIL

We, as Americans under the leadership of our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, have shown by words and deeds—yes, by positive action, that our friendship toward Russia is sincere. Out of this bitter struggle, these bloody sacrifices—yes, out of these terrible years of toil and tears, we have cemented a friendship that should be lasting and mutually understanding.

We have again displayed our physical courage on the fields of battle. We have likewise never been lacking in moral courage. Many times before Pearl Harbor and many times since Pearl Harbor, our democratic principles have been stated and restated by our great President and that great Senator, statesman, and Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. The principles are indelible in the lifeblood, the hearts and minds of every American. They are the principles that have made America great, loved and respected. We have the moral courage to state and reaffirm these principles. We shall state and reaffirm these principles because they are right, they are just, and they must prevail.

Oh, I know that certain isolationists, appeasers, and reactionaries have attacked our President and the State Department, ridiculing the "four freedoms," the Atlantic Charter, the program for humanitarian cooperation after the war as just "a lot of pretty words," "just dreams inapplicable to a greedy world," or "you know you can't trust Russia." Well, these wise men of the Hooverian era have been repudiated by the American people time and time again. The American people have faith, courage, and conviction, and most of all, a sincere interest in the future peace and happiness of the world.

Yes, we have today those shrewd Republican politicians who see in Russia's territorial demands a golden political opportunity. An opportunity to embarrass the President, the Secretary of State, the War Department, by viciously attacking Russia, our relations with her, and to create confusion and distrust out of this situation.

CROCODILE TEARS FOR POLAND

The Republicans are wringing their hands and shedding crocodile tears for poor Poland. They are gushing with sympathy and kind words for Poland, and whispering that Roosevelt sold Poland out to Stalin. But that sly political smirk on their faces beguiles their sincerity. They will fool no one—least of all, the Poles.

The Poles will remember! They shall ask: "Where were you in September 1939? Did you protest against the invasion and brutal attack by the Nazis? Did you not say: 'Oh, why bother about that little strip of land in Poland, let the Nazis

have it?'" Yes, in those desperate days, you were so generous that you would have thrown drowning Poland an anchor when she would have gratefully grasped a straw. Did you not oppose and vote against lend-lease, the arming of our merchant marine, the national-defense program, and all the other legislation that Roosevelt proposed to give aid to Poland and the other unfortunate countries and for America's own defense and protection?"

Yes, the Poles remember all of that. The Poles will remember that it was President Roosevelt's voice that rang loud and clear, full of faith and hope and sincere feeling, to the Polish people across the seas. These were not empty words; they were followed with positive action. Yes, my friends, there is no change today. President Roosevelt is still today the greatest friend that Poland has. He has not changed. He has not taken a back seat. He has not sold Poland down the river.

UNITED STATES HAS NO ULTERIOR MOTIVES

We in America know that the eyes of starving Polish men and women, and also those in other Slavish states and countries are turned to the United States. Much depends upon our skilful exercise of an intelligent influence upon international politics. We can play a decisive role in helping the Polish people and the other Slavs to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for their resistance to our common foe—German nazi-ism.

We have no European designs. We have no ulterior motives.

During the last war we had a great Democrat and statesman, President Woodrow Wilson, but an isolationist Congress let him down.

This time we are blessed with the greatest leader and humanitarian in our history, our President, our Commander in Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt. We have confidence in our President. We have faith in his honesty, integrity, and sense of right and justice. He will not fail the Polish people. He will not fail the Slavs. We can repose our faith, our trust, our confidence in him.

I firmly believe that the American people will back him up in all of his decisions, and the isolationists in Congress shall not dominate the peace conference.

Under the terms of the Atlantic Charter, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain have announced a basic policy for the democracies of the world. It called for the establishment of "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." This policy was immediately accepted with great enthusiasm by the people of the United States as a policy and an expression solidly and fundamentally American. It was the American Monroe Doctrine applied for the protection of the small and weak nations of the world. Later, on January 1, 1942, the United Nations in a joint declaration signed at Washington, subscribed to a common program to carry out these principles.

## WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

We Americans know that we are fighting to beat Hitler, to beat the Nazis, to beat the Japs. We know that we are fighting to beat back a berserk Germany, to beat back the Nazi and Jap militarists, and to keep them from dominating the world. We also know that we are fighting for much more than this. We must win a constructive and durable peace in Europe and in the world. This tragic war must be followed by long years of peace and not only by an uneasy truce, bickerings, and suspicions which will end soon in another war.

## WIN THE WAR COMES FIRST

It may now appear that we have only a policy of expediency. We have been accused of supporting discredited kings, of supporting a status quo which many Europeans hate as much as they hate the Nazis. We are accused of ignoring the social revolution by which all of Europe was torn through the thirties. I have heard all of these accusations, and so have the American people. But the enemy shall not confuse us. We will not be dissuaded from our purposes.

We know that No. 1 on our list is win the war. The War Department is charged with this responsibility. That is their job. The War Department thinks and acts in terms of divisions. To inactivate several enemy divisions here, to convert several divisions from opposition to cooperation. To obtain the services of the French and Italian Fleets. To do the various things necessary to bring about the defeat of the enemy as quickly as possible, that is our No. 1 task, and the War Department and the Navy Department are charged with that responsibility. Will the Army and Navy hold a conference on foreign policy, the Atlantic Charter, or the "four freedoms" before they act? Certainly not. They have only one job to do, and that is to win the war. Because of military necessity, the State Department must at times appear in an awkward position. It is true that the State Department has had to step aside at times for the military. We admit these things, but we also know the reasons. The American principles of right and justice may at times appear dormant, but they are not dead. Who is there so naive as to believe that the War Department has usurped the powers of the State Department? Who is there who thinks that the State Department is out of business, and that the "four freedoms," the Atlantic Charter, and all of the fundamental principles and doctrines of the American people have been forsaken and forgotten?

I, for one, have faith in my country and in our great President and our great Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. I have faith in the American people and in the Congress of the United States. These principles will be restated and reaffirmed strongly and vigorously, and let no one have any doubt about it.

MY CONFERENCES WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT  
AND SECRETARY OF STATE, CORDELL HULL

During the past year it has been my privilege to have had two conferences with the President of the United States,

and two conferences with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the State Department. We discussed Poland—the Polish question—most thoroughly and at great length. As a result of these discussions, I can state definitely and positively that Poland and her people have no greater friends in the whole world than these two men. I can state definitely and positively that our Government acknowledges no unilateral agreements, nor does it intend to acknowledge any unilateral agreements. I can state definitely and positively that there are no secret agreements as to Poland and her boundaries. I am convinced that the malicious propaganda that has been let loose against the President of the United States is primarily aimed to defeat him in the elections next November. The following quotations from Cordell Hull are still the policy of our Government, and it is my firm and positive belief that they will remain so.

Quoting from Cordell Hull's speech to the Congress of the United States on November 18, 1943, after his return from Moscow:

There were other problems, such, for example, as questions relating to boundaries, which must by their very nature, be left in abeyance until the termination of hostilities.

And again from Cordell Hull's speech of April 9, 1944:

The President has said, neither he nor I have made or will make any secret agreement or commitment, political or financial.

And again from the same speech:

The Atlantic Charter was proclaimed by the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain in August 1941. Then by the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, these nations adopted the principles of the Atlantic Charter, agreed to devote all their resources to the winning of the war, and pledged themselves not to conclude a separate armistice or peace with their common enemies.

## PASSIONS, BITTERNESS, MUST NOT PREVAIL

I have tried to present this subject objectively, without rancor, without bitterness, without recriminations. Passions cannot prevail and must not be allowed to control our words and actions. The world has too much at stake today. The enemy is gambling on a break-down of Allied unity. They are staking everything on a negotiated peace. This could only come as a result of a break-down in the friendly relationships within the United Nations. This we must guard against, or we will face the German military forces again in another 20 years.

## CONCLUSION

On this anniversary of the Polish Constitution, let us review the contribution of the Poles for an Allied victory. Let us discuss the future of the Polish Nation and its people. The scale has tipped heavily in favor of the United Nations, of which Poland is a part. The sands are running very low for the German would-be world conquerors. At this very moment the Nazi ex-supermen are being bombed to high heaven by Allied squadrons, in whose ranks number many Pol-

ish bombers and fighters. Russia's great victories on the eastern front—everything points to a victory and that soon the devastated and tortured people of Poland will be free again. It must be said clearly and forcefully, however, that victory for Poland and the Polish people is only as near and as certain as victory for all of the United Nations. Hitler and his satellites are far from finished. The toughest fighting for America, our own country, and for Poland is still ahead. The success of this fighting will depend entirely upon the continued concord and unity of the United Nations and their coordinated blows at the common enemy.

Looking at the future, we see too that a secure and stable world is possibly only through the continued concord and cooperation of the United Nations—cooperation in the peace to come as firm as in the winning of the war. Poland's future and Russia's future are inextricably bound up with the future of America and all of the United Nations.

Many of America's best sons, of Poland's best sons, and of Russia's best sons have already fallen, and many more will yet fall. Deep, deliberate, cool, and honest-thinking, sincere, and temperate action is demanded from all of us. A spirit of cooperation, understanding, and friendly relations must be preserved for the sake of humanity—for a future of glorious and lasting peace for the world.

The millions of valiant soldiers and the millions of civilians must not have died in vain. The sacrifices made in attaining our victory are too great. As Americans, we want to do everything for victory, and continued unity of the United Nations in fighting the Axis must be preserved.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CHURCH].

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, what we say here in commemoration of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution will not now reach the enslaved people of that great country who are permitted to read and to hear only that which their Nazi oppressors permit. But no words of ours are necessary for the people of Poland to know that the people of America are their true friends and confidently look to the day when Poland will again be free. Speaking more eloquently than the choicest words and sonorous phrases is the almost daily roar of American bombers over Europe and the thunder of bombs dropped on the factories and railroads of Hitler's tottering fortress. The people of Poland know that the hour of liberation is not far distant. In that hour men everywhere, of every race, creed, and color will rise in freedom's cause to strike down the tyrants. A new Poland will be born. Her constitution of May 3, 1791, will live anew.

We are not unmindful of the contribution made by sons of Poland in our war for independence. Notable among them was General Pulaski, who gave his life in the Battle of Savannah, and General Kosciuszko, who rendered distinguished service as a volunteer in the army of

George Washington. Thomas Jefferson wrote of General Kosciuszko:

He is as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few and rich alone.

Those same words could be applied to the people of Poland as a whole. Without pillage, murder, or violence they established their constitution, setting up a republican form of government, and it has continued to live, even to this day, notwithstanding the partitioning of the country, between three monarchs—the Tsarists of Russia, King of Prussia, and Emperor of Austria—and notwithstanding the 5 years of Nazi rule. The Polish Constitution continues to live because it embodies the fundamental principles of individual liberty and those principles are inscribed forever on the hearts of the Polish people, which no amount of torture, no amount of suffering and no amount of bloodshed will ever erase.

The spirit of the Polish Constitution as an immortal document is best expressed by language of the document itself. In the preamble will be found the following:

Prizing more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence, external independence, and internal liberty of the nation, whose care is entrusted to us; desirous, moreover, to deserve the blessing and gratitude, not only of our contemporaries, but also of future generations; for the sake of the public good, for securing our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our possessions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution.

The importance of individual freedom to the Pole is expressed in the following provision from the constitution:

We publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people, either who may be newly come to settle, or those who, having emigrated, would return to their native country; and we declare most solemnly, that any person coming into Poland, from whatever part of the world or returning from abroad, as soon as he sets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free and at liberty to exercise his industry, wherever and in whatever manner he pleases, to settle either in towns or villages, to farm, and rent lands and houses, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

The Polish Constitution set up three distinct branches of Government: legislative power in the States assembled, executive power in the King and council of inspection, and judicial power. A provision of primary significance is article V which declares:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the State, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation.

While the constitution expressly states that an effectual executive power is necessary, it is important to note that it specifically stipulates:

This executive power cannot assume the right of making laws or of their interpretation.

One can well imagine how the Polish people react to the bigotry and intolerance of the Nazi rule when he finds that the Poles had written such provisions as the following into their historic constitution:

The same holy religion commands us to love our neighbors; we therefore owe to all people of whatever persuasion peace in matters of faith and the protection of government; consequently, we assure to all persuasions and religions freedom and liberty according to the laws of the country and in all dominions of the republic.

Truly, the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, is an immortal document. It expresses the will of a great people who love liberty more than life. It expresses their hope and gives them courage. Such a spirit will never die. A new Poland will be born. The hour is not far distant when all men may be free.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOODRUFF].

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as I have been sitting here this afternoon listening to the many tributes to the Poland that was, to the Poland that is today, and to the Poland which every individual of Polish blood and every other reasonable citizen hopes she will again become, I was reminded of those days a quarter of a century ago when I was privileged to twice visit the re-created and reconstituted Poland.

My two visits to that wonderful country, Mr. Speaker, were made during the winter of 1919-20. In order to visualize or realize the distressing conditions existing there at that time, one must remember the fact that continuously during World War No. 1 Poland was the battleground between the Russians and the Germans. Their warring legions fought back and forth across the country time and again, and as each retreating army abandoned its position, it either carried with it or destroyed everything that could in the slightest degree contribute to sustaining human life.

On each trip to Poland, I traveled from Paris to Warsaw, and this route took me through what must be the most fertile section of that fine country. Everywhere comfortable farmhouses and other buildings, some of them destroyed as the result of battles fought in those areas, indicated that once happy prosperous people had populated the entire country. Every morsel of food for man or animal had been taken or destroyed. Not an animal or other sign of life appeared on these farms. Naturally the people were forced into the cities, because it was there only that necessary relief could be extended. In Warsaw, the beautiful capital of the country, bread lines were everywhere; suffering was almost universal. Women and children hurrying along barefooted in the snow was not an uncommon sight. It was a time such as to challenge the fortitude of the most courageous. The Polish people met that challenge in the way only a great people could meet so serious a situation.

My business in Warsaw was with the Polish Government. I had the distinct

privilege of meeting and discussing the future of Poland with the great Paderewski who personally, during these trying times, turned over to the relief organizations something like \$7,000,000 of his life's earnings for the relief of the poor. I met other great members of the race and their approach to the problems which confronted the country, and to their personal responsibilities in connection therewith, was such as to be an everlasting credit to them and to their race. They were not downcast; their heads were up; the spirit of hope and determination to once more create among the family of nations another Poland such as had in the past ranked high in the family of nations, was plainly evident.

In the years that have passed since then, the hopes, the ambitions, the aspirations of those fine patriots were fully realized. During those few short years, under the leadership of the great members of their race, they acquired success, responsibility, affluence, and standing in the world second to none.

Mr. Speaker, it is a shocking thing that in this supposedly civilized world of ours, a people whose one desire is to live at peace with all the world, and who conduct themselves in a way which should permit them to do this, can be destroyed, as Poland was recently destroyed, because of the mad ambitions of an individual. What the future holds for Poland is a question that is near to the hearts of many other than those of Polish blood. I speak of those who have lived among members of the race in this country.

We are fortunate to have within our borders millions of citizens of Polish extraction. They are among the most loyal and most desirable of our citizens. There is an old saying that when a man becomes a home owner he becomes a good citizen. This is based in part upon the theory that when a man becomes a property owner he thereby becomes deeply interested in the laws which protect private citizens in their ownership of property, and it then naturally follows that he becomes interested in and observant of all laws.

Always there is inherent in the heart of every good citizen a love of home. We who live in communities in which our Polish immigrants have settled learned of the deep love of home inherent in every Polish heart. Poles came to the community in which I live. They were hard-working, thrifty and saved their money for the day when they could make their first payment on a home. How successful they have been down the years is best illustrated by something one of the fine Polish priests of my community told me at one time when I was discussing with him the fine homes of our Polish citizens. He said that there was not a family living in a rented house within 11 blocks of his church. I know of no other section of my home city or any other city where such a condition exists.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I am hoping the day is not far distant when the people of Poland will once more find themselves in posses-

sion of their country under conditions which will enable them to govern themselves and exercise the freedom and happiness which come only to those who are masters of their own destiny. I hope also that there will emerge from that peace conference a Poland which down the centuries may live as an independent, respected, and highly honored member of the great family of nations.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, today, May 3, is the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Constitution of Poland. As such it means as much to the 35,339,000 people of that country as our Constitution means to us, and I want to congratulate the people of Poland for their undying spirit in their struggle to preserve that constitution.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, at this point I include a speech I made in Shenandoah, Pa., April 23, 1944, at the forty-fifth anniversary of the Polish Beneficial Association.

Many of you who attended the Polish-American Citizens' League dinner at Pottsville, Pa., on October 23, 1942, will recall my remarks on Poland when I said:

Poland fights on—the cause of Poland is the cause of free men and women everywhere. The magnificent, tragic heroism of the Polish peoples for the cause of the United Nations has brought sober admiration from every corner of a liberty-loving world. As your own Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorsky said:

"Poland was the first country to take up arms against German aggression." It was the Polish armies, he pointed out, who drew the German forces from the western to the eastern front in September 1939, thus deflecting the Nazi juggernaut at a crucial moment.

"How different," he notes, "would have been the trend of the war if Hitler, instead of attacking Poland first, had launched the attack directly on France and Great Britain."

Yes; Poland was the first to resist the barbaric Nazi aggressor. Poland and her valiant people will forever be held up as an example and a symbol of the determination of free peoples everywhere to fight to the bitter end for their right to live as they wish to live—without dictation from a foreign tyrant.

Poland had little opportunity to fight back. Organized resistance of her armed forces was soon destroyed. Yet Poland still fights on. Untold numbers of Poles continue to fight today in the front lines of the United Nations.

I need not review the horrors of the Nazi invasion of Poland. Too familiar are the outrages visited upon the innocent Poles by the contemptible Germans. I can only pay humble tribute, with millions of my fellow Americans, to the spirit of the Polish people which prompts them to fight on—without question of the outcome—to the day when the tide will turn.

We know of the appalling poverty that has gripped Poland since the Germans first began to strip that country of its resources, its manpower, and its intellect. Prices are incomprehensible to us in this land of plenty. Polish ration cards do not grant a fraction of the amount of food required to keep a person at sustenance levels. But even the quantities permitted by the ration cards are not available. Yet, the Polish people fight on. They fight on and endure though they are hollow-cheeked, sunken-eyed, and emaciated. The torment of hunger is written on every face.

Yes, the Poles fight on. And Poland will continue to fight on. Poland will be fighting—still fighting—on that not-too-distant day when the United Nations will vanquish the enemy and achieve a glorious and triumphant victory. On that day the people of Poland, like the people of all the United Nations, will bear one thought foremost in their minds. They will demand that the peace which follows the fighting—that the peace which follows the sacrifice, the misery, the suffering, the privation, and the tortures of war—shall be a complete and a lasting peace.

The Polish people, like the people of all the United Nations, are determined that this shall be the last war. They are determined that the German monster shall never again rise to challenge the peace of this world. They are determined that those forces in Europe which have turned the Continent into a bloody quagmire once every generation shall be forever destroyed. They are determined that no aggressor shall ever again plunge peace-loving people into the senseless holocaust of war.

The Polish people were the first to fight; they have never ceased to fight; they will continue to fight until the last ounce of resistance has been crushed out of their souls. Their spirit gives pride to the hearts of their fellow countrymen in every portion of the world. Their heroism and their sacrifices serve as beacons to the determination of every single Pole in America, that each shall give of his utmost to this war which must be won for liberty's sake. I am confident of the place which every single one of you is fulfilling in our war activities, and I am confident that with the unswerving devotion of every American like yourself—this war will be won for the Allies. The cause of Poland is the cause of freemen everywhere.

Those remarks are as apropos today as they were 18 months ago even though time marches on.

Much has happened since October 23, 1942; a great deal of water has run over the dam, as the popular saying goes. But likewise, a great deal happened before October 23, 1942, as far as Poland is concerned, namely the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, by Germany.

Then, on July 23, 1940, less than 1 year later, the American State Department declared:

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak.

That was sound and, I might say, brave in 1940. It is sound and brave in 1944, and it should be sound and brave and right when peace comes again to the world. And since we said it in 1940, and so committed ourselves, we should say it again so that none may misunderstand us.

Then on August 14, 1941, we saw the birth of the now famous Atlantic Charter. This was endorsed by the United States, England, Russia, in fact by all the United Nations, including Poland.

No one with any sense of human principles has any quarrel with the Atlantic Charter. Its passages are wonderful and its high ideals sublime. Listen, while I read the first three points of the

Atlantic Charter, which I think is so apropos to the Polish question:

First. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.

Second. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Third. They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Today, these "purposes and principles" mean much to Poland, or they mean nothing at all to anybody.

Then came Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. We, in all America knew full well the meaning of that day. At least we knew it as your Representatives in the Congress of the United States when we voted a declaration of war on December 8, 1941. Before this date we were obliged to change from a neutral country to one which was asked and gave material aid to those already in deadly conflict, after Pearl Harbor—our men and boys. We have given billions of dollars worth of material to our allies—every one of them. It has been worth all we gave, as events are now proving.

But our war is something more than the military defeat of Hitler and Hirohito. That would be only temporary victory if that were all we won. We are fighting for the rights of all small nations as well as for the defeat of Germany and Japan. We are fighting for Polish freedom as well as the freedom of the United States, England, Russia, or China. Every one of these great powers have understood this fully; there should not be any doubt about it. It is written, as a matter of fact, into our standard lend-lease agreements, mutually subscribing to the common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter.

Fit those specifications to Poland, my fellow Americans, and all will be well—no aggression, a just and enduring peace. Withhold them from Poland, and from the other victimized nations in this tragic war, and we shall find that we have merely won another Versailles, then another Munich, and then another world war.

As Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan, said recently:

The record is clear. The future is not. Our promises are clear. Our prospectus is not. Our American foreign policy of today is sound when it puts American military victory in this war ahead of every other consideration. Beyond that point, our American foreign policy, as of today, is vague and often mystifying generally. Frankly, it is largely locked up in the White House—across from which Kosciusko still dominates LaFayette Square. The poet rightly said of him:

"Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,  
And Freedom shrieked, as Kosciusko fell."

As we think of Poland, of its brave American heroes exemplified by Pulaski and Kosciusko, and of its brave soldiers and sailors fighting in the war on freedom's side, we can say that America today stands behind it, as America stands behind every nation with justice on its side.

As I have repeatedly stated, "Poland fights on; the cause of Poland is the cause of free men and women everywhere."

Yes; unconditional surrender, victory in this war, must bring a just and lasting peace to men and women everywhere. That is the hope and prayer of our boys on the far-flung battle fronts; we cannot, we will not, let them down. God grant that victory will soon be achieved and that our fighting men will return to their loved ones and that their sacrifices will not have been in vain.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN].

#### FREEDOM FOR POLAND

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, all liberty-loving Americans join today in the celebration commemorating the adoption of a constitution by Poland on May 3, 1791. The Polish Constitution was patterned after the Constitution of the United States, as it guaranteed freedom and democracy for the people of Poland.

For more than 150 years Poland has been our true and tried ally in the struggle against the enemies of civilization. Polish patriots were amongst the world leaders to help our forefathers establish a free America on this continent. Millions of immigrants came from Poland to the United States during the past century to enjoy the blessings of freedom as American citizens, and to take an important part in building these United States into the world's greatest republic. The contributions made by them and their descendants to the culture and progress of our country is indelibly written on the pages of American history.

The people of Poland were the first to take up arms against the Nazi hordes, and they continue to fight in spite of overwhelming odds to make their homeland free. Poland, as a great nation, will live again to enjoy the blessings of its constitution and to take her place amongst the great republics of the world.

The tragic world struggle of today will not end until dictators and tyrants have been destroyed and freedom restored to Poland and other enslaved countries throughout the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SCRIVNER].

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, it is not only fitting but proper for us to pay tribute to those Polish patriots of yesterday and today—many of whom today celebrate their Nation's former independence under ground—an independence which was founded upon a written constitution adopted at almost the same time as ours. Today, I am sure, these freedom-loving Poles, past and present, are with us in spirit—a spirit of freedom that must never die, at home or abroad.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART].

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, of the 7,000,000 Americans of Polish descent, too

few for my liking have yet chosen to establish their homes in the district I represent, although one of the counties of my district bears the proud name of Stanislaus, a name near and dear to that heroic people. But notwithstanding this, I wish to join in paying a tribute to the gallant people of Poland on this their national day, for they were the first to fight, they have never stopped fighting, and they have suffered more than any other country occupied by the German hordes.

And as my words cannot be interpreted as an effort to please Polish constituents, of whom I have all too few, I want to say in all impartiality that it would be a tragedy if the border dispute between great and powerful Russia and brave but weaker Poland, were settled on any other basis than that which is just and right.

Are the United States, Great Britain, and Russia going to act in accordance with their loud and incessant promises of political morality, or are they not? In 1941 Soviet Russia signed an agreement with the Polish Government in London, an agreement in which the British Government participated, saying that all treaties between Russia and Germany relative to Poland were invalid. The British and American Governments both declared that they would recognize no territorial changes made in Poland since August 31, 1939. In other words the three great powers are pledged to restore the frontiers of the Republic of Poland, exactly as they were at the time of Hitler's unprovoked aggression.

The Polish-Russian question is a test case. The least that the civilized world can ask is that we do not follow the example of our enemies, and allow it to be settled by might over right. If as a result of a bilateral negotiation Poland is willing to cede some part of the Polish Ukraine to Russia in exchange for East Prussia and a broader access to the sea, if the great powers are willing to consent to this, to which I for one see no objection, then the matter can be settled in a spirit of friendly adjustment and complete unity restored among the United Nations. That is the only way the matter can be settled if the great powers are going to keep the faith.

Especially is the word of Great Britain engaged, for in the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, establishing their alliance for a score of years, both powers declared that "they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves, and of noninterference in the affairs of other states." By this explicit assurance Russia renounced all claims to Polish soil.

In the same British-Russian treaty both powers adhered to the Atlantic Charter, which states that the signatories desire to see no territorial changes which do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those forcibly deprived of them. And only the other day the British Foreign Secretary told the House of Commons that the Polish people will redeem their own freedom. That remains our pledge.

Mr. Speaker, let us hope that that pledge will be kept to the letter and in the spirit in which it was given, and that our gallant ally Poland will be restored to full independence within her own frontiers; that she may be restored to her rightful position as a strong, free, and glorious state, one whose national holiday, the anniversary of the adoption of its constitution, shall be honored and respected throughout the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON].

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, 2 years after the Constitution of the United States went into operation—a constitution providing for a government "of, by, and for the people"—Poland, following the example of the United States, adopted a constitution recognizing the rights of the common people, the first of its kind in the whole of Europe. The Polish Constitution, adopted May 3, 1791, gave form and force to the same principles of democracy that are contained in our Constitution, and made those principles applicable to the people of Poland.

In September 1939, when the principles of democracy were again under fire, with powerful warlike nations immediately adjoining her on the east and west, Poland had the courage to line up in support of the democratic principles for which the United Nations fight today.

Mr. Speaker, I believe, therefore, it is both fitting and proper that the Congress pay tribute to the heroic part Poland has played and is playing in the present war; that we review again the important contribution Kosciusko and Pulaski made in our own fight for freedom; that we recognize the fact that the spirit of those great Polish heroes and patriots of the past still animates the lives of the present-day Poles who are fighting side by side with our boys against the tyranny of present-day dictators; and that we today give to the Polish Government in exile renewed assurances of our support for, and interest in, a free and independent Poland as a part of post-war Europe.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. STEARNS].

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, today marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution in 1791. All the world knows of the French Revolution, which through blood and terror brought the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity for the French people. Too few realize that at the same time Poland, with her long tradition of tolerance, was accomplishing the same results, by peaceful means, only to have them overthrown by the final partition which put the Polish people under the rule of the absolute monarchs of the three neighboring countries. In 1919, all Americans who knew of her glorious history rejoiced to see Poland restored as a free and independent nation; and in the 20 years of peace she had shown her capacity for self-rule and her devotion

to the principles of constitutional government.

In 1939, she was again the first to stand against the enemies of freedom. For the last 5 years she has observed this, her national holiday, under the yoke of foreign oppression. Let us send to our Polish brethren today the message that we are not forgetful of the long and honorable friendship between the American and the Polish people, and that we look forward with them to the day when the White Eagle shall again fly over a restored and liberated Poland.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED] 5 minutes.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, today marks the anniversary of a great event in history. It was 153 years ago, May 3, 1791, that the Polish people adopted a new constitution. Under the terms of this great document a republican form of government was established. It is a significant fact and one worthy of recognition that two peoples, one in America and the other in far-distant Poland, should each at about the same time, establish a representative form of government under a new constitution.

The preamble of the Polish Constitution clearly and unmistakably expresses the motivating force that gave birth to this remarkable and immortal document. Let us examine some of its provisions. Here is its preamble:

Persuaded that our common fate depends entirely upon the establishing and rendering perfect a national constitution; convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in our government, and willing to profit by the present circumstances of Europe, and by the favorable moment which has restored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence, external independence, and internal liberty of the nation, whose care is entrusted to us; desirous, moreover, to deserve the blessing and gratitude, not only of our contemporaries, but also of future generations; for the sake of the public good, for securing our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our possessions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part, till such period as shall be prescribed by law, when the nation, if it should think fit, and deem necessary, may alter by its express will such articles therein as shall be found inadequate. And this present constitution shall be the standard of all laws and statutes for the future diets.

What did the Polish people say in their new constitution as to the form of government they were establishing and the powers to be exercised by those chosen to administer it? Under article V of the Polish Constitution the people declared that:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation. Three distinct powers shall compose the government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution; viz:

1. Legislative power in the States assembled.

2. Executive power in the King and council of inspection.

3. Judicial power in jurisdiction existing, or to be established.

The philosophy of government discernible throughout this Polish Constitution would lead one to believe that the American people and the Polish people had each drawn inspiration for their respective Constitutions from the same source. We find under article VIII relating to executive power these provisions:

The most perfect government cannot exist or last without an effectual executive power. The happiness of the nation depends on just laws, but the good effects of laws flow only from their execution. Experience has taught us that the neglecting of this essential part of government has overwhelmed Poland with disasters.

And then under this same heading the constitution provides:

This executive power cannot assume the right of making laws, or of their interpretation. It is expressly forbidden to contract public debts; to alter the repartition of the national income, as fixed by the diet; to declare war; to conclude definitely any treaty, or any diplomatic act; it is only allowed to carry on negotiations with foreign courts, and facilitate temporary occurrences, always with reference to the diet.

Throughout this new Polish Constitution runs a philosophy of humanitarianism and tolerance, such as—

We publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people, either who may be newly coming to settle, or those who, having emigrated, would return to their native country; and we declare most solemnly, that any person coming into Poland, from whatever part of the world or returning from abroad, as soon as he sets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free and at liberty to exercise his industry, wherever and in whatever manner he pleases, to settle either in towns or villages, to farm, and rent lands and houses, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

We find in this Polish Constitution, adopted almost contemporaneously with our own Federal Constitution, rule by majority, secret ballot at public elections, and the language relating to religion that—

The same holy religion commands us to love our neighbors, we therefore owe to all people of whatever persuasion, peace in matters of faith, and the protection of Government; consequently we assure, to all persuasions and religions, freedom and liberty, according to the laws of the country, and in all dominions of the Republic.

The tragedy of Poland was that her birth as a nation was so soon followed by her dissolution. Nevertheless, Poland, if only for a brief period of national existence with liberty under law, did quickly develop educational facilities, stimulate an active interest in literature and art. Historians and poets sprang up under the effect of this newborn freedom. It must be kept in mind that new constitution was framed to save Poland from the intrigues of foreign governments, which over a long period of time, had corrupted every election of the Polish people.

Now then, I wish to take a few moments to point out why there has been such a strong bond of affection between the American people and the Polish people. It could not be otherwise in view of the great contribution which was made by noble and heroic Polish patriots who joined in our fight for freedom against the then most powerful military and naval power in the world. There were several distinguished sons of Poland who fought and bled in our war for independence, but I shall confine my remarks to only one of them, although profoundly grateful to all of them.

It was in 1776 that one of these young men from abroad came to America to offer his services in the army of Gen. George Washington. This young man was Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

Here was a young man of ancient and noble family, educated in Warsaw, in France, and in England, offering his services in the cause of freedom. It is difficult to measure the extent of such a contribution at such a time to the morale of the struggling, half-starved Colonial Army.

I believe that all of those peoples throughout the world who have been oppressed by the tyranny and intrigue of monarchical governments have taken courage from the unselfish devotion of Washington and Kosciuszko in the cause of freedom.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko was appointed Engineer of Continental Service, October 18, 1776. He was an expert in fortifications, and as such he was employed at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He afterwards served with General Schuyler Gates. It was he who selected Moses Creek, 4 miles below Fort Edwards in New York State, as the strategic point at which to check the English Army under General Burgoyne. After the battle of Saratoga, Colonel Kosciuszko was placed in charge of the fortifications at West Point. Later Colonel Kosciuszko was appointed by Washington as an engineer in the Army of the South under General Greene. Colonel Kosciuszko served with distinction throughout the war. On the 13th of October 1783 he was recommended by General Washington for promotion to the rank of Brigadier General, in these words, "for long, faithful and honorable services in the American Army."

Our independence won, Kosciuszko returned to Poland, where, for several years, he lived in retirement. It is safe to assume that he watched with deep interest the development of the American Government, especially the drafting of our Federal Constitution during the year 1787, its ratification in 1788 and its operation after taking effect in 1789. I mention this last date because it was in 1789 when the Polish Diet made Kosciuszko a major general on discovering that foreign powers were plotting to overthrow Poland. Dear to every Polish heart is the brilliant record of General Kosciuszko in the battle of Zielence, June 18, 1792, and again in the battle of Dubienska, which was fought July 17, 1792. It was in the battle of Dubienska that the Polish Army, under the brilliant and fiery leadership of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, defended an unfortified

post for 6 hours with only 4,000 men, against 15,000 Russians. It has been said that God's prophets have the right-of-way. That they come by divine appointment, that they kindle a torch that centuries cannot quench. There is no doubt that Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko the patriot, came by divine appointment to kindle in the hearts and souls of the Polish people an unquenchable fire of patriotism and love of liberty. What George Washington is to us, Thaddeus Kosciuszko will ever be to the Polish people.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to General Gates, February 21, 1798, said of Kosciuszko:

He is as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few and rich alone.

The provisions of the Polish Constitution, and the valor displayed in defense of Poland by General Kosciuszko amply justify the high tribute paid to his character and patriotism by both Washington and Jefferson. It is my firm belief that the life of such a man gives birth to a spirit that is immortal and one that lights an unquenchable flame of patriotism in the hearts of those who aspire to liberty. This flame, lighted in the hearts of the Polish people, has burned steadfastly from 1791 until liberation came to their country a century and a quarter later, at the close of World War No. 1. There is no doubt that through the troubled years to come every Polish boy and girl will prove worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to them by Thaddeus Kosciuszko and other great patriots and heroes of their brave and honored nation.

I would say in conclusion that history tells us that when a regiment of Polish soldiers found in the shrine of Casa-di-Loretto the sword of John Sobieski, the lion-hearted king of Poland, they sent it to Thaddeus Kosciuszko, as the only man living worthy of such an inheritance.

I believe it can be truly said that the hope of enslaved, starved, and bleeding Poland, is that her children throughout the world are at this crucial time proving themselves worthy of the great inheritance bequeathed to them by their ancient and noble champions of liberty.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, as Members of Congress representing the American people in this great National Legislative Assembly, we are privileged again to devote special attention to a noble cause and one worthy of our deep admiration, namely, commemoration of the most brilliant epoch in the history of Poland, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of the Polish Constitution, proclaimed as a "Magna Charta" upon the European Continent on May 3, 1791. This historical document, which in many respects resembles our Declaration of Independence, was adopted by the liberal Polish Diet for the benefit of the freedom-loving people of Poland and, as recorded by the historians, it was to a great extent inspired by the American and the French Revolutions and constituted in

reality the first concentrated revolt of an oppressed nation of Europe against the most powerful domination of imperialistic despotism.

Since that time May 3 has been Poland's National Independence Day. It is to Poland what the Fourth of July is to America and what Bastille Day is to France. In connection with this commemoration, permit me to quote what, in 1832, one of Germany's prominent historians, Friedrich Raumer, wrote about the Polish Constitution. He said:

The Poles give themselves the constitution of the 3d of May without pillage, murder, bloodshed, or destruction of property. With wisdom, fairness, and measure they united the nicest respect for all personal and property rights that could be preserved, with the extermination of all fundamental evil. An admirable work of this kind deserves the greatest permanence, the highest happiness under the most auspicious conditions. So double responsibility rests on the soiled hands that stained a clean act, on the slanderers who libeled it, and on the criminals who destroyed it.

The history of the present global war will demonstrate who were the guilty criminals that stained the clean act of the Polish Constitution, who conducted systematic mass murder of innocent Polish people by the most bestial means, unknown before to the civilized world.

The Russian historian, A. Pogodin, professor at Kharkov University, in 1911 wrote about the Polish Constitution as follows:

Poland's best sons fought to save their country. The constitution of the 3d of May 1791 created an order of things guaranteeing the rebirth of Poland. Had these reforms been put into effect, Poland would have become a sufficiently strong state. But her neighbors did not permit the Polish Commonwealth to strengthen itself in this way Prussia and Russia—but recently enemies—clashed hands across Poland. The constitution's supporters guided by their ardent desire to save their country, knew they were subscribing to it in an hour fraught with danger to the commonwealth.

It seems appropriate to recognize and perpetuate the memory of the important contribution made by the heroic Polish patriots, Marshals Pulaski and Kosciuszko, at the time of our Revolutionary War, and it is also extremely important that in this critical time when the safety of humanity is confronted and disturbed by the most brutal barbarism we concentrate our attention upon serious problems confronting us today, and activate before the world those aspirations that are symbolizing the declaration made by the United Nations in this historical struggle for world democracy and preservation of universal liberties.

To interpret correctly the national tradition and spirit of present-day Poland, nothing seems more appropriate than a true and correct description of Poland's sincere effort and contribution during the past 4 years toward a victory of the United Nations.

The heroic defenders of Warsaw are a living symbol of the courageous determination of Poland. By her sacrifices, by the complete loss of this historical and monumental city of Warsaw, century-old cathedrals, irreplaceable educational in-

stitutions, by the sacrifices of millions of innocent victims, all patriotic citizens, who perished in this bloody tragedy because they loved the freedom of their native country more than life in slavery under the Nazi domination, Poland has earned the right to freedom and the right to be honored and assume a foremost place among the world's democratic nations.

September 2, 1939, is destined to live forever in the memory of liberty-loving people of this and future generations; it was the crucial day when the heroic defenders of Warsaw—exhausted, decimated, starving—gave up the fight against the overwhelming forces of Nazi invaders and were compelled to capitulate. This dark day of tragedy of Warsaw was marked as only a beginning in another struggle for Poland's independence. The fall of Warsaw was the danger signal alarming the whole democratic world of the approaching danger of German destructive barbarism.

Despite 4 years of humiliation, persecution, and wholesale slaughtering of millions of innocent people by the bloodthirsty Nazi terrorists, the spirit of Poland did not falter, and today, all over the world, a new Polish Army is being mobilized in preparation for the victorious march toward their beloved fatherland. Poland's act of courage, patriotism, and sacrifices have inspired the democratic people all over the world with new determination and devotion to those immortal ideals upon which the future destiny of humanity and the normal progress of civilization are to be established.

The same principles that were written into the Polish Constitution in 1791 are the guiding spirit in activities and aspirations of national leaders and representatives in the present struggle for Poland's liberation. The proclamation made public by the Polish National Council in London during February 1942, places the same severe responsibility upon the shoulders of the provisional government, entrusting it with the supreme task of formulating a constructive program and purpose by which the future of the Polish Republic may be safeguarded.

In pursuing this program of liberation by direct participation on the side of the United Nations in this war against the common enemy, Poland is defending her rights of self-determination, demanding for herself broad and direct access to the seas as well as frontiers which would fully guarantee her safety and protect the future independence of the Republic.

The provisional Polish Government in exile, in the name of international justice, demands that Germany be held strictly responsible for the present war, the crimes and destruction of human lives and property, and be compelled to render full moral and material satisfaction to those whom she has dastardly wronged. The future political and economic structure of Poland, according to this declaration, will be ultimately decided by the representative parliament of the Polish people when the last accursed Nazi hordes are driven out of the country.

Today, when decisions of international importance in connection with the post-war reconstruction are being made, and new international political and economic problems discussed, many of the United Nations representing continental Europe desire to know the future aims and purposes of Poland. Therefore, it is only proper that the provisional Polish Government make this important declaration, stating to the world its aims and the contemplated internal structure of future Poland. They state in part:

Poland will stand by Christian principles and culture. The Polish Republic will be a democratic republican state and a true national assembly will represent the common will of the people. The Polish Nation unreservedly repudiates all systems of totalitarian government and all forms of dictatorship as contrary to the principles of democracy. Poland will guarantee the rights and liberties of all citizens loyal to the republic, regardless of national, religious, or racial differences. Equality of rights will be assured to the national minorities fulfilling their obligations toward the state.

Full freedom of conscience and expression, of association and assembly will be guaranteed to all. The exercise of justice will be independent of any influence on the part of the state executive authority.

Interpreting this most important part of the declaration made by the Polish provisional government, I fervently hope that when Poland shall attain her freedom and liberty—as she surely will—that this declaration will remain to be a guiding spirit to all responsible leaders who may be entrusted to guide the destiny of Poland and that freedom will become a blessing to all her citizens and people, regardless of their nationality, religious beliefs, or racial origins.

Commemorating this one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the proclamation of the Polish Constitution, we venture to honor the noble traditions of Poland and pay deserved tribute to this gallant nation by sending from this Capital of America to the Polish people everywhere a message of encouragement and assurance that liberty and justice will soon again be restored to a sick world and that Poland once more will enjoy national and international independence and assume her due place of honor among the democratic nations of an enlightened, free world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MAAS].

Mr. MAAS. Mr. Speaker, this is the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of the Polish Constitution, which was adopted in 1791. This has always been an honor day in Poland where it has been celebrated as the greatest national holiday of that great, but at the present, most unhappy country.

It cannot be celebrated in the usual manner in Poland this year, but I am sure that it is being celebrated in the underground with more fervor than ever.

When we are in this great struggle to preserve democratic principles, it is well to remember that it was Poland who adopted the first written constitution, granting individual rights to all of her

citizens and that it was Poland who was the first to fight in this war to defend those same principles and to arouse the democratic world from its fool's paradise. It was not England nor France nor Russia who first challenged the sinister aggression of the Nazis, but it remained for Poland to accept the challenge and throw it back in Hitler's face. Without Poland's heroic sacrifice England and France might well have waited until there would never have been a chance to have stopped the Nazis in their mad dream of world conquest. We—all of us who love the democratic principle—owe a debt to Poland which we can never fully pay. The least that we can do is to stand by Poland who voluntarily made the greatest sacrifice of any democratic nation in the world in an effort to stop that aggression that threatened the extinction of all democracy. If we, of all the people in the world, fail to stand by Poland, and fail to keep the pledge of preserving her integrity, then a military victory in the war will be empty indeed for the very principles for which we fought it shall have been dragged in the mire.

The time has come for plain speaking and plain dealing. This question will not wait until the war is over. It must be settled now. Russia is still dependent upon us and could yet be defeated if we were to withdraw that support. Certainly we owe as much to Poland as we do to Russia.

I speak not unkindly of Russia in this matter for we are all allies in a great cause, but now is the time for Russia to demonstrate that she is accepting our assistance to further that cause. Nothing will cost Russia greater ill will in the future than if she ruthlessly disregards the overwhelming sentiments of the people of a friendly America. Russia may defeat the Germans in the battles of this war but she will not have won the war if she loses the confidence and friendship of America over her attitude toward Poland. Demanding fair treatment, Poland will not contribute to disunity. It is the failure to guarantee fair treatment to Poland that will threaten the unity of the United Nations.

The future of the very peace itself makes it imperative that the United States Government now demand a clarification from Russia of her future intentions toward Poland with adequate assurances guaranteeing that Poland's integrity will be respected by Russia.

I call upon the President now to obtain a straightforward, clear-cut, unequivocal statement of the Polish question from Russia and to make this statement known to the world at large. It is a far bigger question than just Poland. It is Poland, yes; but it also involves the future of all other freedom-loving peoples everywhere who have been so ruthlessly conquered by the Axis.

This is what we are fighting for.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BUTLER].

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d of May 1791, after the first partition of Poland, the Polish Parliament passed a constitution inspired by the ideals of

the American Declaration of Independence. It was the first democratic constitution in Europe establishing the rights of the middle classes and of the peasants. The absolute rulers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia regarded the constitution as a threat to their divine right to rule and hastened to stifle Poland's democracy.

On this day, May 3, the Polish people will again commemorate this notable event in their history—the adoption of this liberal constitution. In consideration of our friendliness and obligations to Poland, it is fitting that we should join our fellow Americans of Polish blood in doing honor to the great traditions of the people of Poland.

Time and time again Poland has been invaded and the people terrorized by armies of occupation, but the Polish people have never forgotten the rights granted to them by the 3d of May constitution. The present war is a struggle for Christian civilization. The people of Poland believe that the post-war organization of the world should be based on a Christian morality, international democracy, and political and economic collaboration.

Polish forces have been fighting ceaselessly in the air, at sea, and on land, side by side with our allies, and there is no front on which Polish blood has not been mingled with the blood of other defenders of freedom.

There is no country in the world where Poles have not contributed to furthering the common cause. The Polish Nation, therefore, is entitled to expect full justice and redress as soon as it is set free from enemy occupation.

In the past Poland has risen as many times as she has fallen and she will rise again to live forever free and independent.

For centuries the Poles have stood guard over western civilization and Christianity and have championed the idea of freedom. For their love of liberty, the Polish people have paid with their bondage. For their love of liberty and their unwillingness to compromise with their enemy, they are now paying with the lives of millions who have been murdered.

The Polish people have fought, are fighting now, and will continue to fight to the last breath against foreign aggression. Millions of Poles dispersed throughout the world are united in spirit with their mother country and with the other nations fighting for their own freedom and for the freedom of the world.

The people of Poland have anchored their faith to the American principle of justice and fair play. They will endure as long as this anchor holds. The dreadful sacrifices they have made command the sympathies of the entire civilized world. Poland will rise again and the Allies should make conclusively certain that she shall not have suffered in vain. The Polish people must be given the opportunity to live a decent, sane, and prosperous life. She must have the freedoms we are all fighting for. Poland will surely live again.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GORDON].

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, the lifetime of every nation is marked by certain momentous events. From generation to generation significant anniversaries are observed for the great influence wrought upon the course of history and human relations. The Bastille, the Magna Carta, the Fourth of July have a counterpart in every country.

To the Poles there is one date which for over a century and a half retains the highest, the most honored place, and is cherished by the entire Polish element throughout the world with unmatched fervor. It is the 3d of May when they commemorate the adoption of the constitution by the Commonwealth of Poland in 1791, which took place amid general national rejoicing and patriotic enthusiasm.

No active revolution could have effected more profound changes in the national and political pattern of Poland than the enforcement of the constitution. Yet while similar changes in other countries were introduced by means of force and bloodshed, in Poland the most pervading and far-reaching measures were incorporated into civic life without weapons, without mental unrest or social disruption. The sentiments of brotherhood and the harmony of understanding united the whole nation.

Since then, this great historical event is observed annually by the Poles as their official holiday, on which occasion it has become customary to extend felicitations to their nation.

Today, as in former years, the Poles celebrate the national holiday on the 3d of May, notwithstanding the tragic circumstances. Today they cannot eradicate from their consciousness the appalling reality of enemy occupation perpetrated on their mother country for nearly 5 years. They see the Government of Poland exiled. They grieve over the millions of defenseless women and innocent children cast out of their homes, journeying wearily through the wide expanse of Russia and distant Siberia.

First among our allies to offer valiant opposition against Nazi aggression, first to pay a heavy price of blood in defense of freedom, Poland was likewise first to fall victim in the unequal strife against the invaders from the west and the east. But she has not withdrawn from battle. Polish armed forces loyally and faithfully cooperate with the Allies in war activities on land, sea, and in the air. Poland underground fights on effectively with daring determination toward an ultimate victory, with deep faith that justice and law will triumph over brutal force and cynicism in international relations.

With almost 1,000 years of national existence, Poland ranks among the oldest European nations. Varied was her fortune through the centuries. There was a time when she constituted one of the major powers of Europe, when princes and monarchs sought her favor and aid; but at no time has she sought her neighbors' possessions, or sinned by invading and terrorizing their lands. If she grew territorially, it was not through conquest, but as a result of concord with

the adjoining countries who freely desired a permanent union with her. For through alliance with Poland they found the realization of the freedom and personal liberties which no other country offered.

The Poles have a deep, natural love of freedom; it is something so vital in their soul that they fight and die for it wherever it is attacked, or where it is to be gained or ransomed at the cost of wounds and blood. Upon the pages of American history their names are honorably recorded for their contribution to the independence of this country. Kosciuszko and Pulaski serve not only as a classic evidence, but shall forever remain revered national heroes of Poland and the United States.

Confronted with tremendously adverse and crucial conditions of the present day, the Polish Nation looks expectantly to the magnanimity and democracy of the United States for assistance in the implacable warfare which to the Poles spells restored independence and territorial integrity of their country.

It is, therefore, just and reasonable to assure the people of Poland on the day of their national holiday that the United States shall not fail to extend them friendly support nor relax in vigilance over the execution of justice. Our great and prosperous Republic bears proudly the banner of humane policies. It has drawn universal applause and respect as a decided enemy of injustice and enslavement. It will not, it cannot, add disappointment to the present fate of Poland.

I, as an American of Polish descent, am firmly convinced that the United States will never abandon the code of ethics which made this country an exponent of conceivably highest national morality among the nations of the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. ELLIOTT] such time as he may desire.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. ELLIOTT]?

There was no objection.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SHAFER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege for me to join with other Members of this Congress to pay tribute to that great and tragic nation, Poland. Certainly, it is fitting and proper that we should pause to register a gracious compliment to that great nation on this, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

The tributes that have been voiced here are adequate proof that the Members of the Congress of the United States are thoroughly impressed with the thought significant at the present moment that Poland, in the adoption of the constitution of May 3, 1791, subscribing therein to democratic principles, aroused the fears and suspicions of her autocratic neighbors and suffered tripartition at their hands.

In September 1931 when principles of democracy were again at stake, Poland, irrespective of the odds against her, had the courage to discard the prevailing policy of appeasement amongst other nations and proudly proclaimed that, above life itself, she held dear her honor as a nation.

As has been well pointed out, Poland's gallant stand is emblematic of the cause for which the United Nations stand united in the present world conflict. Although Poland today is saddened and crushed by the brutal forces of our enemies, we of the United States stand pledged to defeat her enemies that she may rise again to take her place among the great nations of the world.

I am sure every true American today prays that the next anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution will be celebrated in a world at peace.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO] such time as he may desire.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, this is 3d of May 1944. One hundred and fifty-three years ago on this day a freedom-loving people across the ocean in Europe, the people of Poland, adopted a constitution. It was largely patterned after our own, which then was only 2 years old. With sincere interest and respect, I join my colleagues in this House of Representatives of the American people in paying tribute and doing honor to a sturdy race and a courageous people for their contribution to progress and betterment of mankind.

We owe much to Polish patriots who suffered and sacrificed in our struggle for independence. The outstanding leadership and service of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Casimir Pulaski, and others will forever shine as a bright page in American history.

The Polish people who chose the United States as their adopted country and their descendants represent one of the most substantial, dependable, and loyal racial elements among our citizenry. They are prudent, hard-working, and self-sustaining people.

The plight and tragedy of Poland in the present world struggle does not pass unnoticed by the people of the United States. In the world to come, after this holocaust of war has passed, may Poland and her people have an honored place among the nations of the earth.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, today all over the world, wherever they may be—in exile, in concentration camps, on the battle fronts, or at home awaiting the day of liberation—Polish people are celebrating their Constitution Day, their Fourth of July.

One hundred and fifty-three years ago, in 1791, Poland adopted the first written bill of rights in Europe, giving the people of Poland an opportunity to be free with a chance to live under a form of government selected by themselves with officials of their own choosing.

When the history of this terrible period of dictators, war, and suffering is writ-

ten, the Polish people will fill several chapters. You will recall that it was Great Britain's ultimatum to Hitler in which Hitler was told that if he invaded Poland, Great Britain would declare war and go to Poland's assistance that really set the world afire.

Remembering that bit of recent history, it is unthinkable that we should fail to put down as No. 1 on our list of war aims the restoration of Poland with every inch of her territory restored to her. On that the United Nations should be agreed.

I cannot agree with those who argue that foreign policy should not be discussed at this time. Why not? If our relations with our allies are such that we cannot freely and proudly express our hopes and desires for the post-war era, there is something wrong that should be corrected at once. If our enemies do not approve of our plans, that is just too bad, but who cares?

Some day soon, I hope, delegates from the United States are going to sit around the peace table. Now is the time for the American people to study, to think, and to determine just what we propose to submit to the peace conference. Why not go back to Woodrow Wilson's often-expressed desire for open covenants, openly arrived at, and self-determination for small nations?

In closing, may I express the hope that 1 year from today, when Poland will again celebrate her Independence Day, she will be at peace with the world, secure, with her boundaries intact, and her people happy, prosperous, and content.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include therein an address by our colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd], before the Wethersfield Businessmen's and Civic Association annual banquet on April 27 of this year.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Lane] such time as he may desire.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I hope that before these exercises come to a conclusion here today one of my distinguished colleagues from Massachusetts may have an opportunity to be heard on this most important matter. He is a man who has been nominated as Ambassador to Poland, and I refer to Congressman CURLEY, from Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, this is May the 3d, but to all people of Polish extraction it has the same meaning as our Fourth of July. For 153 years ago Poland decided that all power must derive from the will of the people. It is unique that Poland, so many thousands of miles away from America, should institute a democratic form of government at the very same time as America did. This fact alone establishes a spiritual kinship between Poland and America which has existed ever since and which will be of mutual assistance to both nations as we face the problems ahead.

To students of Polish history, however, this comes as no surprise. As far back as the year 963 the Poles fought against the German invader, who, even then, was trying to steal other peoples' lands. In 966 the Poles adopted Christianity, and since then have fought and bled and died for the right to their faith, not only for themselves but for the whole western world.

In 1241, under Duke Henry the Pious, they saved Europe from the invading Tartar hordes. Again in 1683 they went to the assistance of Vienna, which was besieged by the Turks. By this victory, one of the decisive battles of world history, Poland protected Christianity from the ravages of the Mohammedan sword. Years later Poland signed a treaty of perpetual friendship with Turkey, the only nation that never recognized the partition of Poland. At all diplomatic receptions Turkey kept an empty seat for the "temporarily absent" Polish Ambassador.

In the eighteenth century Poland entered her period of martyrdom. Three times she was divided up by selfish neighbors, and in the last partition of 1795 Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. Thomas Jefferson called this a crime, and Woodrow Wilson termed this one of the great crimes of history. Even the People's Commissars, meeting in the year 1919 at Moscow, described the partitions of Poland as contemptible imperialism.

For 123 years there was no Polish Nation but there was a Polish spirit which refused to die. Time and again they rose in arms against their oppressors. They fought the good fight for human liberty not only in their own native land but in every nation in the world when the people were trying to throw off the shackles of slavery. In Belgium, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, the Argentine, Bolivia, and Peru, they fought side by side with men who passionately believed in freedom. And their battle cry was not exclusively for race or nation, it was the rallying, all-embracing call—"For our freedom and for yours."

As far back as the American Revolution, the liberty-loving Poles knew that the only guaranty of freedom for any nation was in the freedom of all nations.

Acting upon that conviction, Poles came to the aid of American pioneers. Two of her great sons have become a part of American tradition, and their names are known and revered by every American. One was General Kosciuszko who came to America, joined the Revolutionary Army as a volunteer and was conspicuous for his bravery in the battles of Saratoga and Yellowsprings. George Washington thought so well of his services that, after the war was over, he appointed him Governor of West Point on the Hudson.

The other was General Pulaski who gave his life for our American freedom at the Battle of Savannah.

Poles fought for freedom in the First World War and in 1920 when Red armies marched as far as the suburbs of Warsaw, Polish armies single-handedly defeated them and again saved western Europe—this time from international communism. Lord D'Abernon called this the

eighteenth decisive battle of the world. The Treaty of Riga once more restored Poland to the position of a free and independent nation. Offered even more territory by Lenin, Poland, actuated by a high sense of fair play, refused, whereupon Lenin praised the Treaty of Riga as a voluntary and just agreement to stand for all time.

Then began her astonishing rebirth as a nation. One million seven hundred thousand buildings destroyed during the war had to be rebuilt. But the Poles, with pride in their resurrected nationhood, set to work with a will. In 20 years, she brought 11,000,000 acres of new land under cultivation. One thousand two hundred miles of new railroad track were laid. In 1913, Poland did not have 1 ship, but in 1939 she had more than 500 merchant and passenger vessels traveling the sea lanes of the world. Ninety-one out of every one hundred children attended school. The death rate was decreasing. Social security and labor unionism went forward hand in hand. Reborn Poland was a happy and progressive nation, with no envy of her neighbors.

But the scourge of nazi-ism was secretly preparing to ambush civilization. Once it had gathered its evil might, born of science without a soul, it turned upon its peaceful neighbor. Without a word of warning it struck. The Poles were outnumbered 100 to 1, England and France in accord with their pledge to Poland, declared war on the Nazi aggressors, but they had failed too long to assess the ruthless intentions of Hitler—and now were powerless to give Poland any real assistance. Poland fought alone against the swarms of planes and tanks which assaulted her. Her men and women fought bravely, hopelessly, and died—for all the world to see the armored beast unmasked.

And then Russia, knowing that she too would soon be the victim of German lust for power, struck from the rear in order to put more territory between herself and the Nazis. Caught between two powerful rivals Poland was doomed. Warsaw—the heartbeat of Poland, was ravaged by German bombs. A shocked humanity saw what these madmen in modern dress meant by "the new order." It was simply the tyrant breaking loose again—using flame throwers instead of whips and bombs instead of stones.

Poland the nation died—that we might see the evil menacing the world. Died that America—being in a dream-world isolation—might awaken in time to protect herself.

Warsaw became the symbol of man's resistance to tyranny. Men everywhere fought for time—time in which they might arm themselves against the Nazi menace.

The Gestapo moved into Poland with their methodical tortures. They had conquered the Polish Nation, but they were not satisfied. They meant to murder the Polish spirit. For five years they have sought to crush the mind and soul of Poland—and have failed.

But this is something which the Nazi mentality cannot understand. Some day, in the not too distant future, they will. For the lesson they will learn is

that he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword. That the spirit of man will not tolerate slavery—that the tools of science must be responsible to the religious and ethical ideals of humanity.

Meanwhile, the Nazis occupy Poland. But in Poland they have been unable to win over converts to their creed. There are no traitors in Poland—no Hachas, Quislings, or Laval.

There is, however, a Polish Government in London, and its agents are active on both sides of the Vistula. There are no factions in Poland, which the Nazis can plan, one against the other. Poland is loyal and united in its resistance. And that resistance is the Polish underground.

That underground runs secret schools and universities for Polish youth; it publishes over 110 newspapers, some with as many as 4 editions a day. In spite of Himmler's terror, these secret newspapers are read by 3,000,000 people, bringing them the truth and informing them that judgment day for the Nazis is just around the corner. This effective underground has courts at which German criminals are brought to justice. In 1943 18 high German officials and over 1,000 Gestapo agents were tried by these courts and executed by the underground. In the field of organized sabotage over 2,000 locomotives were damaged and over 10,000 trucks eliminated. That is the fight going on in Poland today. And when the armies of liberation move into Poland the underground will give them invaluable help by blowing up trains and bridges, blocking roads, destroying supplies, raiding Nazi columns, and making conditions generally unhealthy for the self-styled supermen.

One hundred thousand Polish soldiers fought in France. Most of these were evacuated to England. There they have been increased and trained for the day when Allied Armies cross the channel to crack Hitler's fortress. Others have fought in Norway and Africa. Some are fighting this minute in Russia and Italy. Polish pilots have shot down more than 1,000 planes. The Polish Navy has sent a sizeable number of U-boats to the bottom. And in this country the 4,000,000 people of Polish extraction have given generously of their sons and brothers to the armed services of the United States.

The Nazi terror, in the insolent days of its power, murdered over 3,000,000 Poles. Yet Poland fights on, its spirit unbroken. Its faith, in spite of this agony, now stands on the threshold of vindication. The pillage of church and university, the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, and the memory of children who have been bled white to give their precious life fluid to wounded Nazi gangsters—these burning memories of loss and suffering and wrongs endured cannot be forgotten. They will give to Polish men and women everywhere and to all of humankind as well the inspiration to hit hard when the day of reckoning comes.

The conscience of mankind owes much to the spirit of the Polish people. With this example, let us go forward through the costly days ahead, united in our determination to crush forever the "Germ" of Nazi barbarism, and to create

a new world in which such crimes can never be perpetrated again.

To this end let us here pledge our support as Americans to the cause of Polish independence. Tonight we celebrate its founding. Next year, may we gather together to celebrate its rebirth and offer a toast to its long life.

First the victory, and then the peace. And when the peace is established, Poland knows that she can count on the moral support of the United States to see that justice for Poland becomes a fact.

As D-day approaches—when American and Polish troops, together with our allies, invade Europe, let us at home pray for their success. Let us try to match the efforts of our fighting men by working hard to give them the tools they need in order to win. But, greater than this, let us spiritually rededicate ourselves to the principles for which they fight—and die.

Let us remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. That is the fight which you and I who live must make—even unto the end of our days.

Poland has never broken faith with her responsible Christian culture. She has never denied the tradition which gave to the world the music of Chopin and the healing arts of Madame Curie.

We want Poland in the community of nations.

We need her spiritual dignity and courage.

We must have her help as one of the guarantors of the freedom for which she, and we, shoulder to shoulder, now fight.

As comrades in arms let us be even greater comrades in the peace to come.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BUFFETT] such time as he may desire.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Speaker, on this anniversary of Polish Constitution Day, it is appropriate that the Congress of the United States pause in its labors and pay tribute to Poland.

This war started in Poland. Much of it has been fought in Poland. No people have suffered more during this war than the people of Poland. As associates of ours in this war for human freedom, it behooves us to guard with zeal the future of Poland.

The Polish people should have an especial place in the hearts of America. For my own part, I was raised in the Hanscom Park neighborhood in Omaha, which included a substantial group of Americans of Polish ancestry, and many happy days in my life have been spent in their company. Moreover, my knowledge of the Polish people has been broadened and strengthened by the great record of Poles who have left their impress on American life and western civilization.

First in this list is Count Casimir Pulaski, the great Polish hero of our Revolutionary War, in whose honor each year we celebrate Pulaski Day on October 11. Close behind him in esteem is Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who likewise was a part of the American forces in that great struggle.

All of us have studied the achievements of Nikolaus Copernicus, astrono-

mer and scientist, a great discoverer of natural laws in the early sixteenth century.

Among the recent great souls to come out of Poland is Henryk Sienkiewicz, a great writer of the late nineteenth century. With an inspired pen he portrayed the struggles of Poland throughout years of conquest and strife. His greatest work, however, was the novel telling of the bravery and devotion of the sainted heroes of the early Christian church, entitled "Quo Vadis." Today, in the world we have the same problems of preserving the spiritual truth that Sienkiewicz wrote about.

With Poland and brave souls everywhere again in suffering and travail, it seems to me that all civilized people concerned about the future of Christianity and the future of civilization should be asking themselves the question that the lowly pilgrim asked St. Peter on the road to Rome, "Quo Vadis."

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] such time as he may desire.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the end of the eighteenth century will always be remembered as a period of great progress in human history.

The French Revolution brought for the first time upon the civil world the principles of rights of man, that same principle which our own Declaration of Independence describes as the right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

It is so much more remarkable, therefore, that one small country of Europe which had already gone through its first partition when its greedy neighbors divided among themselves portions of its territory, proclaimed the same principles in its own constitution, the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791.

It is, therefore, fitting and proper that the Polish people throughout the world celebrate this day as a day of great rejoicing.

Poland was the first country in eastern Europe which anticipated even our own Constitution in proclaiming these principles of individual liberty which are now considered so essential to human happiness. It is more remarkable that in an era of dictatorships and suppression of rights one little country should have stood out as the champion of human rights. The whole history of Poland has been replete with instances of devotion to human liberty, and while we celebrate today an anniversary of the first Polish Constitution, we cannot forget that Poland is again torn to shreds, divided among its neighbors, overrun by the enemy, with its Government in exile.

Let us on this 3d day of May 1944 hope that very soon Polish liberty will be restored, the Polish Nation brought back to its heritage, and we the people of the United States will rejoice with other freedom-loving nations in the reestablishment of a country which has given the world such a glorious example of its love of freedom, as it did by the constitution of May 3, 1791.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. KEAN] such time as he may desire.

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a particular pleasure for me to join with other friends of the Polish people in celebrating the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, for it so happens that the second husband of my great-great-grandmother was a Polish patriot named Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who took a prominent part in the adoption of this forward-looking document. In fact, the New International Encyclopedia, published in New York, 1923, characterizes him as the "framer of the Constitution of the third of May." Verification for the characterization of the part which he took as so vital is not possible from a study of the few reference books available in this country, and the many letters which are preserved in our family from Niemcewicz were written at a later date and so do not shed any light on his activities at that time. However, there is no question that he did have a most important part in bringing about this memorable document of Polish history.

Therefore, a brief résumé of the activities of this Polish patriot does not seem to be out of place at this time.

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz was born in 1757 at Skoki, Lithuania. He came from a noble Lithuanian family. After graduating from cadet school at Warsaw in 1777 he served for a time as adjutant to Prince Czartoryski, commander of the armed forces in Poldolne.

In 1788 he was elected to the Polish diet. He played an important role as a representative and as a playwright, for he was an author as well as a statesman, in preparing public opinion and the diet for the reforms contained in the constitution.

In this critical period immediately preceding the constitution he was an outstanding and active representative; one of the leaders of the general liberal and reformatory movement. His comedy, *Return of the Representative*, written in 1790, and successfully performed on the Warsaw stage throughout 1790 and 1791, contained artistic propaganda for the principles of the coming reforms. During the years 1790 and 1791 Niemcewicz delivered several speeches in behalf of the peoples rights, which later were incorporated in the May 3 constitution.

Especially strong was his contribution to those clauses of the constitution which aided commoners, for article III of the constitution merely ratified the rights which had been granted to the commoners by an act of the diet passed only a month before, in April 1791. Niemcewicz took a leading role in the campaign for this act, which aimed to grant to the commoners at least some of the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the gentry alone. He delivered a fiery speech in its support in which he said:

How frequent are the instances when people whom we qualify as those without noble birth have saved and glorified their countries. No one knows the father of Washington or whom Franklin considers to be his grandfather, yet everyone knows and will always know that Washington and Franklin liberated America.

Bernard Newman in his *Story of Poland* has this to say:

The constitution of May 3, 1791, is a remarkable document, for it preceded the French Constitution by several months. Nor were rivers of blood necessary to bring it into existence; its details were argued logically and clearly, and such privileges as had to be renounced were renounced voluntarily. A new principle of government was proclaimed. Hitherto the absolute freedom of the privileged citizens had been considered the ideal state; it was now replaced by a wider goal of the common good. But because the constitution opened the door to liberal forces and political freedom, it was doomed from the day of its making.

After the passage of the May 3 constitution, Niemcewicz campaigned for its strict enforcement. Some of the Polish magnates, such as Rzewuski and Potocki, openly opposed the constitution, refused to take the oath of allegiance and fled to Jassy, the Russian military headquarters. Niemcewicz was among the members of the diet who wholeheartedly seconded the motion to punish those who refused to take the oath of allegiance. The diet passed the motion, but it was never enforced. In January 1792, Niemcewicz himself moved to punish those who violated the constitution.

Finally, through pressure from the greedy nations surrounding Poland, he and other patriots who had been the supporters of the May 3 constitution were forced to leave the country. He joined Kosciuszko in 1794 as his adjutant, was wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians with his chief in 1794, at the battle of Maciejowice. He was imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, but was not idle during his imprisonment, and while there translated Pope's *Rape of the Lock* and Gray's *Elegy*. Released by the Emperor Paul in 1797, he came to the United States with Kosciuszko where he met and married Susan Livingston Kean, the widow of John Kean, my great-great-grandfather. He settled in Elizabethtown, N. J., and became an American citizen. However, in 1807, when the situation in Europe raised the hopes for restoration of Poland, Niemcewicz left his comfortable life in his adopted land and returned to Warsaw. Here he became the secretary of the senate as well as a member of the supreme council of public instruction.

When Poland came under Russia's control he was retained in office by Alexander I, but having taken a most active part in the Russo-Polish War of 1830, was forced into exile. From that time on he took no active part in politics, but devoted himself primarily to the writing of plays and historical poems, many of which, set to music, became very popular. He died in Paris in 1841 and is buried there.

It is fitting and proper that on this day when we are celebrating the events of May 3, 1791, his memory be not forgotten.

In my family's home, which now belongs to my brother, may be found many of his relics and those of Polish history of that time, so that it might be said

that since earliest childhood I was surrounded by objects connected with a free Poland. In fact, our family homestead is still named Ursino—the name given to it by Niemcewicz in memory of his ancestral home in far-off Poland.

Today, for the fifth year, this Poland stands under the yoke of a cruel despot. But though the clouds are still dark the light of ultimate victory shines behind them. Poland must and will be free again and stand in its rightful place as one of the great nations of Europe. For 200 years, in spite of partitions, in spite of attempts at suppression, the great spirit of the Polish people has stood firm. Poland has remained a nation even when its component parts were under the heels of the oppressor.

Why, we ask, have these attempts to wipe out Poland not been successful? We only have to look at our friends and neighbors of Polish origin who live among us to understand the strength of the Polish people. Law-abiding, industrious, Americans of Polish descent have made a real contribution to the American scene. What other peoples who immigrated to this country in fairly recent times can point to as many members of their race serving in the House of Representatives; doing their duty here, not as Poles, but as Americans who have fully absorbed the lessons of American history and our common inheritance.

We do not have to go back to Kosciuszko and Pulaski, glorious as were their deeds, to find cause to celebrate this day. We only have to point to our neighbors and friends of this virile race who are justly proud of their ancestry. They add glory to the Polish race and on this special occasion all Americans should join with them in offering a silent prayer that the day be not too far off when that great people in central Europe may again take their rightful place among the nations of the earth.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, no group of people who have come here from other lands have made better citizens of the Nation than those of Polish extraction. In the critical days that are to come, following the peace we are hoping for and all looking for, no group can be counted upon in Europe, in central Europe especially, to do more toward preserving liberty and preserving the peace of the world than the people of Poland. Their old constitution, their old training, will stand them in good stead in the reconstruction days that will follow the peace, and I am glad that that nationality is going to have an opportunity, with the help of those of us who are actively engaged in the war, to establish herself again as a real nation on the continent of Europe.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. PHILBIN].

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply honored on this great Polish national holiday which commemorates the signing on May 3, 1791, of the Polish Constitution, to join with my distinguished senior Senator, DAVID I. WALSH, in presenting a concurrent resolution as a tribute of sympathy, friendship, and support to the Polish people.

The Polish Constitution is a great, immortal and imperishable document, symbolic of the ideals of democracy and liberty. Poland is a noble ally in the present conflict and is courageously carrying on at immeasurable cost the fight to preserve democratic ideals. Through centuries of tragic struggles and sacrifice, the people of Poland have given sure proof, not only of their devotion to the cause of human liberty, but also of their ability to govern themselves. They have established unmistakably their place in the family of nations and their contributions to democracy and liberty fill a glorious page in history. Our own American citizens of Polish descent and their forebears have ever manifested greatest patriotism, loyalty, and devotion to American institutions.

It is entirely fitting then that we should pause to honor Poland and the Polish people today. But, as advocates and practitioners of democracy, we must do more than that. We must give them concrete evidence of our admiration, our appreciation, and our sympathy. We must let them know, a stricken people as they are, beset on all sides by hate and brutal force, that we are ready to hold out the hand of friendship and assistance in this—their greatest hour of peril.

It will avail the Polish people nothing if they throw off the yoke of one conqueror and immediately have the yoke of another placed about their necks. If the principles for which we fight are to be given any practical significance at all, they must be invoked to save the free independent people of the small nations from conquest, political domination, and economic exploitation, as well as from the newer and more subtle forms of unwelcome ideological infiltration and pressure.

The Polish people have paid dearly for their love of liberty. Throughout their glorious history but especially in recent years, they have undergone sufferings, punishments, and persecutions, seldom exceeded in history. But their spirit is still undaunted. They still march bravely by our side and willingly fight and die to advance the cause for which we are fighting.

Let us then, on this, their independence day, send them the message that the American Congress is conscious of their sufferings, appreciative of the common efforts, admiring of their indomitable spirit, and willing to do its part in order to make sure that their autonomy as a free and independent nation may be preserved, that the lot of their suffering people, both at home and in exile, may soon be relieved.

As a part of my remarks I am including two very thoughtful communications from the Manchester Guardian which I am sure cannot fail but to impress the Members of this House with the great present-day needs of our gallant and noble Polish friends. I hope and pray that the day of their liberation is soon at hand, that their exiles may be succored, fed and clothed, and returned to their native land, and that the right of free government of democratic Poland may be preserved in its entirety for all its people and their posterity.

[From The Manchester Guardian of December 23, 1943]

#### EXILES IN RUSSIA

A letter in our correspondence columns makes a plea which the Russian Government should surely grant. From the beginning of the war in 1939 to the days following Hitler's attack in June 1941, large numbers of men, women, and children caught in the war in eastern Poland and the Baltic States were transferred to the remote and desolate regions of Asiatic and Arctic Russia. The Russo-Polish agreement which followed the German attack promised to bring about the release of the prisoners, relief work among them was allowed, and some children of Polish soldiers were allowed to leave Russia. But since then has come the growing breach between Russia and Poland, until at last relations were completely broken off. Now the lot of the prisoners appears to be hopeless. But that is just what we cannot believe nor Russia intend. Whatever the political difficulties these wretched people, especially the women and children, ought not to suffer. Many of them are the families of men who are fighting among the United Nations—who are, therefore, fighting for Russia herself. It would be convincing evidence of Russia's decision to make genuine friendship the basis of her relations with her allies if she let these exiles go and helped them to new homes.

#### POLISH EXILES IN RUSSIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

SIR: May I call the attention of your readers to a great but almost unknown tragedy within the greater tragedy of this war? I refer to about one and a half million men, women, and children who were forcibly removed from their homes in eastern Poland and the Baltic States after the Russian occupation of those territories from 1939 to 1941.

These unfortunate people were transported in cattle trucks hundreds and thousands of miles into the remote and desolate regions of Asiatic and Arctic Russia. Many of them died on the way. The rest were imprisoned or put in labor camps or on collective farms in Kazakstan and elsewhere. Some were forced to work in mines in Karaganda and Kolyma, others along the Trans-Siberian Railway or in brickworks and sawmills in many districts of central Russia. Thousands died from overwork, illness, and undernourishment—particularly the old people and young children. For these deportees were of all ages and classes, including peasants and workers as well as professors, doctors, and lawyers, with their families, who were quite unaccustomed to such hard manual labor in severe climatic conditions.

They were forced to live in overcrowded barracks without sanitation, in stables, earth huts, and even pigsties, without light or heating in many cases. Those who were too old or ill to work usually received no food or money and had to be maintained by their

families or friends. Quite small children thus often supported their aged or ailing relatives. The mortality of these children was fearful. Precise figures are unobtainable, but it is estimated that between 25 and 30 percent succumbed out of about 180,000 children deported from Poland and roughly 30,000 from the Baltic States. Many families were broken up and dispersed to different regions—wives were separated from husbands and children from their parents.

After the Russian-Polish agreement in July 1941, the Soviet Government undertook to release all Polish subjects from prisons, labor camps, and places of exile. Their condition improved considerably in 1942 when the Polish Embassy was allowed to organize welfare and relief for them. Money was distributed; over 50 hospitals and infirmaries were opened; about 150 feeding centers and communal kitchens were started, and some 300 schools and orphanages were established which benefited about 15,000 children. Some 2,500 tons of food, clothes, and medical supplies were sent to Russia by the Polish Government, the British, American and Canadian Red Cross, and other allied charities.

But at the beginning of 1943 the Russian authorities closed all welfare establishments and took over the schools and orphanages, where they replaced the Polish staffs by Soviet teachers. This was done despite a proposal of the Polish Government to evacuate 50,000 children to other Allied countries. But the Soviet Government rejected the proposal, although it had previously allowed some 11,000 children of Polish soldiers to be evacuated with their families to Persia in 1942.

Since the severing of Soviet-Polish relations in April of this year no further evacuations have been allowed and no relief has been sent in bulk. The Australian Government is now looking after Polish interests in Russia, but it can give no information concerning the 271,000 Poles still known to be there (including about 80,000 children)—apart from the unknown thousands still in prison, and about 150,000 Baltic deportees of whose fate nothing is known as there is no means of communication with them.

The Soviet Embassy in London vouchsafes no information beyond two "Soviet Monitor" reports last July which described the setting up of a committee in Moscow last June under the People's Commissariat for Education in the R. S. F. S. R. to establish "special children's institutions" and "Polish elementary and secondary schools." But as the majority of Polish teachers were arrested in 1943 for refusing to accept Soviet citizenship it is difficult to see how this program can be carried out. In any case, the children will undoubtedly be brought up as Soviet subjects and thus become lost to their country and their religion.

I have read letters from some of these children describing their education in Communist schools and I have seen photographs of some of them when they reached Persia showing what skeletons they had become. I am aware of the difficulties which would attend a renewed evacuation—the distances are vast and transport scarce and overburdened by wartime traffic. But children are dying, and no one can tell how many will survive this their fourth winter of exile. Surely the families of those Poles who are serving with the Polish and Allied forces should be allowed to leave Russia and join those already settled in Persia, India, and Kenya. Or, if humane and generous persons in Britain and America would adopt some of these children, surely it should be possible to obtain the consent of the Russian authorities to bring their unmerited exile to an end.—Yours, etc.

ELMA DANGERFIELD.

LONDON, W. 1, December 13.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GALE].

Mr. GALE. Mr. Speaker, 153 years ago today the Kingdom of Poland, after disillusionment and discouragement, after hard treatment by predatory neighbors, brought forth a constitution. A constitution born in struggle and indomitable spirit—the hard way. A constitution providing, as did our own, liberty and equal rights for all men.

Always turbulent, continually and all too often seized upon by Russians, by Austrians, and by Germans, Poland has not led a happy life. Her people have fought, sometimes openly on the field of battle, sometimes they have fought in darkness underground. For many years prior to 1919 they so fought the Russians. For 5 recent and tragic years they have so fought the Nazis.

Fighting is nothing new to the Poles. But fighting for what? For empire? For conquest? For tyranny? No. It has always been a fight for existence. For the right of the Polish people to survive as Poles. For the right to live their own lives as a free people. For the same right that all of us have fought for, are fighting for, and for which we will continue to fight.

Now is not the time to quibble. Not the time for indecision. Not the time for short-sighted expediency.

It is time for a clear, strong stand on post-war Poland. Not a divided Poland either, not a half Poland, half free and half slave. There must be a whole Poland. There must be a free Poland, an independent Poland, with a Polish Government and Polish boundaries, chosen by the Polish people, not by the Russians, not by the English, nor by the Americans, but chosen by Poles, for Poles.

In this hour of hard decision it is our duty and obligation to give aid and support to a friendly nation, to make certain that Poland will rise again in the future as she has so often risen in the past.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BUSBEY].

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article from the Washington Star, of Monday, May 1.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1791, 2 years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the Diet of Poland adopted a constitution inspired by our own. This constitution was a charter of freedom and democratic rights for the Polish people. It expressed in written form the aspirations of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the young Polish artillery officer who fought so brilliantly at Ticonderoga, Saratoga, West Point, Camden, and Charleston in the cause of American liberty. It was a fitting epitaph to the memory of Gen. Casimir Pulaski, who shed his life blood on the battlefield at Savannah. It is both fitting and proper that on this May 3, 153 years after the adoption of that memorable document, that we recall

our national indebtedness and undying gratitude to these two Polish heroes, when Poland is passing through its most trying ordeal which will determine whether it shall live or die as a nation.

In the district in Illinois that I have the honor to represent there are many people of Polish descent. I feel most confident, therefore, from first-hand experience, that no group has done more to build up our armed forces by contributing its sons and daughters, that no group has surpassed them in buying War bonds, and in producing war materials in the factories. Remembering that the present war began as a result of the totalitarian attack on Poland in September 1939, we must realize that no group could have a keener sense of the issues involved in the present war for freedom from oppression and from enslavement.

Mr. Speaker, may I take a minute and refresh your memory by reading article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which is as follows:

Third. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

When we were presented with the Atlantic Charter by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, we accepted it as a solemn pledge to the cause of a free Poland.

I am now alarmed, however, over the fact that lately there has been a disquieting tendency on the part of the British Government, apparently acquiesced in by the present administration of our own Government, to minimize the solemn obligations in this document. For instance, a few days ago Secretary of State Hull declared that, "The Atlantic Charter is only an expression of fundamental objectives, it does not give solutions." Prime Minister Churchill has made similar statements recently, implying that the Atlantic Charter and its pledges must not be taken too literally. The New York Times of April 23, 1944, has called the Atlantic Charter a set of "lofty ideals of the eighteenth century, utterly outdated in the industrialized world of the twentieth century."

It seems we are witnessing a process of whittling down the purported high purposes we set out to accomplish. Why in the name of heaven did Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt ever bring into existence a document such as the Atlantic Charter if they intended to abandon it on its inception?

On every hand we hear people calling for unity, even to the extent of accusing those of us who dare to ask the President to stand by his word, of being Fascist and aiding Hitler. However, the fact remains that the President could do nothing greater to create unity than to exact a pledge from Stalin now, that he will not interfere in any way in a free election in Poland after the war is over, and that he will not annex a single square mile of Polish territory.

The only reason I can find for the present attitude of our present administration lies in the fact that Roosevelt has

already permitted us to be maneuvered into a position where we no longer are able to enforce the principles of the Atlantic Charter, or the purposes for which we are fighting. Whether you realize it or not, Poland is being sold down the river, and every honest thinking person in the world knows it. What a reward for the gallant nation that fought so heroically against the Nazi hordes in 1939, notwithstanding the fact Poland knew at that time she would not win against such impossible odds. But fight she did, and now we stand acquiescently by while Russia grabs that which we went to war to keep from Germany. If the Atlantic Charter ever meant anything, it is high time we give more than lip service to its principles, and let Poland and the other nations overrun by the Axis know they did not fight in vain. If the principles of the Atlantic Charter were sound and practical then, why have they been abandoned?

When the totalitarian legions began to engulf country after country in Europe, the democratic nations called a halt at the borders of Poland. War was declared when the Polish borders were violated. Now again Poland is the acid test of how far democracy is willing to retreat, how much it is willing to surrender for the sake of further suicidal appeasement. Who is being appeased? I leave the answer to you.

While I yield to none in my admiration and appreciation of the exploits of the Russian Army in stemming the hordes of Adolf Hitler, I cannot remain silent when it appears the fundamental principles for which we are fighting are being sacrificed, even though that may mean a criticism of a nation allied with us against Germany. I believe that a policy of frankness rather than kowtowing and appeasement is in order, and that it would be more conducive to a sound relationship with the Soviet Union. I therefore propose to call a spade a spade.

As a Member of Congress who considers that the fate of Poland is as important to the democracies now as it was in September 1939, I feel it my duty to voice on this occasion the criticism of many of my constituents, and of American citizens throughout the country, regarding the present attitude of the Soviet Union toward Poland:

First. The Soviet Government has unilaterally condemned the Polish Government in exile as imperialistic and unrepresentative, despite the fact that that government is recognized by the Allied Nations and it is broadly representative of the Polish people.

Second. The Soviet Government has proposed a unilateral settlement of Polish boundaries without the prior approval or consultation with the Allied Nations and the Polish Government in exile.

Third. The Soviet Government has set up, without the prior approval of the Allied Nations or the Polish Government in exile—in fact as a challenge to the authority of both these latter groups—its own puppet Polish Government known as the Union of Polish Patriots, which is dominated by leading Communists.

Fourth. The Soviet Government has set up a Polish Army, without the prior approval of and as a challenge to the Polish Government in exile and the Allied Nations.

Fifth. Hundreds of thousands of unfortunate Polish men, women, and children have been deported en masse by the Soviet Government to the remote and desolate regions of Asiatic and Arctic Russia.

Sixth. In parts of Russia-occupied Poland, the Soviet Government has conducted so-called plebescites, employing means of totalitarian compulsion in violation of democratic processes.

Seventh. The Soviet Government is, contrary to all public pledges of the Allied Nations, by its various measures fast making a large portion of Poland a vassal state.

Mr. Speaker, my only purpose in airing these matters is to lead to a better understanding. The conditions I have described are not of my making, nor can I assume any responsibility for them. I should be false to my oath, false to my constituents, and guilty of base ingratitude to the memory of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who gave unstintingly to the cause of American freedom, were I now to keep silent. These statements are made because I believe the people of the United States should be told the truth, to offset the false propaganda emanating from Communist sources.

To illustrate what I mean, let us take the example of the Kosciuszko League. This is a typical example of how the Communists are working in this country among the Polish people in an attempt to obtain their support for Stalin's policies.

Invariably the Communists will use the name of someone loved, respected, and revered by that particular group they want to reach. Examples of this are Communists schools in Chicago and New York, recently renamed the Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson schools respectively. Now among the people in America of Polish descent there has been formed the Kosciuszko League. No one who really has the interest of the Polish people at heart will subscribe to the desecration of this great name in its use by the Communist-inspired Kosciuszko League, which has as its only object the betrayal of Poland to Russia. In truth, every patriotic American represents the use of the name of this great American hero in promoting the Communist cause in the United States.

In proof of my statements I hold in my hand a book being distributed by the Communist Kosciuszko League, composed of articles and speeches by Prof. Oscar Lange, of the University of Chicago, now visiting in Moscow. The entire tenor of these articles is to further the cause of Soviet Russia in Poland. In fact this particular copy was obtained at the Communist Party headquarters in Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, another glowing example which illustrates that Joe Stalin will not stop at anything to gain his objective is the fact that he has recently invited to Moscow probably the only Catholic priest in the United States sympathetic to what

Stalin is trying to do to Poland. Clearance for this visit was granted by our State Department at the request of the Soviet Embassy. Of course, no one would attach any particular significance to the fact that Oscar Lange and Father Orlemanski happen to be in Moscow together at this very moment to see Joe Stalin.

In discussing this situation of Father Orlemanski, Msgr. Michael J. Ready, general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, sums it up in my opinion rather accurately. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in my speech Father Ready's statement which appeared in the New York Times on Monday, May 1, 1944:

UNITED STATES PRIEST'S VISIT TO STALIN  
ASSAILED

The news of the arrival of a Catholic priest in Russia made the front pages of our press this week. The news in Russia was likewise phenomenal.

Moscow announced that the purpose of this visit was to study the Polish situation and that of the Polish Army in the U. S. S. R. As a priest, Father Orlemanski would be much more interested, it seems to me, if he were permitted to seek out and to confer with the Polish priests and people enduring since 1939 a cruel exile in Siberia and other parts of the Soviet Union.

But, like other missions to Moscow, this has no religious significance. It is a political burlesque, staged and directed by capable Soviet agents. It is the "phoniest" propaganda that the usually clever-idea men in Russia have palmed off on the United States.

SEEKS FULL EXPLANATION

The incident naturally has aroused a great deal of speculation, and a lot of us who have tried heretofore at the State Department to get worthy priests to Russia would like to know the exact part our own Government had in the performance. It is heartening, certainly, to have the State Department spokesman say the White House had nothing to do with facilitating the passport arrangements, as first widely conjectured in the press.

The implications of arranging a passport for the only priest in the United States—and likely the world—known as a partisan of Soviet policy are serious enough without having the White House accused of stabbing in the back the Poland whose government this Nation recognizes.

The State Department spokesman said a passport was issued because of the request of a friendly government, Russia. That certainly is most interesting. Since Russia now considers the Polish exiles in her territory citizens of the U. S. S. R., will our Government, at the respectful request of millions of citizens, now issue a friendly endorsement for Russian passports for the priests and bishops imprisoned in Russia to come to the United States to enjoy the four freedoms?

It is discouraging to all who seek friendship with Russia to note the Soviet Government's methods of deceit and confusion. All the great peoples joined in the United Nations are fighting for a world of justice and truth and decency. Only one, Russia, stoops to policies and tactics which divide the orderly march of our forces to victory and a better world. If we cannot attain an honest collaboration among allies in the midst of war, we shall approach with misgiving the task of forming a really noble society of nations after the war.

Russian valor and genius can contribute much to that hoped-for society, but only if based on truth and justice and charity. We pray for the peoples of the world to unite and bring about that sort of society. Only the

Soviet Government is keeping the Russian people from that world fraternity.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is indeed fitting that we take the time, as we have here today in the House of Representatives, to pay our respects and tribute to the people of such a gallant nation as Poland. By this we are serving notice on the entire world that we, the people of the United States, are proud of the Polish people, the wonderful contribution they have made to the United States, and appreciate beyond words what she has done for freedom and liberty.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as we sit here today in a somewhat blind and benign security, no Angelus rings in Poland. Poland, the land of the white eagle, has a history which extends back into the twilight of fable and legend. Like all great peoples, it has many patriots whose names are unsung and unheralded. You who are not familiar with the Poles and the Polish nation, permit me to name just a few of them. These are names to conjure with: John Sobieski, John Casimir, Pulaski, Kosciuszko, of whom you heard a short while ago, the man of West Point fame, the great novelist Sienkiewicz, Joseph Conrad, Madame Modjeska, and the preeminent Marie Curie.

Poles and Polish descendants are those of whom the poet well spoke.

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,  
Wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake.

On this one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of Poland's Constitution which you celebrate today, celebrated silently in Poland, where lips are closed, I say to you that you do not celebrate it alone. It is also our anniversary, because your constitution typifies and exemplifies the very thing this Nation stands for. I say to you, and I say to you advisedly, that like the phoenix you shall rise again, you shall again take your proud place among the nations of the world.

Poland, I hail you.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURPHY] is absent today on account of a death in his family. He had intended to make some remarks today and he has given me a copy of those remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at this point in the RECORD the remarks that he intended to make be included.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, for the past few weeks by way of personal contact and through the mail, I have re-

ceived requests from a number of my constituents asking me to say a word on the floor of the House on May 3, 1944, calling attention of the Members of this distinguished body to the fact that today is the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

On May 3, 1791, the Polish Nation was justified in rejoicing; for the first time in its history it had received from its sovereign and its legislature a constitution which under ordinary circumstances would have provided the surest guaranty of future prosperity. The history of Poland and the Polish people is a long and distinguished record of human achievement.

In my congressional district a substantial percentage of people residing there are either those who were born in Poland or direct descendants of Polish ancestors. People of Polish extraction in Lackawanna County have become leaders in church and State; they have become distinguished and honored members of religious, legal, medical, and other professions. They are a hard-working and thrifty people. Year in and year out they have made sound, solid contributions to public advancement and toward greater public achievement.

It is a pleasure, an honor, a privilege, and a distinction to join with the other Members of this great and distinguished body in paying respects to the Polish people and to their country, and to join in the prayer and the hope that when the proper time comes, a just peace, a just government and a prosperous future will be that of Poland.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me today to join with my colleagues here in the House, with all Poles, and with friends of Poland the world over, in honoring the birthday of the adoption of that truly democratic instrument, the Constitution of Poland.

Mr. Speaker, 153 years ago today, on May 3, 1791, a people inspired, I might say to some extent, by the principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and in opposition to the dictates of the three absolute powers, adopted the constitution on the 3rd day of May, thereby proclaiming principles which guaranteed freedom to all her citizens.

By this bold and amazing document, she became the first nation in Europe to have a written democratic constitution.

Today, Mr. Speaker, Poland is our true and tried ally in the struggle against the enemies of civilization. She was the first to take up arms unaided against Hitler in spite of overwhelming odds and certain defeat, and she continues the gallant fight at tremendous sacrifices.

We in America, regardless of original nativity, will wage this war to final victory first and foremost for the freedom, the welfare, and the security of our own country. But we would be totally lacking in vision and common sense if we did not also realize that we are waging this war for a better, a more secure, and a happier world—for justice organized and world wide, for large and small nations alike, for our own sake as well as for the sake of all peoples everywhere.

Let us see that Poland in her traditional garments of freedom and democracy lives on, and we will have gone a long way toward securing for all of the world the justice, security, and freedom which the dignity of the human spirit the world over cries out for and deserves.

Mr. CURLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Polish people and lovers of liberty throughout the world are today observing the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution. Every student of history is familiar with the contribution made by the Polish people for the preservation and perpetuation of civilization. Our hearts go out upon this occasion to the victims who have died because of devotion to faith and loyalty to country, for no people, nor even those of the race of my forebears have suffered more than the Polish people.

Poland enjoyed a government similar to our own for centuries before the establishment of American independence. Poland has suffered not only one partition but many partitions. First by Anne of Austria, second by Catherine of Russia, and third by Prince Frederick William of Prussia; yet through all the persecution and oppression they remained devoted to their faith and loyal to their country. If ever a people, through fortitude, courage, and adherence to ideals, have merited the good will and confidence of the world, it has been the people of Poland. The venerated John Sobieski was called from his retirement to lead a force to raise the siege of Vienna, held by 700,000 Mohammedans and assembled a scanty force of 70,000 which dwindled when the time for assault came to 30,000 yet destroyed the army of the Mohammedans and made possible the preservation of Christian civilization.

Upon the day of the lifting of the siege, he assembled his little army at divine services and, after mass, gave them the rallying cry, the most unselfish ever given to a fighting force in the history of the world. The rallying cry was "Not for our glory, O Lord, but for Thine."

If Poland made no other contribution than that to the world, this alone should have entitled them to the liberty which they so justly deserve.

At the time of the first partition of Poland they were enjoying progress in the arts, sciences, literature, and all that makes for cultural progress of a people, but because they were peaceful and prosperous they were singled out by the ruthless invaders for ruin and misery. Many came to our land in our hour of trial and we have seen fit here in the Capital City of Washington to erect monuments to two of the most outstanding, Kosciuszko and Pulaski. The contribution of these two men was most notable since they were called upon by General Washington to teach the elements of organization and of military tactics to the untrained yeomanry who had rallied for the establishment of the American Republic. By intelligence and thrift and the hardest character of labor the pure womanhood and manhood of Poland have contributed to every section of our common country.

In my own section in New England, the Connecticut Valley, they have taken over the tobacco and onion farms, which our local citizens found it difficult to conduct in a profitable manner and which the Poles by hard labor and intelligence and thrift have made most profitable. In the entire history of America the Polish race has never contributed a traitor to our country and no group has been more patriotic and unselfish in their devotion to the United States of America. Their contribution rather suggests to mind a poem by an unknown authoress which runs:

We have run the gamut of want and woe  
Of hunger and pain and dearth  
The centuries flood of our tears and blood  
Have deluged the plains of earth.

There was never a wine press in all the world  
By the feet of our race untrod  
Now we claim the price of our sacrifice  
From the bar of a watching God.

No better commentary on the principles of the Polish Constitution of the 3d of May 1791 can be given than in the eloquent words of Burke, the great English statesman and orator:

"We have seen anarchy and sevitute at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people without trenching on their liberties—not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the king to the day laborer, were improved in their condition. Everything was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order everything was bettered. To add to this happy wonder—this unheard of conjunction of wisdom and fortune—not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoils, no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled. The whole was affected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity such as we have never known before on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know how to proceed as they have begun. Happy prince, worthy to begin with splendor or to close with glory a race of patriots and of kings and to leave a name which every wind to heaven would bear."

The price of sacrifice which the Polish people by their contribution have earned is the privilege of the establishment of the Polish Republic as a free and independent nation. May God in His infinite wisdom and mercy grant to them this boon which they so rightly deserve and have so justly earned.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Dewey] such time as he may desire.

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Speaker, today throughout this great land of ours in large cities, in villages and the countryside, American citizens of Polish extraction have turned their thoughts to the country of their forefathers. Although not of Polish extraction thousands of other American citizens are also eagerly hopeful that Poland and the Polish people will again regain their freedom and continue the splendid progress which was interrupted by the war.

When the people of the older countries of the world think of you and me, my fellow citizens, they apply the general

term of American. They do not seem to realize that American when applied to a citizen of the United States does not only mean a national of our country but really means a member of the American race. Over the 175 years of our existence this great land of ours has absorbed and intermingled the blood and with it the customs and traditions of many of the nations of the world. We are really a great composite race. A race that has built, and will always protect, its conception of liberty and the pursuit of happiness on our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

It is because of this mixture of our bloods that we have always taken a decided interest in the well-being of many countries far removed from us, which many of us have never seen nor visited and hence, as I have stated, on this 3d day of May hundreds of thousands of we Americans think of Poland's tragedy and the suffering and misery the Polish people are sustaining. We offer a silent prayer for the recovery of Poland's liberty.

Because I lived in Poland 3 years and took an active part in Polish life, while serving as the financial adviser to the Polish Government, I have a better understanding than many of my fellow Americans of the splendid progress Poland made during the 20 years of the existence of the new Republic of Poland and of the character of the Polish people. I know that they are eagerly awaiting the day when they will recommence their effort which was so outrageously interrupted by invasion.

Sometimes when planning ahead one is apt to stress too much the material factors rather than the spiritual. Buildings, bridges, and factories are apt to represent success and happiness in our mind's eye. In reality no factory will spout smoke, no buildings will rise in a happy land, no bridges will span rivers unless supported on a spiritual quality of patience, neighborliness, and industry. The Polish people have these qualities.

The steadfastness with which they strove to regain their liberties during the 125-year period their country was partitioned can only denote the quality of loyal patience. After this long period of partition it is only human to expect that the Polish people would be very jealous of a hard-won liberty, and be belligerently outspoken when their new-won liberties were challenged. Nevertheless, history relates that the Polish people also have the quality of inspiring friendship.

An incident I like to remember concerns the royal court of the Sultans of Turkey. During those 125 years when Poland no longer existed as a free nation, at every court function in Turkey when the ambassadors of other governments were presented to the Sultan, he would inquire from his Secretary of State, "And where is His Excellency, the Polish Ambassador?" to which came the reply, "He is detained by circumstances over which he has no control." Here one has an incident of a lasting international respect and friendship which might serve as a text for us all.

Poland's remarkable recovery after having been a battlefield for 6 years during the first war is sufficient testimony of the industrious quality of the Polish people. Not only was the rebuilt edifice of Poland attractive but it was placed on a sound economic foundation. The Polish Government kept their budget in balance, maintained a sound currency, and a favorable balance of trade with their neighbors and paid their debts; moreover the spiritual and cultural development kept pace with the other developments in the country.

With such a record it is to be expected that the American race will follow with the keenest interest Poland's future after this terrible war is won. In fact, all of the United Nations of the world have expressed themselves as desiring that all freed peoples be again aided in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness.

From my point of view, in consideration of our great participation in this war, the extensions we have made of food and munitions to our friends of the United Nations, the United States must have an important voice in final decisions, and I feel sure that the nations united with us, realizing that we are a race and not merely a nationality, will understand our particular interests in certain sections of the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join in the celebration of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution. It is appropriate that the Congress of the United States should pause in its deliberations to extend its congratulations and good wishes to the people of Poland.

The Polish people will today celebrate this anniversary under the ground and in secret places. Although it should be a day of rejoicing for them, we find them with heavy hearts and in great sorrow. Let us fervently pray that before another anniversary occurs that these people may be liberated from their bondage and once again occupy their rightful place among the other nations of the world.

Perhaps no other people in the history of the world have won and merited the admiration of other nations as has Poland in the present conflict. They have been the victims of every type of crime and atrocity. However, in the face of persecution and disaster their spirit has not been broken. They fight on today and will continue to resist, to the utmost of their ability, the tyrannical oppression of the Nazi invaders.

When the Polish Constitution was adopted on May 3, 1791, it was the first written bill of rights in Europe. This great document established new guarantees for the rights and freedom of the Polish people. It may be compared with our own Constitution, which was adopted just 2 years earlier.

America and Poland have always been close to each other. We have not forgotten those patriots and heroes who came from Poland to assist America in establishing freedom in this country. A

close bond of friendship was formed at that time which has grown with the years. It will endure forever, and we will always find Americans and Poles standing shoulder to shoulder in the battle for human rights and freedom.

I am very proud to represent a large number of Polish people who live in my district. They are among our very best citizens, and have made a most valuable contribution to our war effort. Many are now in the armed forces, and those who remain at home are cooperating in every possible way to bring victory at an early date. I want to pay tribute to them and to all of the Poles who are now residents of the United States. We are happy to have them as our friends and neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, by joining in this celebration today we gain inspiration and courage for ourselves. By our participation we are assuring Polish people everywhere that we are interested in their problems and will assist in their solution. We realize that there are dark clouds hanging over Poland today which threaten her future existence. We are sending our own boys to European soil to free Poland and the other occupied countries. Let us make certain that after the Nazi yoke has been lifted that no other nation is permitted to practice any domination or control over these brave people. There are certain rumors that Poland is to be divided as part of the spoils of war. I sincerely trust that our influence will be used to prevent any such action.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JOHNSON] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, today in history is Polish Constitution Day and, as we in America bow our heads in solemn tribute to that martyred Nation, may we be inspired by the dauntless courage and glorious past of the Polish people who, down through the centuries, have stood as a guardian of Christianity and a champion of the liberty of men.

The scourge of war, with all its horrors, has again engulfed that beautiful land, and where once the gentle strains of the music of Chopin and Paderewski mingled with the folk songs of a happy people, today rumbling tanks and crashing cannons play a mad symphony of death. Where fields of golden grain once nodded in the gentle zephyrs, today the earth is caked and reddened with the blood of Polish patriots. Patriots who died as guardians of their Nation's liberty and chose death rather than slavery.

The bells of Polish churches no longer summon the faithful to worship. Her once-beautiful cathedrals are rubble. Her factories are destroyed. Her forests are seared and splintered from the fury of battle, as backward across her gentle plains reel the foes of liberty; hurled backward by a mighty avalanche of freemen who are sweeping the hordes of Hitler into oblivion. It was upon these rolling plains that the valiant sons of Poland unflinchingly met the crashing armor of the Hun as he made his first mad sweep to destroy liberty in a world that he has now bathed in blood.

Beneath the clanking tracks of rumbling tanks in timeless sleep rests all that is mortal of those Polish heroes who gave the last full measure of devotion in the battle to save the democracies of the world. The curtain of time has forever closed the portals of their tombs, but so long as time shall be, the record of their heroic deeds shall be woven as a golden thread in the fabric of world history. They were the first to die, the first to oppose the mad Hun who would destroy the world.

As we honor them, let us realize that other madmen have passed in review and that each leave their bloody trails as they stalk across the pages of history. They live a short season; then wither and die. Let us also realize that the spirit of liberty is eternal and that hope shall forever be.

To those Polish people who now find themselves beneath the heel of the oppressor, deliverance is at hand. May I join with that great segment of our population, those sons and daughters of Pulaski and Kosciuszko, those Polish patriots who came to our shores in our Nation's darkest hour, in solemn reverence of the principles for which they fight and for which they die.

To the valiant sons of Poland, whose spirits hover over their beloved nation, you have not died in vain. Your sacrifice shall not be without reward. No peace shall be honorable until your Nation is free and once again the White Eagle of Poland, emblem of liberty and freemen, soars majestically among the nations of the world.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rowan] such time as he may desire.

Mr. ROWAN. Mr. Speaker, today there are no independence-day celebrations in Poland, but lovers of freedom the world over pause to pay tribute to brave, persecuted, bleeding Poland on the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of its Constitution, a document of freedom which has been likened by many to the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Rights of Man, and our own American Declaration of Independence. At the same time all lovers of freedom fervently hope that these celebrations in Poland may be resumed in 1945. The period of freedom of Poland, however, was not long-lived for that nation was again dismembered in 1793. In 1918, however, to the everlasting glory of the United States, Poland was reborn again. For a score of years Poland made tremendous strides, and became a land of progress, of culture, and of free government. Schools flourished, and Polish scholars, scientists, inventors, and artists added to the world renown of this tragic nation.

It was the endeavor of Poland in her years of freedom to try to solve the minority problem. While it is true that full equality of national minorities had not been reached in Poland when the war came, Poland had made more progress in this direction than any other nation in Europe, especially in the matter of education where the rights of minorities are most respected.

Article 110 of the Polish Constitution states:

Polish citizens belonging to national minorities or linguistic minorities have, together with other citizens, the right to establish, supervise, and manage, at their own cost, charitable, religious and social establishments as well as schools and other educational establishments and in them to use their own language with complete freedom and to follow the rules of their own religion.

We, in America, owe a great debt of gratitude to Poland in World War No. 2, for that nation was the first to offer resistance to the tide of nazi-ism which threatened to engulf the entire world. Although overrun, conquered, her great buildings destroyed, her people murdered, and carried into other lands in virtual slavery, Poland did her best against a powerful military nation that had been arming itself for destruction while Poland was educating her people for advancement and progress. Poland gave her all in a vain effort to stem the tide of invasion and the world first learned in the Polish invasion the might of the Hitler arms. Her government in exile, Polish heroes are on every battlefield on the side of the allies and they will continue to fight until Hitlerism and Tojoism have been driven from this earth. Then there will arise again a new Poland within her pre-war boundaries.

The constitution of May 3, 1791, was hailed as a great document of freedom by statesmen in many other lands. The brilliant English orator, Edmund Burke, paid this stirring tribute to the Polish Constitution:

We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people without trenching on their liberties. All, from the King to the day laborer, were improved in their condition. Everything was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order everything was bettered. To add to this happy wonder—this unheard-of conjunction of wisdom and fortune—not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery, no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoils; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled. The whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity such as have never been known before on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know how to proceed as they have begun. Happy prince, worthy to begin with splendor or to close with glory a race of patriots and of kings and to leave a name which every wind to heaven would bear.

A great German leader, Frederick Raumer, in 1832 said:

The Poles gave themselves the constitution of the 3d of May without pillage, murder, bloodshed, or destruction of property. With wisdom, fairness, and measure they united the nicest respect for all personal property rights that could be preserved, with the extermination of all fundamental evil. An admirable work of this kind deserved the greatest permanence, the highest happiness under the most auspicious conditions. So double responsibility rests on the soiled hands that stained a clean act, on the slanderers who libeled it, on the criminals who destroyed it.

Then the Russians joined with other nations in hailing the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791. For instance, Professor Pogodin, director of the Kharkov University, said in 1911:

Poland's best sons fought to save their country. The constitution of the 3d of May 1791 created an order of things guaranteeing the rebirth of Poland. Had these reforms been put into effect, Poland would have become a sufficiently strong state. But her neighbors did not permit the Polish commonwealth to strengthen itself in this way. Russia and Prussia—but recently enemies—clashed hands across Poland. The constitution's supporters, guided by their ardent desire to save their country, knew they were subscribing to it in an hour fraught with danger to the commonwealth.

In 1919, A. Bruce Boswell, a famous English scholar, wrote as follows:

It is generally forgotten that, before her fall, Poland completely reformed her constitution. At one stroke the Poles brought their state up to the level of western Europe. The work was done by a small band of men, and seldom have great ideas so rapidly permeated a community.

The chief ideas of political reform were expounded by Staszyc, a member of the small middle class. These ideas were taken up by Kollontaj, Ignacy Potocki and others and culminated in the great 4 years' parliament and the 3d of May constitution of 1791. This great parliament is unique in history, for at a time when the French noblesse were being forced to give up their rights, the Polish gentry voluntarily renounced their privileges. It is often forgotten that there were two revolutions at this time besides the French Revolution—those in Belgium and Poland. The Polish reformers embodied their ideas in a constitution. The following reforms were passed:

1. The government was divided into an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary. A strong executive was formed by making the monarchy hereditary and increasing its powers. The king and the council of ministers were to form a permanent executive body responsible to the diet.

2. The dietes lost their power, and the diet became a real independent legislative body. The liberum veto and the confederation were both abolished. Thus the idea of the state finally triumphed over provincial separation.

3. The gentry gave up their immunity from taxation, the middle class was enfranchised, and municipal autonomy was restored.

4. The army was increased to 100,000, and heavy taxes were imposed on the gentry.

5. Complete toleration for all religions was confirmed.

6. The peasants were taken under the protection of the law, and might make agreements with their masters to pay rent instead of continuing the old system of forced labor.

This constitution was greeted with a chorus of praise all over Europe, its greatest admirers being the Emperor Leopold II and our own Burke, who contrasted its moderation with the excesses of the French revolutionary leaders.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL  
(In Poland and the Poles (1919)).

The United States of America is deeply indebted to brave Poland for its contribution to our well-being. It is particularly indebted to Poland for the millions of its citizens who came to this country to help build it into the greatest nation of all times. That same fervor for freedom, that same resistance to persecution, and that same determination to

develop, which characterized the Poles through the ages, has been a dominant factor in the growth and development of our great Nation.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RABAUT].

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, how fitting to read this morning in the Washington Herald the headline "Mass to honor Poland's Day." The Polish Ambassador, Jan Ciechanowski, will be present at that mass to commemorate the founding of the ideals of their great country, in celebration of the one-hundred-and-fifty-third year.

Mr. Speaker, all over the civilized world, wherever people of Polish extraction shall gather today, you will find those faithful, faithful to the precepts they learned at their mother's knee, at the sacrifice of the mass, petitioning the God of petitions to whom they are no stranger, and asking that He receive their prayers in this hour of trial.

Mr. Speaker, for them I hope the words of Alfred Lord Tennyson will again be true:

More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] such time as he may require.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the heroic people of Poland on the occasion of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution. The fact that her constitution is similar to that of the United States has caused us to have a deeper interest in Poland and her Government.

Poland has been among the leading countries of Europe in her contribution to the world in art, in music, in science, and in other activities that help to make the world a better place in which to live. Her people have always been deeply religious, industrious, and loyal to their country and their government. Today we salute the Polish people for having withstood the devastation of their country and the cruelties that have been imposed upon them. And yet they have the will to win. Poland will win, and upon the ruins caused by the ravages of war she will rebuild and will again become one of the leading nations in the world to come. We hope this anniversary may be the dawning of a new day in Poland and that within a year to come Poland may be freed again and that she may celebrate the adoption of her constitution in her homeland under a restored, representative, constitutional government.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN] such time as he may require.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, Polish Constitution Day on this 3d of May stirs the hearts of all patriotic Americans with emotions of deepest sympathy. The people of the United States and the people of Poland have always had much in common. They are bound together by strong and unusual ties.

In the democratic revolutions of the twilight years of the eighteenth century, the Americans and the Poles took their place in world history as twin representatives of a new philosophy of government embodied in constitutional freedom. When American Revolutionary patriots adopted the first written constitution in the Western Hemisphere in 1789, Polish statesmen were already at work on a written constitution for Poland, adopted 2 years later, and constituting the first in Continental Europe.

The people of the United States are indebted for much of their inspiration and heritage to the centuries of devotional and sacrificial dedication of the Polish people to the principles of freedom.

Poland's Magna Carta dates from 1454. In 1683 Poland and her illustrious Jan Sobieski with his Polish warriors stood as the Thermopylae that prevented the crescent of Mohammed from supplanting the cross of Christ above the churches of Europe. In the travail of our own terrific 7-year struggle for freedom, Poland gave her sons and blood to establish our Republic. The mere mention of Gen. Casimir Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, to whom we have erected monuments in the Nation's Capital cause emotions of eternal gratitude and praise. Pulaski enriched the soil in which the American tree of freedom was to grow by giving his lifeblood in the battle of Savannah, while Kosciuszko returned to his native Poland to continue the fight for freedom, only to die in exile at the hands of neighboring despots who feared that freedom.

Since that time for a century and a half, hundreds of thousands of Poles have come to this country. Together, with that of their offspring, their great and valuable contribution to our industrial and cultural life have helped immeasurably to make this the greatest and best country on the earth.

It is tragic that in this great sacrificial love of liberty for others which she has always exemplified, Poland was destined, through environment, to be denied the fruition of this noble, exalted and spiritual ideal for herself.

It is tragic that within 5 years of the adoption of her constitution, Poland became the victim of partition by greedy and powerful nations to the east and the west of her, a thrall from which, although she kept the lamp of liberty burning, she was unable to release herself for over a hundred years.

It is tragic that although at the end of that period which culminated in World War No. 1 and a liberated Poland through the Treaty of Versailles, she should again be the first to suffer the crushing impact of World War No. 2 after only two decades of freedom. One score of years in which the spirit of liberty, justice, and republicanism had burst forth in a bloom which proved to the world what the Polish people could accomplish in a peaceful environment, and then she again had to sacrifice herself as the saviour of others.

When the Nazi hordes hurled their overwhelming armed might against Eu-

rope, Poland, the first to be attacked in September 1939, although foredoomed to bloody defeat, fought gloriously to complete prostration, seeking time for her allies to arm. Again she had been attacked from front and rear by powerful nations who partitioned the spoils between them.

Once more the irony of the fate of Polish struggle for freedom was demonstrated when barely a year later the Hun, having broken faith with and attacked Poland's eastern neighbor, was stopped dead in his tracks before Moscow. This, together with America's entry into the war, all within 24 hours, was the turning of the tide of war for the Axis Powers. But immediately this brought on a tiny cloud of fear from Poland's eastern horizon, a cloud which has assumed darker proportions and is now the only threat to Poland's restoration to a place in the sun of liberty and independence.

The world and especially the United States owes a debt to Poland. That debt is being repaid in part by the certain destruction of the Nazi gangsters who have ravished her and their removal forever from Polish soil. But there is also the obligation to remove the cloud which hangs over Poland from the east by using the good offices of the American people and American leadership that justice, liberty, and happiness may be established for the Polish people as their heritage in common with other liberty-loving peoples of the world.

The American people are resolved that Poland shall again be a free and independent nation; shall assume an honored and rightful place in the family of nations, a place to which she is entitled by virtue of her glorious history.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL] such time as he may require.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, there are very few Members here who have the privilege and honor of representing more people of Polish descent than I. In my district, people from Poland, coming as they did a generation ago, have contributed to the building of a mighty shoe industry and all the other industries of my locality. Today I wish to join with the other Members in the House in saying that my admiration knows no bounds for the Polish people and their accomplishments throughout the entire world. Pincered as they have been for centuries among powerful nations, the Germans on the one side, the Russians on the other, it is amazing to me how they have survived. It took strong and sturdy and vigilant people like the Poles to write their constitution, to produce their nation, and to survive through all the centuries of persecution, of warfare, and of ravages, as they have done.

We Americans must pay tribute to the Poles and give them the consideration they deserve after the war has been won. When the representatives gather around the peace table it is my solemn hope that they will place Poland in that rightful situation in world affairs which she so justly deserves. Poland's borders must remain inviolate, and must be guaran-

teed in the future that she will be protected from powerful aggressors and invaders.

Guarantee the borders of Poland for her people and you will insure the peace of Europe forever.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] such time as he may require.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. DINGELL]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRADLEY.]

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues in these expressions of good will to the Polish nation, and to those of Polish blood in the United States on this the anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of 1791.

The history of Poland has been a tragic one. It was the valor of the Poles and the might of Polish armies in the seventeenth century that drove back the infidel from the gates of Vienna and saved Christianity for Europe. But in the next century those powers which had profited so much by Polish valor joined, and partitioned Poland in the first partition. Democratic ideals were developing in Poland and these powers feared that the desire for greater liberty, which was being manifested by the people of Poland, would spread to populations of other countries. Two years after the adoption of the constitution of 1791 those same powers, Germany, Austria, and Russia, joined in the second partitioning of Poland. Two years later, in 1795 there was a third partition, and the liberty of Poland was finally lost. At the close of the First World War Poland was again constituted as a nation and it appears that her tragic history is being repeated in her martyrdom today. In 1939 she bore the brunt of the fury of the Nazi attack, in addition to which on her eastern borders she felt the might of Russia. Between those two powers she was crushed. Today we in America cannot pick up a casualty list without seeing the name of some boy whose very name signifies his Polish ancestry and Polish heritage. They are fighting for the "four freedoms" and they have the right to expect that the principles contained therein will be applied to Poland.

I know that the Ambassadors of our allies, those gentlemen who are so keen to sense public opinion in America, are always very diligent in forwarding a report of that public opinion to their chancelleries in their own countries. I hope they give due attention to what is said today in the Congress of the United States. Poland throughout her history has been the victim of the ingratitude of those for whom she has made sacrifices and she has been exploited by those who have profited by the heroism of her sons. America's Allies, I know, will be impressed by our Government with the need for full justice to Poland at the peace confer-

ence. I hope that those who are united with us in this struggle will also unite with us in granting justice to the people of Poland in return for the sacrifices they have made. I trust that it will be realized by our allies, including Russia, that the sentiments expressed here today are not merely perfunctory addresses but the sincere views of Members of the Congress of the United States.

I hope that these expressions made in the Congress of the United States will be reported accurately by the Russian Ambassador to his principal in Moscow, so that it may be known in Moscow that the representatives of the American people have decided views upon what consideration is due to Poland at the peace conference. We hope that they will take them, too, not only as individual expressions but as an indication of what the sentiment of the American people is for the people of Poland.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MONKIEWICZ].

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, today is the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the first written democratic constitution in Europe—the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791. This date not only commemorates a great event in the history of progress of mankind and of its continuous struggle for liberty and justice, but also serves as a reminder to our generation that nothing is really new in human history. Indeed the same forces of despotism that the constitution of May 3 was set to prevent from overrunning democratic Poland, are again at play today. Prussia and Russia, two powerful empires neighboring with eighteenth century Poland, could not allow a liberal and democratic nation to live and prosper between them, lest it would become a menace to their own systems of despotism through simple example and penetration. Consequently, they decided to use all possible measures at their disposal to undermine, conquer from within, and finally to dismember the Polish Republic. The constitution of May 3 was a cry of protest of all the progressive and patriotic forces in Poland against those eighteenth century fifth columns sent into Poland in masses by both Russia and Prussia. It was also proof of the vitality and spiritual stamina of the Polish people of those days, who after years of political license and exaggerated liberalism succeeded to arouse the nation to courageous and determined action.

The partitions of Poland took place not because Poland was in a state of political decay but, on the contrary, because of a spiritual rebirth of the nation that took place in spite of the penetration and activity of Prussian and Russian fifth columns of those days, and even in spite of the enormous Russian Army. The constitution of May 3 is vivid proof of this historical truth, voted and promulgated 9 years after the first partition and 2 years before the second. Unfortunately the constitution never saw the light of practical execution, being stifled

by the partitioning powers and stamped out by Russian and Prussian bayonets before it could have the chance to prove its effectiveness.

Mr. Speaker, history does indeed repeat itself. The same powers motivated by the same impulses which in the eighteenth century were bent on the destruction of Poland are operating today in the modern shape of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Both have unleashed the present war through a joint attempt to wipe Poland again from the map of the world. And although they themselves today are engaged in a mortal clash, Germany and Russia are still in agreement to have Poland cease existing and her people exterminated. Thus governments and regimes pass, but ambitions and policies imbedded throughout ages seem to follow the same consistent pattern. What was true one and one-half centuries ago is true today. The rule of freedom and democratic civilization in eastern Europe depends on the existence of a strong, sovereign, and undiminished in her territories, Poland, which her neighbors want to subjugate.

Let us be realistic and see these facts in an honest, practical manner rather than give the appearance of weakness by assuming a smug temporarily convenient attitude for which we shall pay a thousandfold.

Even after her first partition Poland was still one of the largest states in Europe, but she was in grave danger. Surrounded by despotic neighbors that were growing ever more powerful and coveted her destruction, Poland indulged in the most liberal parliamentary system in Europe that paralyzed her power of resistance and made foreign penetration easier. The vote of one single deputy, the so-called liberum veto, could defeat any measure considered by the entire parliament.

The army was too small and Poland's enemies saw to it that no larger budget for defense was voted. The situation was crying for reform, especially in view of the fact that a long time plot against the Polish state was already in the making. In 1720, 52 years before the first partition, Peter the Great of Russia and Frederick, Wilhelm the First of Prussia, signed an agreement pledging mutual support for the preservation of weakness in Poland and the prevention of any reforms. This was the nucleus of a joint anti-Polish policy that was to bring about later the partitions and to make the subjugation of Poland the chief factor in German and Russian policy in eastern Europe up to the present time.

Those were some of the conditions existing prior to the enactment of the constitution of May 3.

The first organized resistance against Russian armed intervention in Polish domestic affairs and also the birth of a new spirit that was to lead the nation to action, was a movement started by Casimir Pulaski in 1768. This was the same Pulaski who later became a hero of the American war for Independence and who died in the Battle of Savannah. But even miracles of Pulaski's courage could not prevent his defeat by overwhelming Russian forces. His action only prompted

the joint decision of Russia, Prussia and Austria to accomplish what was long their objective—the first partition of Poland. But Pulaski's move set the spark for a new fire that was to awaken the entire nation and lead her to constructive action. Thus it has been said that Pulaski was the godfather of the May 3 constitution.

The spirit of reform in Poland was somewhat linked with the then modern ideas prevailing in France. Only in Poland it was not an action against absolutist monarchy as in France, but on the contrary it was a move to curtail the excessive liberalism weakening the country. To be sure, as far as social problems were concerned, the granting of equality and justice to all citizens was a trend that ran in close parallel to the movement in France. Once again in this respect Poland proved to have associated herself with and followed the currents of thought of western Europe, remaining completely alien to the evolution of despotic imperialism and absolutism being on the rise both in Russia and Prussia. The difference between the situations in France and Poland at that time was that, whereas the masses of France suffered from too much power in the hands of a despotic executive, the rank and file of the Polish people suffered from the inability of their parliament to function due to the liberal parliamentary procedure.

As a forerunner of the May 3 constitution reforms was the establishment of the so-called commission on education by the parliament in 1773, the first ministry of education in Europe. Its aim was to raise the standard of education and thus make young Poles better aware of their duties toward their homeland. The spirit of reform was growing rapidly except that each measure had to be taken by circumvention and tactful strategy because Russia and Prussia threatened with armed intervention in case the Parliament would attempt any strong positive action. When a plan for the abolishment of the one-vote veto was devised in 1766, the Russian ambassador placed the parliament in jeopardy of Russian military action. During the same session three patriotic deputies were kidnaped by Russian officers and deported to Siberia. This was the first deportation of political prisoners from Poland to Russia, that was to be followed by hundreds of thousands in later years and to be climaxed by the deportation of one and one-half million Polish citizens for extermination to Asiatic Russia in this war.

Thus the reforms were to be introduced through custom, and as in the case of the one-vote veto, liberum veto, they began disappearing by themselves, with no parliamentary session being broken up for many years even before the adoption of the May 3 constitution. Also, the emancipation of peasants, a great innovation in those days in Europe, was gradually approached, and political equality to the urban population in some cities granted. Finally the opportunity for positive action appeared when relations between Russia and Prussia became temporarily strained after the death of Frederick the Great and while the Russian armies were far away from Poland engaged in the

Russo-Turkish War. Thus Poland found herself in a period of respite from enemy threats. On October 7, 1788, an extraordinary session of the Parliament was called for the purpose of preparing a progressive constitution encompassing all necessary reforms. This so-called Four Years Parliament ended by adopting on May 3, 1791, the new constitution, to which the king and all deputies pledged allegiance on the same day. At the same time a measure was adopted against foreign plotting, the seat of which was then in the residence of the Russian Ambassador in Warsaw. This was accomplished at a time when the wave of public opinion was too strong, and even the threat of Russian power could not stop it. Of course, while all this was taking place in Poland, the war with Turkey was terminated, and Russian troops were on their way back from the battlegrounds of that war.

The constitution of May 3 only prompted the second partition of Poland. Catherine the Great, who worried about the rebirth of the Polish spirit and the new strength arising in the Nation, decided to act quickly. Russian troops invaded Poland under the guise of protection against the Jacobin revolutionary movement personified in the democratic May 3 constitution. In January 1793 the second partition was signed by Russia and Prussia, and the constitution really never saw the light of day.

The constitution of May 3 was far ahead of its time as far as a political system was concerned. It was a parallel to the French Revolution, but was reached through evolution and without bloodshed. No better commentary on the principles of the constitution can be given than in the eloquent words of Burke, the great English statesman and orator who said: "We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people without treading on their liberties—not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the king to the day laborer, were improved in their conditions. Everything was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order, everything was bettered. To add to this happy wonder—this unheard of conjunction of wisdom and fortune—not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage, no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoils; no confiscation; no citizens beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled. The whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, and unanimity such as have never been known before on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of true and genuine rights and interests of men." Indeed the constitution of May 3 not only introduced necessary reforms to the welfare and defense of the Polish Nation, but was a shining star of democracy and order based on law in Europe. What a contrast with the despotic trends prevailing then in Russia and Prussia, where force and aggression meant law, as they mean today.

The May 3 constitution was crushed by the imperialistic Powers that did not

want the light of freedom to live in their vicinity. But the spirit of the Constitution remained alive, and lead many generations of Poles to battle for liberty, not only of their own country, but of all nations where freedom was at stake. Thaddeus Kosciuszko was the one who organized the first insurrection in defense of the constitution and against the partitions. His armies crushed, he was imprisoned by the Russian Tsar. He and Pulaski were the two heroes from Poland to whom America owed a debt of gratitude for their gallant fight for the independence of the Union. This debt was paid during the last war when an American volunteer squadron flew to Poland and took part in the defense of the Polish city of Lwow in the early days of Poland's newly reconquered independence. The graves of American heroes of this Kosciuszko squadron are, together with graves of the brave sons of Lwow, sealing an everlasting bondage of fighters for freedom. Lwow is the very city Soviet Russia now claims as her own property.

Mr. Speaker, there is nothing new in history. The same battle the Poles were waging in the eighteenth century continues today. It is the battle for the right of democratic form of government and freedom in eastern Europe. The same enemies who worked so hard in the old days to prevent a renaissance of Poland and who tried to kill the May 3d constitution and the Polish Nation itself, are attempting to accomplish the murder again. Prussia of Frederick the Great is just replaced by the horrors of Nazi Germany and Russia of Catherine the Great by the Soviet Union. The stake is the same, for Poland and for the entire civilized world. Are law and justice going to prevail or are sinister forces of aggression and rape to take again the lead in world affairs? If the latter is the case, it makes no difference whoever is the aggressor—ally or foe—we shall have fought this war in vain.

Thus I will say to those who suggest a Russian protection or sphere of influence over Poland and eastern Europe that this is exactly the very thing the Poles and their neighbors were fighting against 150 years ago. And what Russia demands today is the fifth partition of Poland. It is our choice to either declare ourselves on the side of liberty and justice, as our forefathers the true fighters for liberty were, or shall we betray our own heritage and align ourselves with a despot who wants to extinguish the Polish independence. Modern Germany and Russia respectively want Polish territory not for self defense, but as in the times of the constitution of May 3, as a bridge for further conquests. The Polish partitions sealed the fate of eastern Europe changing it into colonial territory for over 100 years with free nations exploited for the benefit of the powerful despots. Only with these territories enslaved and under their control can Germany or Russia become the masters of Europe and some day threaten us again with their power. What will happen to Poland today will happen tomorrow to entire Europe and later to us. If Europe is to be given away to one dominant power under con-

trol, the third world war can be considered a certainty. There is only one justice and one law, and the world cannot be run by two different systems—one of liberty and law on the one hand, and one of force and oppression on the other. There cannot be liberty in western Europe and slavery in eastern Europe. The Polish case is clear and clean. It defies doubt or equivocation. The Polish people for over 4 years have been fighting united in defense of their rights and territories, and present as a convincing argument for their cause over 3,000,000 dead, mostly tortured to death, in defense of liberty and a gallant army, navy, and air force fighting at our side, besides millions deported to Germany and Soviet Russia. Should Poland be given away to a foreign domination or emerge from this war with amputated territories, we would be striving for a world of chaos and not of order.

Generations of Poles who fought for liberty, and especially the millions of victims of Nazi and Soviet aggression on Poland in this war, challenge our conscience, demanding that justice be given to their homeland. Underwriting a fifth partition of Poland, which Soviet Russia is demanding today, or watching silently as it is being prepared by our allies for it, bears the same responsibility. Inaction at a time when essential principles of democracy and justice are challenged, is coresponsibility. Pontius Pilate only washed his hands at the sight of Christ's crucifixion, but he was cursed by posterity in the same way as Christ's murderers. Do we want to earn a similar reputation for ourselves among free nations after this war?

The American people are already aroused by the policy of appeasement and expediency our Government has plunged into vis-a-vis Russia. They cannot understand why, while fighting a war for the liberation of Europe, we are conducting, at the same time, a policy against Europe. Abandoning Poland, the Baltic States, Yugoslavia and other nations of eastern Europe to Soviet mercy is tantamount to the pronouncement of a death sentence on those nations; to an extinction of our civilization in those areas. Combating one evil in Hitler's Germany, we are allowing in the meantime another evil to grow strong with our help. At this anniversary of the Polish May 3 Constitution, let us pause and see clearly whether we are on the side of the nation we honor today, or on the side of those forces who tried to kill that constitution and murdered its authors. Are we on the side of strong, sovereign and secure within her legitimate boundaries, democratic Poland, or for the plans of her aged despotic oppressors. Mr. Speaker, by our silence with respect to the question precipitated upon the world by the spokesmen for the Soviet Union pronouncing their designs upon Polish territory, are we not approving an anti-Polish policy which was in effect in Russia for over 200 years? While Great Britain is already laying the foundation for her future attitude toward the Polish question as announced by Mr. Churchill in his speech of February 22, we are quiet although we know that the treaty of

alliance of August 25, 1939, declares that it is up to the respective government to define when the independence of its country is threatened. The Polish government and Polish public opinion emphasized many times that Russian territorial demands are a menace to Polish independence. We are saying nothing while Great Britain is violating her promise to Poland.

Any alliance is made for the mutual defense of respective interests. This includes the sovereignty and territories of an attacked country. Hitler demanded less territory from Poland than does Stalin, and Poland decided to fight. Great Britain came to the aid of Poland in this fight. Are not the British obligations and our obligations with respect to Polish territory the same now as they were then?

The Russians have entered Polish territory in pursuit of the enemy, but not as a civilized nation respecting the sovereignty of the legal owner of these territories. Mr. Speaker, when we landed upon Tarawa, the British flag was raised on that soil; when we occupied Africa, we promised that the occupation was only temporary and that it was to remain legal French soil; when we stepped upon the soil of Italy, we proclaimed that we were liberating Italy for the Italian. But before crossing the legitimate Polish boundary in pursuit of the enemy, the Soviets announced that it is not Polish soil, but that they will be taking back genuine Russian territories. Why is it, Mr. Speaker, that one of our allies is allowed to annex land of another without consulting us or the injured ally? Is one rule of conduct to be applied to us and another to our allies? What is our foreign policy with respect to Europe?

Mr. Speaker, as the present war is progressing and as events are developing, we are beginning to see many disturbing things. You remember the events leading up to the present war. You remember the strong attitude of our country before and for some time after we became engaged in this war. Every action, every move on our part, was positive. We scorned any suggestion that we might become involved with those whose purposes were not clear. We were determined in our conduct. Many people, yes, many people in this country adopted and followed the leadership so splendidly assumed by it. There was implicit trust in the judgment of this leadership. There was the acceptance as a fact that this leadership had full knowledge and utmost skill in international matters.

All of our promises and our hopes were crowned by the adoption of the splendid principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter. Then suddenly for no apparent reason all of these high ideals were abandoned. The weak are being left to the mercy of the strong. Promises, policies, and treaties were strewn to the four winds. Russia wants to destroy Poland, and what do we offer Poland as help? We offer mediation. Mediation between an aggressor and his victim. Mediation between the robber and the robbed. Indeed we go further, we even allow the Soviet influence to reach within our midst and to avail itself of the use

of such individuals as Orlemanski and Lange for their own purpose by receiving them in Moscow, where they might be well trained for a number of weeks and then returned here to spread the doctrines of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to retain the confidence of the American people in its leadership; if we are to command the respect of the world; then we must return to the principles founded upon the noble ideals that we believed in at the time we became engaged in this war. If we believe in justice in the world and a true desire for lasting peace these beliefs and desires must be translated into action now.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Wisconsin yield for me to submit three unanimous-consent requests?

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. I yield.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] may extend his own remarks at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by the Towarzystwo Krolowy Wandy, a Polish group of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., to speak in Congress today, in celebration of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Polish Constitution. In compliance with the request, contained in the following letters, I have prepared some remarks to be incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to be delivered by me over the local radio, WGN, Newburgh, N. Y., in my own district, on May 3, where I will be at that time:

ST. JOHN'S SOCIETY,  
ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH,  
Florida, N. Y., April 26, 1944.

HON. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: What the Fourth of July is to an American and the 14th of July to a Frenchman, that is the 3d of May to a Pole. It is Poland's national holiday, commemorative of the first written democratic constitution in Europe passed by the Polish Parliament in 1791.

One hundred and fifty-three years ago, on May 3, in the face of hostile aggression and greed of totalitarian monarchies, Poland had the courage to proclaim the ideals of right, justice, and liberty to all her citizens.

Since September 1939 and up to the present day the Polish Nation is fighting undaunted alongside the United Nations for these ideals for all peoples of the world.

It is with trepidation that we witness some persons in high stations who would compromise these principles for the benefit of a powerful, totalitarian ally.

As American citizens, we request that you emphasize the example of Poland's stand for righteousness, justice, and liberty of yore and its corresponding stand today.

Very truly yours,

REV. VINCENT J. RAITH,  
Chaplain.  
JOSEPH WIMCZYK, Polgc.  
ANTON S. FELCZAK,  
Vice President.  
ADAM KOWALZYK,  
Recording Secretary.  
STANLEY WANZYK,  
Financial Secretary.  
GEORGE PAWLICZAK,  
Treasurer.

TOWARZYSTWO KROLOWY WANDY,  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 20, 1944.  
Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On May 3 the Polish Nation throughout the world will celebrate the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of Poland's Constitution in 1791 (the first written "bill of rights" in Europe). In Poland the day will be celebrated under the ground, in silence and sorrow.

But it occurred to us that if you, dear Congressman, would say a few words about this Poland's day at the session of the House on that day and induce some of your colleagues to do likewise, the day would become a glorious triumph for our faithful ally, although in Poland lips will be closed and church bells will be silent. Words pronounced by the American people's representatives on the free soil for Poland's great ally will ring all over the world as a glowing tribute to that heroic nation.

We should be very happy if you would consider our suggestion and let us know what you think of it.

Respectfully submitted,

KLEMENTYNA GONTAC,  
President.  
ANNA SOFKI, Secretary.  
MARIA LIS, Treasurer.

—  
GMINA 169 ZWIĄZKU  
NARODOWEGO POLSKIEGO,  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 19, 1944.  
Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On the 3d of May 1791 the Kingdom of Poland, already reduced by the tripartite partitions, unanimously adopted a new constitution which provided for liberty and equal rights for all men. What other nations and people did with bloodshed, Poland, with her long tradition of tolerance, accomplished by peaceful means.

In these critical times, when not only Poland but the whole world is fighting against the dark forces of oppression and totalitarianism, it is fitting that this date be commemorated by us in the United States.

The Poles, always ready to support the democratic cause, were again the first to stand against the enemy of freedom. Again they followed their motto, "For your freedom and for ours."

Could you, sir, on the 3d of May, call this fact to the attention of the American Congress? It is our duty as Americans to remember an ally who though faced with insurmountable obstacles would rather die than surrender. The constitution of the 3d of May is another monument that testifies to the democratic spirit of Poland.

Respectfully submitted,

VINCENT KUKLIN,  
President.  
LEON RAMUS,  
Secretary.

—  
POLISH-AMERICAN CITIZEN'S  
CLUB, GROUP OF 368 OF THE  
POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, INC.,  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 28, 1944.  
Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On the 3d of May 1791, the Kingdom of Poland, already reduced by the tripartite partitions, unanimously adopted a new constitution which provided for liberty and equal rights for all men. What other nations and people did with bloodshed, Poland with her long tradition of tolerance, accomplished by peaceful means.

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Could you, sir, on the 3d of May, call this fact to the attention of the Congressmen? It is our duty as Americans to remember an ally who though faced with insurmountable obstacles would rather die than surrender. The constitution of the 3d of May is another monument that testifies to the democratic spirit of Poland.

Respectfully submitted,

VINCENT KUKLIN,  
President.

I want to take this occasion, on the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Polish Constitution, including the first bill of rights in Europe, to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the war-stricken, heroic people of Poland and to millions of patriotic and industrious American citizens of Polish origin in this country.

Poland must be preserved as a free and independent nation, otherwise the war against aggressor nations will have been fought in vain and all the fine and noble phrases and diplomatic notes at the outset of the war in Europe in 1939 will be meaningless and scraps of paper.

The creation of greater Poland was largely the work of Woodrow Wilson and the American delegates. It would indeed be a travesty if it should lose its territories and be again partitioned with the consent and approval of the present administration. That it will undergo a fifth partition is obvious, if our State Department remains silent while the deed is being done and turns its head away in order not to see the sacrifice of its own creation.

The responsibility is ours, along with Great Britain and France, as we are partners and Allies in this war against aggression. Long live a free and independent Poland, with its rightful pre-war boundaries intact. May it continue to be a great and powerful democratic nation under constitutional government providing freedom, liberty, and pursuit of happiness for all races and creeds. May its people prosper and long enjoy the blessings of peace, after their harrowing sacrifice in the most ruinous and terrible war in modern history.

The Polish people must be left free to choose their own government, and that government must not enter into any deals to sacrifice Polish territory in return for East Prussia, which is all German. If it does, it will mean inevitably a war of liberation in another 20 or 25 years, and Poland will again be the fighting cockpit of Europe.

No people are more entitled to a square deal as a result of World War No. 2 than the long-suffering and war-ravaged people of Poland. We Americans are mindful of the fact that Great Britain and France declared war on Germany when its armies invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and gave as their reasons for declaring war that they proposed to preserve the territorial integrity and independence of Poland. The gallant Polish Army fought until it was cut to pieces and Poland overrun by the might of the mechanized Nazi armies. Since then Poland has been a conquered nation, en-

during for 5 years the agonies of hunger, disease, terror and enslavement. The treatment of the Polish people has been brutal and oppressive, and the persecution of the Jews in Poland has amounted almost to extermination.

Certainly the survivors of the German and Russian occupation are not only entitled to the sympathies of the American people, but of their moral support in trying to preserve their territorial integrity and national independence.

What has become of the Atlantic Charter's pre-war pledge to small and large democracies, including Poland and the Baltic and the Balkan Nations? Is the Atlantic Charter lost, strayed, or stolen, dead or a living corpse? Where is it and what does it mean today toward protecting the national sovereignty and independence of the occupied democratic nations in Europe and permitting them to choose their own government?

What a ghastly tragedy it would be if, after the specific promises and pledges given to the Polish people by Great Britain and France who were applauded for their altruism and unselfish motives by the American people, if Poland were again to be partitioned.

It seems unthinkable that after 5 tragic years of persecution and slavery Poland would be dismembered as if she were a vanquished and enemy Nation. If Poland is forced, against its will, to surrender one-third of its territory to Soviet Russia, it would be merely sowing the seeds of a future war. The Polish people are traditionally a proud and warlike race, and have refused to yield in any way to Nazi terror. They will never surrender any of their territory willingly to Soviet Russia any more than the British could be expected to liquidate their own empire.

In view of the fact that both Great Britain and France guaranteed to uphold the territorial integrity of Poland at the outbreak of the war, the restoration of Poland's independence and its territorial integrity should be one of its main objectives. Just imagine what the reaction would be if Great Britain, France, and the United States were asked to give up one-third of their territory.

I am opposed to a fifth partition of Poland, particularly as the preservation of the territorial integrity of Poland was the origin of the European war. A new partition of Poland would repudiate the very aims, purposes, and high ideals for which the European war was fought. If this evil deed is done, then hundreds of thousands of patriotic Poles will have died in vain and millions of Poles will have endured the misery, human slavery, and starvation of a conquered nation only forced at the point of a bayonet to surrender one-third of its pre-war territory.

I hope that we in America will not become a party to any peace that will partition Poland and turn one-third of its provinces over to Soviet Russia. Millions of Americans of Polish origin, many of whose sons are fighting gallantly in our armed forces, would rightly feel, if Poland is dispoiled and carved up at the peace table, that they have been deceived

and their sons' lives sacrificed along with pre-war pledges.

Long live a free and independent Poland under constitutional government, with liberty, democracy, and justice for all.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DOUGLAS] may extend his own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, Poland, an independent republic formally constituted on March 22, 1921, has a history which other countries might well envy. Although she has had time and again to fight to protect her liberties and is still fighting against oppression, her people can well be proud of her history.

Many of her sons have distinguished themselves in both the civil and military fields, and the United States owes much to those Polish patriots who came to this country during our Revolutionary War and helped General Washington win the fight for our independence. The names of Pulaski, Kosciuszko, and many other Polish heroes will live long in our memories as men who loved liberty and were willing to give their all in order to protect it.

Several million Poles reside in the United States, many of whom have been here for generations. They are among the finest of our citizens and, while they preserve their language and customs, as a body they are loyal and faithful to their adopted country. The best evidence of this is the fact that many of them are now serving in our armed forces.

Therefore, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I take this opportunity on this 3d day of May 1944, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, to add my word of tribute to a great country and a great people.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. GRANT] may extend his own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. GRANT of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a high privilege to be permitted to say these few words of tribute to the good people of Poland and to the Americans of Polish ancestry on this the one hundred fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

This charter of liberty, adopted by the Polish people on May 3, 1791, was the first written constitution adopted on the Continent of Europe. It served as an inspiration and a hope for the peoples of many lands. Further than that, Mr. Speaker, we can never forget the contribution which those two great Polish leaders, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, made to the winning of our own freedom.

As a special tribute to the work of General Pulaski, we have for many years remembered October 11 as Pulaski Day. As in previous years, during my service

in Congress, I did this year introduce House Joint Resolution 261, authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim October 11, 1944, as General Pulaski's Memorial Day, for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski.

Although many times partitioned and overrun, the love of freedom still burns in the hearts of the Polish people. They have made a magnanimous contribution to the cause of freedom and as protectors of Christianity. Today the men and women of Poland carry on the fight against dictatorship and aggression. They are fighting under every flag of the United Nations. For more than 4½ years the people of Poland have suffered under the heel of the aggressor, but there still burns that determination and that zeal which will once again make them happy and free.

The Atlantic Charter was hailed by the people of Poland and the Americans of Polish descent as a hope for the future. It gave to them the encouragement and the belief that once again their homeland would be restored and that Poland will rise again. We pray with them that their hopes may be fully realized.

Mr. Speaker, in the district which I have the honor to represent we have many thousands of Americans of Polish descent. They are making their full contribution and more toward the winning of this war. They do this, not as Poles, but as Americans—as patriotic, god-fearing people who are sending their sons and their very all to bring this war to an early and successful end. We salute them and their families on this glorious day in Poland's history.

Mr. PITTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. PITTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am glad of the opportunity to join with my colleagues on this occasion in making some comment in reference to the anniversary of the adoption of a constitution by Poland in 1791.

The dividing line between slavery and human rights is a constitution. Men cease to be chattels and become human beings when they have a voice in the Government of the country where they live, the right to vote and other benefits and advantages which free people enjoy.

We have many Polish people in the United States of America, and they are among our very finest citizens. I am indeed happy to be able to pay this tribute to the valiant people of Poland on their great national holiday in celebration of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, which is comparable to our Fourth of July celebration.

I am pleased as a Representative in Congress from the great State of Minnesota to pay this tribute to Poland and Americans of Polish descent, because they are among the finest people we have in Minnesota. They are Americans whose forefathers came from the fertile plains of Poland.

These Americans of Polish descent are businessmen, bankers, and farmers and

they are thrifty, honest, and law-abiding citizens, whose zeal and patriotism for the American Constitution is unexcelled as through their veins flows the blood of their freedom-loving Polish forefathers.

POLISH CONSTITUTION OF MAY 3

On this day of May 3, when we all pay tribute to gallant Poland of the past and of the present, I would like to stress one particular point, namely, that Americans and Poles have much in common. They have fought for freedom and for its preservation in the past, and they are fighting for it now. They did not limit themselves to the thought of their own liberty and their own country. Today they are shedding their blood side by side on all battle fronts of the world, so as to make the world safe for democracy. They love liberty and the possession of individual rights guaranteed to them by their constitutions. To this love of liberty must be added the love of God; time and again through the ages their histories have proven it.

Wherever liberty and justice were at stake, the sons of Poland have been found. The contributions of Kosciuszko and Pulaski are so well known to all Americans that it is superfluous to recall them in detail.

Poland's territories once again have been conquered, but its military defeat only served to strengthen its love for freedom and its undaunted national spirit. The people of Poland, whether at home or abroad, are either actually engaged in fighting the enemy or preparing themselves to do so at the earliest opportunity, which now seems to be just around the corner. Poles have an indomitable determination to preserve their independence, a will to fight for it, a capacity to suffer and endure hardships which no enemy can crush. During the present war the struggle of the Polish nation for liberty cost Poland millions of victims—still she fights on, and will continue to do so until the enemy is destroyed and oppressed nations freed once more.

Though the people of Warsaw are not allowed to congregate on this May 3, their national holiday, you may rest assured that they will gladly risk their lives to attend the gatherings in churches, in homes, in various hiding places or in the woods in order to commemorate their constitution, for the light of freedom cannot be extinguished among those whose souls are free.

The Polish Constitution signed in 1791, 2 years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, was an event of general human significance and created a system founded on modern conceptions. It was based on the principle that all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people. The constitution introduced reforms to the advantage of the middle class and the peasants. They were granted a number of rights which they did not previously possess and which had been the exclusive privilege of the nobility and the gentry. They were permitted to acquire landed property. On the other hand the nobility were granted the right to engage in trade and industry without losing

their status of nobles. Thus was removed the obstacle to the fusion of the two classes which had existed for several centuries. This Polish Constitution was created by patriots for a freedom-loving people, and it is the symbol of a nation which though many times defeated was never conquered.

We are all familiar with Poland's great contributions to the world's culture and civilization. We cannot help but admire the work of people like Mikolaj Kopernik, Marie Curie-Sklodowska, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Fryderyk Chopin, Ignace Paderewski, and innumerable others.

As to the contribution of Poles to our own American life, numerous examples should be cited. Dr. Kurciusz founded the first high school in the United States, while Leopold Boech founded the first technical university. Olbracht Zaborowski was one of the first judges on the territory of New Jersey. Wlodzimirz Krzyzanowski was the first Governor of Alaska. Four hundred Polish settlers helped to lay the foundation for the United States of America in Jamestown. Five thousand Poles fought in the American Civil War.

As to the present war, who has not heard about the glorious deeds of the Polish Air Force in England and their participation in the Battle of Britain? The Polish Navy has been fighting alongside the United Nations navies since the outbreak of the present war. In the Middle East, a Polish force of 75,000 men fully trained and equipped is ready for action. The soldiers of the Polish Carpathian Division are now fighting the bloody Italian battle side by side with their comrades from other United Nations. And so, in the underground, on the ground, in the air and on the sea Poland fights on. On this third of May let us pay tribute to its people.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment my good friend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. WASIELEWSKI] and others for the splendid observance of this anniversary date of the signing of the Polish Constitution. Poland has shown her friendship for America in many ways. I am sure that the American people sympathize most sincerely with the Polish people in this the most crucial period in their history. The Polish are a liberty loving people. They know what liberty and freedom mean. We Americans, and all of us in Congress send them our most cordial felicitations on this great day.

Mr. TIBBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. TIBBOTT. Mr. Speaker, today, the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the enactment of Poland's Constitution, it is proper and fitting that

the House of Representatives pay tribute to a heroic people.

Since the dawn of our history America and Poland have been bound by ties of similar ideals and aspirations. Many men of the Polish race have given their lives to make America a land of freedom. Poland's great national holiday is being celebrated today and is proof that the love of liberty, humanity, equality, and a deep sense of democracy are inherent in this great race. The Polish people have always been in the forefront, and aside from the fields of music, literature, and science, one could recite name after name of those who have been leaders in their chosen fields of endeavor. Wherever Polish people are found, here or abroad, they are united in a firm hope that their gallant Nation will rise again and become a free and independent state, worthy of their great past.

It is gratifying to me today to join with many Members of this House in sending greetings to the people and pleading to them our sincere prayers that Poland will again be free. Poland is resolved that when this war is ended they will be free and independent and enjoy the full freedom for a heritage. Poland will live and take her place among the leading nations of the world.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, this 3d day of May is a sacred day in the history of Poland, as it was on this day, May 3, 1791, that the Poles adopted a liberal constitution. This constitution, like our own only 2 years older, represents a genuine landmark in the long struggle of mankind to achieve free institutions. Today, with Poland in the cruelest of bondage, it is particularly fitting that we commemorate the great past and look hopefully forward to the future of the people of Poland freed by her sons and by the United Nations which are her allies.

Others better qualified than I will testify to the glorious history of that freedom-loving people who helped in the establishment of our own Republic, and fought in the Old World to free Belgium, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Turkey, and in the New for a free Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. We all remember very vividly that day of infamy, now almost 5 years ago, when Hitler's legions made their incredible and unprovoked descent upon Polish soil. From that day to this, murder has stalked the Continent of Europe.

As a lawyer, I rejoice that despite all this violence under which the whole Continent of Europe has writhed in misery, the minds of the cultured Polish people continue to be on law and the things of the intellect. The third Polish faculty in Britain opened on April 24, in Oxford. It owed its existence to the initiative of Polish lawyers, to the support of the Polish Government, and the generous help of the heads of the oldest university in the United Kingdom. President Raczkiewicz, Prime Minister Mikolajczyk,

and members of the Polish Government were present at the celebration which took place in an atmosphere of sincere Anglo-Polish friendship. When the idea of opening the faculty was first initiated Minister Kaczynski formed an organizational committee to which he invited all Polish law professors now in England. Stefan Glaser, professor of Polish criminal law, was chosen dean of this faculty. The Vice Chancellor of Oxford University, Sir David Ross, and the dean of the law faculty supported the Polish initiative.

The Polish law faculty has full Polish academic rights. President Raczkiewicz gave Professor Glaser the right of directorship and of giving out diplomas at graduation. Polish professors will be lecturers. In case of absence of Polish professors, British professors will take over, also lecturing on English law and social teachings. The program is identical with that of the Polish University but the first term will be shortened owing to exceptional circumstances. The term begins on April 28. Most students were present at the opening ceremony. There are about 50 of them, but it is expected that their number will rise to 70, including some women. The costs of the course are covered by the Polish Ministry of Education, and it is free to the students.

The opening ceremony in the famous Sheldonian Theater was inaugurated by an address by the vice chancellor, Sir David Ross, who praised Polish courage, saying that Polish forces as well as a Polish underground continue to fight the enemy, and reminding his listeners that Poland has been suffering longer than any other country, that history never saw any country carry such burdens. German persecution of Polish educational life resulted in the closing of all universities. He spoke about the great Polish scientists, Copernicus, Marie Curie, and said that Polish spirit remained unbroken. The Polish Government made the right decision when it opened the medicine faculty at Edinburgh, and was just as right in opening at Oxford the Polish law faculty, whose object will be to prepare workers for the Polish administration. Sir David emphasized the fact that the arrival of foreign students at an English university enhanced friendship and mutual understanding, and closed by saying that he was hopefully looking to the day when the ruined Polish universities would be rebuilt.

Prime Minister Mikolajczyk, addressing the law faculty only last Thursday night, April 27, said:

It will be necessary after the war to teach the generation depraved by the Nazi doctrine both Christian ethics and law, but it will have to be a law conforming with the English conception of justice, so different from the German—a law conforming with the divine justice of Christian morals freely accepted by the people and not imposed by force. We will have to do away entirely with the German doctrine of law based on force and violence, law which can be imposed both on the citizens of one's country and on other nations without regard to religion or ethics. The Germans used to justify by what they called "law" their acts of robbery and murder, thus desecrating the very idea of law and justice. After the war we will have to

restore the law to its former glory and universal respect, cleansing it of all that might be left of the doctrine of "might is right" turning it to the service of the democratic ideal of justice and respect for individual rights of human beings. The United Nations will be faced after the war with the gigantic task of building new laws, founded on stronger and wider principles than before and inspired by ethical considerations and the idea of free consent. I trust that Polish legal thought may also make contribution to this great work for mankind's welfare.

As I had, myself, the honor to be at one time a student at Oxford University, I take particular pride in the realization that this ancient home of intellectual freedom is true to its own tradition, nurturing a Polish University in its own gray quadrangles which symbolize the mystical union between the past of England and her future.

I am glad also to call the attention of the House to the fact that the University of Maine in my own State has had on its faculty a distinguished professor of the University of Cracow. Upon such fraternities of scholarship we must rest the hope of better days to come.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, today, upon this one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the Constitution of Poland, my pride in the contribution which the Polish people have made to the development of this country, impels me to say a few words about these people.

We have Members of Polish extraction upon both sides of the House of Representatives. Their record in the House, as well as the record of the great number of people of Polish descent throughout the country, proves that they are in the vanguard of every movement to foster democracy in this country. Many of the sons and daughters of Poland are serving this country in the field of battle, fighting for that democracy which all the peoples of the Allied Nations hope to attain at the end of this war.

Their sacrifices have earned for them the commendation of every champion of democracy.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

#### POLAND'S FREEDOM

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, it is my desire to give expression about the greatest virtue of Free Poland on this 3d day of May, for which time has been set aside in the House under special order to commemorate the Polish Constitution.

Since the inception of man in God's image, who was possessed of consciousness and intellect, the progress of the human race has been dependent upon his complete freedom in the exercise of these faculties.

The pathway of human progress has been rough. In those times when it showed an upward trend in the moral and spiritual development of man, an absolute analysis would indicate it was the freedom of man that made this progress possible.

In the dark days of our own Nation when the fundamental principle was being written into the Constitution that all just powers shall be derived from the consent of the governed, so too was Poland as a nation contemporary in that same effort. Poland, situated as it was between strong monarchies, suffered from aggression and partition as a result. It is indeed important that its spirit, responsible for the founding of its Constitution wherein all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people, has not suffered in proportion to the lands and the Nation. It is my profound conviction that the spirit responsible for the Constitution has in all probability been enhanced through this suffering.

There will come a day when this beacon light of a free people may indeed illuminate the way for those people who have been aggressors against Poland in the past.

I am further convinced that the great United States can not rest in the security of its freedom so long as a nation like Poland suffers through its absence.

Of all the great issues involved in this war, the one most prominent in my mind is that complete freedom and the right of its own progress shall be restored in the fullest measure to the great nation of Poland and her people.

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### AMERICA PAYS TRIBUTE TO THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF POLAND'S CONSTITUTION

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am happy indeed to join with my colleagues today in paying tribute to one of the great nations of the world, Poland, in its celebration of its one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of its independence under its constitution. It will thus be seen that this great people in the Old World has for over a century and a half been plodding the same road with us in holding up to the world the torch of freedom. Through its long and eventful history this great nation has stood steadfastly in support of liberty and the freedom of its people to be the masters of themselves. It is true that through this long period of a century and a half the Polish people have been viciously attacked, overrun by invading hordes of neighboring countries, and their liberties taken from them, but never have they hesitated to stand adamant in defense of their freedom and their country.

We in America owe much to this staunch liberty-loving nation. Many of the citizens of America are sprung from Polish stock and the blood of America has been enriched by the virile liberty-

loving people of this great nation overseas.

Once again Poland is suffering under the heel of the invader. The great heart of America goes out to them in their hour of trial. I beseech you, my colleagues, to join with me in formulating a program that will ultimately result in restoring to Poland the liberty for which she has fought so many times and which she prizes so highly. When the smoke of the battles of this World War shall have cleared away and the representatives of the Allied Nations sit in victory around the peace table may we not hope that Poland will be restored to her full sovereign rights under her constitution, so that she may stand through the centuries that are to follow, fighting with her head erect for liberty not alone for her own people but for all the peoples of the world.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I include the following editorial appearing in the Washington Evening Star of today:

#### POLAND'S 3D OF MAY

Today is the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of one of the most extraordinary political innovations in history. On May 3, 1791, a great nation suddenly and bloodlessly transformed its entire political structure, undoing errors that had caused repeated national disasters and replacing an antiquated governmental structure with one which, even today, might be considered progressive and enlightened in character.

This amazing transformation was the constitution of the 3d of May. By it Poland freed itself of an antiquated constitutional system that had become unworkable and had reduced the most powerful state of eastern Europe in medieval times to impotence and semianarchy. This new constitution converted Poland into a hereditary limited monarchy, with ministerial responsibility and parliaments elected on a broad franchise. All invidious class distinctions were abolished, religious toleration was established, and every citizen was declared equal before the law. This forward-looking achievement was hailed by contemporary political students everywhere as a model of wisdom and moderation.

Unfortunately, it came too late. Poland's tragedy was that, in an age when the rest of continental Europe was tending toward centralized despotism, from the France of Louis XIV to the Russia of Peter the Great, Poland was becoming an easy-going, decentralized "republic" or "commonwealth" wherein the nobles and gentry held the purse-strings, dominated and wrangled in the legislature and reduced the executive to a cipher. This political impotence had led to repeated foreign aggressions, culminating in the first partition of 1772, whereby Poland's neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, each sliced off large portions of the country.

This grim warning inspired a patriotic revival and a series of reform measures which culminated in the constitution of 1791. Unhappily, the very measure of this success precipitated the ultimate catastrophe. The alarm of Poland's despotic neighbors at the prospect of a reformed and regenerated Poland was heightened by fear of the French revolution, which had already broken out. Quick action was decided on in Saint Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna to scotch the Polish danger and assure the garnering of the prospective spoils. So the new Poland was overwhelmed and the country itself disappeared from the map with two more partitions in the years 1793 and 1795, not to regain its independence until after World War No. 1.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SNYDER], may extend his own remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, today marks the occasion of the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, the first in continental Europe to recognize the political rights of the common people. The significance of the Polish Constitution is more impressive today than ever before. The fact that Poland subscribed to these democratic principles at that time, aroused the suspicions of her autocratic neighbors and for the time being the Polish people suffered hardships because of the principles embodied in their constitution.

We recall that in 1939 when these high principles were at stake Poland with the odds against her had the courage to disregard the prevailing policy of appeasement amongst other nations, and proclaimed to the world—"That above life itself she held dearer her honor as a nation."

History will record how Poland set an example for the United Nations later on to follow.

I have thousands of Polish families in my congressional district. I am proud to count them among my friends and companions. They bring honor to any community where they choose to live. Many of our outstanding lawyers, doctors, merchants, businessmen, bankers are Polish boys of the second or third generation in this country.

In checking up the volunteers that went to our armed services before Pearl Harbor, I find that in my congressional district, the Polish boys were among the top-ranking groups—that is, the percent of Polish boys that enlisted was very high. It is nothing unusual to find Polish families having, three, four, or five boys in the service.

I look forward to seeing a great Polish country taking its place among the nations of the earth once more and this time we hope she will not be disturbed for centuries to come.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Government of our Nation and our Constitution stands before the court of the nations of the world on this day which marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the constitution of Poland and says reverently and sincerely, "Poland, we salute you." Mindful of the tragic fate of millions of her people, conscious of our flaming fight for the resuscitation of the world ideal of freedom of individual pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness, proud of our friendship for the great nation of Pulaski, Kosciuszko, Paderewski, Madame Curie, and myriad others of Polish character and greatness, the American people suffer with Poland in her suffering, but

enjoy the same intractable, unbreakable will to drive from this earth forever the tyrannical monsters who, in September of 1939 with satanic power and inhuman destruction, drove across the Polish border singing their hymns of hate. Then, as today, America grieves with Poland.

America and Poland enjoy reciprocal faith in their national effort to regain for mankind the spirit of Christianity for which Poland has so grievously suffered and bled. The symbol of the Cross is the reality of her national crucifixion between the enemies of peace on earth. Humbly America accepts the privilege of sharing the burden of this war along sorrowful roadways to the glory of a world at peace when the fruition of American and Polish national hopes will be realized. Americans and Poles, stirred by the similarity of idealism, protesting Christian militant vengeance upon international murderers today as in the centuries past, join hands in solemn unison, to prevent world enslavement under tyranny and to release the bloody bands of crushing despots from the subjugated peoples of the world. May the God of Justice guide us as nations in our war for all humanity.

For 5 long years of the present global conflict Poland has been buffeted and bruised, plundered and pillaged, robbed and destroyed—but Poland has never lost face or spirit or heart. And once again she will arise from the ashes of enemy fires to that triumph which is only possible through the force of the fortitude and character of the brave people of Poland. Men and women of Poland may die as sacrifices to the grandeur of future peace, but the strength of the Polish national will to live, will print indelibly on the heart of the world, that her sacrifice were not in vain. Christianity with Polish help will conquer today and tomorrow hordes of barbarism whenever the gates of hell let loose such creatures of despotic death.

May 3, 1944, marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of Poland—her Independence Day. Previously I have spoken from this floor in commemoration of the anniversary of this day of days for the Polish people. Then as now tribute, eloquent and deserved, was paid the people of Poland, not only for their magnificent battles for their home and hopes, but for the immeasurable contribution men and women of Poland have bequeathed to the stability of the world and the greatness of America. Ever a brave, liberty and religious loving people, their influence in the industrial, financial and cultural development of our Nation has been an inspirational example for the men and women and children of America. The roaring guns pounding against Warsaw were answered in echo by American reverberations of sadness and sympathy for Poland. The heartstrings of our Nation were quickened by the courageous defense of that citadel into a determination irrefutable that Polish sovereignty as a free and independent nation among the nations of the world will be reestablished and maintained. The picture of the mechanized army of the Hun over-

riding the defenseless plains of that peace-loving country remain fresh in our minds and the unequal forces of destruction which override the quiet homeland of the Poles have left only the conviction in our hearts that the desecration of Poland shall be avenged. Perhaps, on previous occasion, when we have joined as we do today in this evidence of mutual respect and admiration for the country of Poland, a salutation from all Americans, irrespective of racial origin or religious convictions, we have overindulged in wishful thinking as to the time of the redemption of Poland. Tomorrow has ticked away by seconds into years. Our thoughts then were, however, as sincere and sure as our present-day knowledge that the hour of Polish deliverance is at hand.

America approaches invasion day with faith and courageous trepidation. We know that only the blood of our sons will wash the scourge of nazi-ism and totalitarianism and communism from this earth. We know also American blood will purify the peace—and in the purification the tired war-torn world will find rejuvenation and rest. Then will Poland and America again clasp fervent hands in the victorious consummation of the greatest human struggle of all time for the ideals which have their source in God Himself and in the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Poland which we honor in memory here today.

Tragically, the history of Poland reminds mankind of the ever-recurring destruction of the innocent when the forces of false gods array themselves against religion and a true philosophy of life. The wars, and repeated onslaughts which have razed and razed Poland, have taught the lesson of the futility of war as the mechanism for arbitration of international dispute or the means of satiating greed and rapacious desire for power. What more fervent prayer could pass human lip than the aspiration that mankind has learned the lesson—war does not pay. Poland today, her colleges and schools in shambles, her churches in ruins, her literature and her music but sweet memory of yesterday, stands as a preeminent example of the cruelty of force and the barbarism of war. May the mind of America comprehend the teaching of this holocaust and the will of America be strengthened never to weaken that it may never happen again.

Down through the ages, men of Poland and America have struggled for the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the individual to live in peace with his neighbor. Governments of both Nations were conceived as the instrumentalities through which happiness by common effort might be victorious over misery and suffering. Poland and America have recognized the sacredness of the individual and have sought to live under a system of life by consent of the living. Tyranny, even benevolent, has been shunned. Faith in man has woven its national imprint into Polish and American character. Poland and America believe in men and women. Upon this belief rests free government, the prime objective of the hopes of mankind in their

continuing struggle for happiness. Poland has recognized this principle of life of freemen, and in her sorrowing way has developed nobility and dynamic zeal for good. Poland has recognized that the preservation of individual liberty is the price of social security. Poland has never forgotten God.

America is fighting to the death for the very ideals which have made Poland great, and having learned from Poland the basic causes of her greatness as a nation, America today, when liberty in Poland is nonexistent and freedom from slavery, a mockery, pledges Poland the reburnishing of her national shield to shine again in the sunlight of international amity. The day approaches when Poland and America will be together once more in a victory of justice under God, where children will live and laugh and parents be sure and proud of the sanctity of home, the foundation of society.

Poland, we salute you.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members so desiring may extend their own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DINGELL). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. WASIELEWSKI]?

There was no objection.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the fact that we have devoted 2 hours of this day, when the tax bill is to be taken up by the House, should demonstrate to the country and to the world the high regard in which the Congress of the United States holds the Polish people, not only those in our own midst but also those who live in their native land and who are now undergoing all of the vicissitudes incident to a barbaric war.

Grave problems will confront the Polish people and in their hour of travail we must remember that the brave Poles under John Sobreski saved Christendom at Vienna, and later gave to us some of her bravest sons when we were fighting with our backs to the wall against British tyranny.

Minnesota is proud of her sons and daughters of Polish origin. They are a fine industrious, thrifty and God-fearing people who have contributed greatly to the development of our great State and country.

Americans of all religious and political beliefs are determined that in the peace that is to be written Poland will not be sacrificed to international greed and cupidity. Poland is our friend and we must be her friend in her hour of despair.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] such time as he may desire.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, the year 1791 was historic. George Washington was giving direction to the affairs of this Nation. The Second Congress under our own Constitution was patiently laboring to give subsistence and sound pattern to our own Government. Notable men sat

in that Congress. In the Senate one found James Monroe, Aaron Burr, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, and men of like stature who were devoting themselves to the great experience in human freedom.

In this body there served such men as Jonathan Trumbull, Abraham Baldwin, William Pinckney, Fisher Ames, Frederick Muhlenberg, and James Madison.

That year was historic in another sense. It was the year in which the Bill of Rights became a part of our Constitution. That constituted a testament of freedom and a salute to the robustness and virility of the people of a young Nation who set such high store on the meaning of freedom and representative government. It was a historic year for still another reason. It was the year in which Poland launched its constitution. Today we observe the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of that event.

For more than a century and a half that great yet humble country has undergone the pain and tragedy of partition, dismemberment, and invasion.

There is, however, a quality of the spirit that can resist all the shocks of time. The spirit of Poland could not be dismembered. The spiritual virility of its people could not be destroyed. The traditions of the Polish people could not be partitioned. Their determination in the cause of freedom could not be dimmed or diminished.

That great spirit has persisted from then until now. It is as fresh and vital in 1944 as it was in 1791. It is this vital spirit which is the foundation of greatness, the cohesive force of freedom and the light of assurance to freemen everywhere.

How timely and inspiring that today we join in the fellowship of Polish patriots in all corners of the earth as the commemorate of the day that will yet mark their independence and cause the sunlight of the new freedom to shine upon them.

Mr. WILLEY. Mr. Speaker, a period is being used today in the House of Representatives in commemoration of an event of historic importance that occurred 153 years ago. So important was the event to those immediately involved that it is celebrated year after year in various nations of the world where the Polish people and their ancestors have emigrated to establish new homes.

That millions of Polish descent consider this day to be the national holiday of their mother country, and that they continue to honor it by appropriate observances here and elsewhere, is most remarkable. For Poland existed as an independent state under its constitution of May 3, 1791, only 4 years, after which it ceased to exist as such. Then for 123 years the Polish people were under the rule of others. Not until 1921, after the First World War, did Poland rise again under a constitution of her own choice. Then, after an independent existence of about 18 years, she was again invaded and overwhelmed by the forces of neighboring countries.

These facts emphasize the lesson which the Polish people have impressed upon the liberty-loving nations of the

earth. Only the unquenchable spirit of liberty and the desire for freedom that a century of foreign domination could not take away, can explain the exercises of this day and the significance of the third of May to the Polish people everywhere.

If history in appraising the past has correctly informed us that we are indebted to ancient Rome for our law; to ancient Greece for much of our culture, and to early Palestine for our religion, is it too much to assert that we are indebted to the people of Polish blood for an example of fidelity to the principles of government under a written constitution that remains unparalleled in all the annals of mankind? Were there no other contributions that could be mentioned, if Polish blood had been spilled in no other worthy cause, this alone would entitle Poland to our everlasting gratitude and praise.

But this contribution, significant as it is, by no means stands alone. The history of many countries including our own contains the names of Polish patriots who participated in the struggles for liberty. In our own cause, Polish talents were expended and Polish blood was shed.

We must not forget that first day of September in 1939 when the Hitler forces attacked their Polish neighbor without any declaration of war. We must not forget the overwhelming power that was hurled against a liberty-loving people that desired to live in peace with their neighbors. That people treasured so greatly the independent existence which they had so briefly enjoyed that they were unwilling to surrender it without a struggle even when resistance seemed hopeless.

When we consider this brave people, let us not forget the tragic price that has been paid for their resistance. It is not pleasant to read about the loss of possessions; the separation and deportation of families and the cruel murder of millions of defenseless people. The world will recoil in horror at the recital when it can be fully told. Nor must we forget the valuable time for preparation that was allowed to the present Allied Nations by the resistance of Poland.

There are features so tragic in the history of the Polish people that we marvel at their continued devotion to the ideals and beliefs expressed in their constitution of 1791. Four times their country was partitioned by conquering and neighboring nations. Four times were the boundaries changed and the inhabitants placed under the domination of different rulers and peoples. And now after the crowning tragedy when the country had begun to function again under a constitution, after the murder and deportation of many of its people, it continues to resist and continues to cherish the hope of liberty and independent existence.

It is difficult to imagine a parallel case in modern history. It is difficult to point to a nation with a history more tragic and it is difficult to find a people who are fighting the enemy more desperately from day to day in this present conflict. Poles are fighting on many fronts of this war. They are fearless sailors and

intrepid fighters in the air. They are on foot with the infantry and on horse with the cavalry. Everywhere they make their presence known—spurred to deeds of valor by their love of country and by burning hatred of a foe that has shown no mercy to their kinsmen and that has despoiled their homeland of its products and its treasures.

With their tradition of liberty, it is not strange that the Poles who have come to our country have become owners of property, believers in stability, and staunch upholders of our Federal Constitution. These attributes can be observed among the Polish population of Delaware, where almost their first objective is the ownership of a home. Once acquired, their homes are maintained with great care and pride.

Our own Constitution is the great unifying force in our country today. It will live only as long as it has popular support. May our devotion to its principles be as constant and unyielding as the shining example which the Polish people have shown to us and to the world.

Mr. VCORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I cannot let this occasion pass without paying my tribute to the Polish Nation and the Polish people. If any nation has been tried in the fire of suffering and found true that nation is Poland. Her people were the first to feel the Nazi scourge; and probably the Nazi heel has been heavier upon Poland than upon any other part of Europe. The extent of her suffering therefore should be the measure of the honor which we pay to the Polish Nation on this anniversary of the formation of her constitution on May 3, 1791. May Poland's day of deliverance come soon, and may the deep religious spirit of her people, the co-operatives which have been formed among the people to meet their economic needs, and the stalwart nationhood which has held the Polish people together through the trials of the centuries be the means of building for the future of her children a happier Poland than the past has ever seen.

#### THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

Mr. LEONARD W. HALL. Mr. Speaker, it is peculiarly appropriate that we express, today, our admiration for the Polish people, and that we renew our expressions of sympathy and understanding for those of that great race who are today—but only today, as time runs—under the heel of the German invader.

Today is celebrated the occasion of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, adopted but a few years after our own. May 3, 1791, was a great day for the Poles, as it always will be. The Polish Constitution was a charter of freedom, of liberty. While physical liberty is today submerged in Poland, this is but of temporary moment. But the Polish Constitution, its vital spirit, lives, and Poles, everywhere are strengthened and invigorated in the hope, the certainty, rather, that under a free and independent Poland they will carry forward their great record of accomplishment.

I want to take this occasion to pay homage to Poland, to pay tribute to her great people. Let them be brave, for they

will emerge from their present oppression and again take a great part in the family of nations.

And it is appropriate, I think, that I bring to the notice of the Members of the House the proclamation by Governor Dewey, of New York, on the commemoration of May 3 as a great day in Polish history. It is as follows:

For almost 6 years the people of Poland have suffered an appalling martyrdom under the heel of the Nazis. When their country was invaded they resisted against overwhelming odds with a valor which has compelled the admiration and respect of the entire civilized world.

As part of the United Nations the fighting men of Poland have fought with their traditional bravery and military skill in the same cause as the armed forces of the United States. On the home front men and women of Polish origin are working hard and making great sacrifices to support the war effort of our country.

On May 3 the Polish people will commemorate a notable event in their history—the adoption of a liberal constitution in 1791. In consideration of all these facts it is fitting that we should join our fellow Americans of Polish blood in doing honor to the great traditions of the people of Poland.

Now, therefore, I, Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, hereby proclaim May 3 as Poland Day, and I urge all the citizens of New York State to display the flag of Poland side by side with our own national emblem to show our sympathy and comradeship.

Given under my hand and the privy seal of the State at the capitol, in the city of Albany, this 14th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1944.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

PAUL E. LOCKWOOD,  
Secretary to the Governor.

Mr. RAMEY. Mr. Speaker, May 3, 1944, marks the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the adoption of one of the immortal and imperishable documents of all history; it was on May 3, 1791, that the Polish Constitution was signed, and thus became the first written democratic constitution to be adopted by a European nation, in that it recognized the fundamental and basic principle of democracy that "all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." The Polish Constitution expressed a guaranty of freedom of religion and provided for a division of authority among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, thus paralleling the Constitution of the United States, which had come into being less than 3 years prior to the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

Sorrowfully, history records that no expression of a freedom-loving people has ever been subjected to more severe and cruel tests than has this great Polish document, which through a period of 153 years of trial, frustration, and defeat still glows like a torch aflame in the long, dark night of oppression and heart-breaking disappointment, ever a challenge to its enemies, whose most vicious and demoniacal efforts have failed to extinguish it, and always an inspiration to the brave and indomitable people of Poland, who for generations have clung to it, ever hopeful of realizing its objectives and enjoying its blessings.

The spirit of Polish freedom can neither be conquered nor partitioned out

of existence—over and over again have Poland's enemies learned that unspeakable suffering, cruel and horrible atrocities, or sustained and crushing defeat cannot break the brave and determined will of a freedom-loving people—Poland today, true to her great traditions, fights on toward freedom.

Again in 1939 Poland made her choice on the side of freedom—while other nations submitted without resistance to the conquest of Hitler and the march of the Nazi hordes over Europe, no Quislings were found in Poland; instead her brave people chose to be the first to stand up and fight against the impact of the mechanized military Nazi machine—the first to engage it in battle, courageously sacrificing the blood of its people against hopeless military odds but definitely placing the initial obstacle in the path of the Nazi iron military monster and thus forcing the altering of the ambitious cut and dried plans of Hitler and his gangsters for a territorial grab without resistance or sacrifice of German blood. Poland's losses were appalling, her sufferings immeasurable, the Nation lay in ruins—Poland was partitioned again—but Poland's sons are still fighting inside and outside of Poland. Her Navy continued in the struggle, and today actively fighting in the ground and air forces of the United Nations are Poland's sons, while in all of German occupied Europe there is no more effective underground operating against the enemy than that of Poland.

Mr. Speaker, Poland has won her place at the peace table; if there is to be a just and lasting world peace the claims, objectives, and aspirations of Poland must be recognized. World peace plans must contain not only a guaranty of the freedom and integrity of Poland as an independent nation but, because of her geographical position, a perpetual shield of active and effective protection against the future aggression of her rights or the invasion of her territory.

We as Americans, having achieved the blessings of independence, liberty, and freedom, thoroughly understand and appreciate the aims of Poland. As Americans we salute the Polish people.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX BILL OF 1944

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 524, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4646) to provide for simplification of the

individual income tax, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed 2 days, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill shall be considered as having been read for amendment. No amendment shall be in order to said bill except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and said amendments shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding. Amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means may be offered to any section of the bill at the conclusion of the general debate, but such amendments shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto for final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, later on I shall yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN].

This rule makes in order H. R. 4646, which is a bill to simplify income-tax returns, and is, I believe, favored by all. The rule provides for 2 days' general debate, to be confined to the bill, committee amendments only, and, after debate shall have been concluded, the bill will be taken up under the 5-minute rule. In other words, this is exactly the kind of rule under which the last tax bill came to the floor. The proposed legislation when enacted will accomplish these objectives:

First. To relieve the great majority of taxpayers from the necessity of computing their income tax.

Second. To reduce the number of tax computations.

Third. To simplify the return form.

Fourth. To decrease the number of persons required to file declarations of estimated tax.

Fifth. To eliminate some of the difficulties and uncertainties in the making of estimates required for declarations.

It is a closed rule. The Committee on Rules, including myself, has been against closed rules, but in this instance we have before us a bill that I am pleased to say has been unanimously reported by the great Ways and Means Committee, which is something, indeed, unusual; moreover, we all know from painful experience that it is impossible to consider a tax bill under a rule that permits other than committee amendments. Consequently I feel that after mature deliberation by the legislative committee this must be a sound bill, especially in view of the fact that not a single member of that committee has objected to any of its provisions and we have, for the first time that I recall, a unanimous report from the Committee on Ways and Means on a tax bill.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. REES of Kansas. The gentleman speaks about the question of a closed rule. Has it not been the habit and the custom of this great committee, to which

the gentleman refers, to bring in closed rules on its bills?

Mr. SABATH. No; the gentleman is mistaken, with the exception of tax bills.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I say, on tax bills.

Mr. SABATH. Yes. The Committee on Rules, after hearing the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the ranking majority member of that committee, and minority members of that committee, including Mr. KNUTSON, came to the conclusion that it could not do other than bring in a closed rule. One Member—the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]—spoke before our committee against a closed rule. All members of the legislative committee heard by the Committee on Rules joined in a request for a closed rule. Generally, I do not favor closed rules, but in considering a tax bill that is the only rule that is workable. We older Members have, with pain and dissatisfaction, witnessed unsuccessful efforts to write a tax bill on the floor of the House. Such a bill, if subjected to amendments, other than those of the committee, would conflict and injuriously affect the general revenue code. After hearing committee witnesses and reading the splendid committee report I unhesitatingly came to the conclusion that no Member, without having been present in the deliberations of the Committee on Ways and Means, would be in a position to improve and make this a better bill.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Were there open hearings held on this bill so that Members could appear in open session and be heard? I understand that these hearings were in executive session. Am I correct in that?

Mr. SABATH. There was no objection to that procedure by the minority members of that committee. I know some of these gentlemen who are members of the Committee on Ways and Means, especially the ranking member of the minority, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON], and I know that he would be the very first one who would object to any bill unless he was satisfied that it deserved the favorable consideration and the vote of the membership of the House; and he joined with the majority in the request for a closed rule. We do not hear any complaint by any member of the legislative committee. That is very convincing with me.

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Does not the gentleman from Illinois think that the last tax bill the House considered could have been improved had the House been able to amend it?

Mr. SABATH. I doubt it very much. It has been my experience during all the years I have served here that it is impossible to write a satisfactory tax bill on the floor of the House. We have created these committees, and the members of them are supposed to be experts and give due consideration to all relevant factors and to the requests of all interested in proposed legislation. I feel that a

Member who was not present at the committee deliberations and did not have the benefit of the information that came to that committee, despite the fact that he is sincere and honest in believing that some changes should properly be made in the bill, would not be in a better position than that great committee, composed of so many outstanding Members of the House, to know what should be carried in the bill.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. It might be proper at this point to call attention to the fact that we had no request for hearings on this bill. The demand for simplification was so great that we thought the committee was justified in going ahead and working with its various staffs the Internal Revenue, the Treasury, and its own staff, to bring out a bill that really would simplify the tax structure and would be generally agreeable to the country.

Answering the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'BRIEN], he was not here back in 1933, I think, when his party took control of the House—or was it earlier?

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman is referring to the 1932 act, I believe.

Mr. KNUTSON. The 1932 act; yes. Then the majority, the party that had just come into control, had been denouncing the gag rules of the Republicans so long that they felt the only thing they could do was to bring the revenue bill into the House under an open rule. The House proceeded to rewrite the bill, and it was necessary to send the bill back to the committee. From that time on, the gentleman's own party has embraced the doctrine that gag rules are necessary in the consideration of revenue bills.

Mr. SABATH. As I have stated, this rule gives the Committee on Ways and Means the right to offer any amendment. I presume any gentleman who is familiar with the bill and who might have in mind that the bill should be changed or improved in some way, has a right to take it up with the committee, and that committee, as in the past, will be ready to accord the gentleman a hearing and, if they find his proposal is meritorious, will no doubt offer an amendment to cure a defect in the bill, if such there be.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. McLEAN. I see that the resolution provides that general debate shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed 2 days. Can the gentleman give me the definition of the Committee on Rules as to what constitutes a day?

Mr. SABATH. The entire legislative day. I know what the gentleman has in mind. I presume he has in mind that we have taken up 2 hours today under a special order of the House.

Mr. McLEAN. Two hours and a half.

Mr. SABATH. I understand that in case demand is made for additional debate of 2 hours the Committee on Ways and Means will ask for an additional 2

hours after the 2 days have been consumed by debate. However, there is not very much demand for time because this is a unanimous committee report.

Mr. McLEAN. May I ask the chairman of the committee if that is a correct statement?

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. I understand from the chairman that he has received very few requests for time up to now. Several members of the committee have indicated they would be glad to speak in explanation of the bill, but he has received very few requests for time in general debate.

Mr. SABATH. Everybody will receive as much time as he desires, as I understand.

Mr. McLEAN. The statement of the gentleman from Tennessee hardly answers my inquiry. It is this: If there is a demand for time, indicating that it will be necessary to carry the debate over to allow for the 2 hours and 30 minutes that have been used today, will it be agreeable to the managers of the bill to do so?

Mr. COOPER. I feel sure that I can speak for the members of the committee on this side, including our distinguished chairman, by saying that if there are sufficient requests for time to require more than the balance of this day and tomorrow, a request will be made to extend the general debate for a reasonable time on Friday to make up for the time that was taken up under the special order today. I understand that that would be agreeable to the leadership of the House.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. DOUGHTON. We first discussed with the leadership of the House as to when we would bring up this bill and the amount of time that would probably be required for general debate. As far as I know, it was not known to me or to the members of the committee generally that the special order set for today would take up 2 hours. It was supposed we would have 2 full days for debate. As chairman of the committee, however, I may say that if more time is needed in addition to tomorrow, although very few requests for time have been made so far, and I have received practically none, I shall be glad to cooperate and do everything I can to extend the time so that each Member may have an opportunity to speak on the bill.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. I notice what the gentleman said about being sure that if someone had a proposal in reference to this bill the committee would hear him. Is it not true that this bill was reported out of the Committee on Ways and Means without any public hearings?

Mr. SABATH. That has already been answered. No requests to be heard were

received by the committee, as I understand. The legislative committee thoroughly heard the Treasury representatives and the representatives of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. There was perfect harmony in framing this bill. In view of the fact that the minority, which looks after the interests of all Members on its side, has unanimously agreed on this bill, I am satisfied that it had the best interests of the country at heart, the same as did the majority Members when they reported this bill.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COOPER].

Mr. COOPER. There were no requests for any public hearings on this bill, as far as I understand, and I have been informed that no requests were received for anybody to be heard. There was a universal and overwhelming sentiment throughout the country for simplification of income taxes. That is all this bill deals with. I cannot conceive that anybody would be opposed to the simplification of income taxes, and that is all that is involved in this bill.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. We are not discussing the bill at this time, as I understand. The only point that is before the Congress is, Shall we take up this tax bill under the rule. Apparently the only controversial thing at the moment, at least, is the question of time. As stated by its chairman, the Committee on Rules gave all the time, and more, that was asked for by the Committee on Ways and Means. The Committee on Ways and Means assures the House at this time that if additional time other than provided for in the rule is asked for by the Members, it will insist upon that additional time. Under those circumstances why can we not proceed?

Mr. SABATH. That is my opinion. I have explained that, but not as thoroughly as has the gentleman from Michigan. I agree with his statement. There is actually no opposition to the bill, because, as the gentleman from Tennessee stated, it is a simplification of the income-tax returns which the entire Nation demands. I myself on the floor of this House some 5 or 6 weeks ago urged the Committee on Ways and Means to grant such relief to our taxpayers. I am very much pleased with the bill that they have brought in so promptly in answer to the need and want of the Nation. In this case, the legislative committee maintained its enviable reputation for wisdom, speed, and accuracy.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DOUGHTON. It has been generally understood that there has been such a Nation-wide demand for simplification of individual income tax that nobody would doubt but what the committee would have given every opportunity to be heard if anybody wanted to be heard.

We did not have a single request of any sort that the chairman knows anything about, to have open hearings or for any one to be heard on the subject. The work was to such a large extent technical and the work had to be done by assiduous study by the committee with its staff of experts. There was no demand and no justification that we saw to have open hearings. Of course, if there had been any request or any justification, there would have been open hearings, or if we had been called upon to conduct a public hearing we would have done so if there had been any demand or any reason for it.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman for the explanation. I wish to say, in conclusion, if every Member could read the splendid report of the committee, I know he would come to the ready conclusion that the committee deserves a vote of confidence and the thanks of the House for the splendid manner in which it has handled this imperative, intricate subject.

Mr. Speaker, the provisions of the bill and the changes in the existing law will be intelligently explained by the chairman and the members representing the minority of the Ways and Means Committee. Only one request came to me for an open rule which was from a philanthropic organization, representing religious, educational, charitable, and other agencies. The organization suggested an amendment to the bill which would provide for larger exemptions for religious and charitable institutions. Accompanying their letter request was a chart comparing the increase in the taxes on corporations and businesses in general but, unfortunately, contributions to these religious, charitable, and educational institutions have not increased. However, I feel that relief for these institutions has been provided in the bill because the tax exemption will be on the gross instead of net incomes.

Surely we are all in accord in rendering aid to education, religious, and charitable institutions. There is not one among us that can deny the benefits that will ensue to mankind in teaching justice, humanity, and charity which all, regardless of denominational affiliations, teach brotherly love. If there was ever a time for this profoundest of teachings, it is the present, and while the representatives of these institutions may not have obtained all that they have sought, I think in view of conditions the Committee on Ways and Means has liberalized, as I have stated before, the deductions permissible for those deserving and noble purposes.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROWE. I understand that by the broadening of the privilege of deducting for religious and charitable institutions you can combine both in the normal and in the surtax where before you only got it in the net-income tax.

Mr. SABATH. Yes; it was on the net income. This is on gross income which might be double the amount that they were receiving or people were credited

with on the donations for charitable purposes. Of course, in the appeal which was sent to me, and perhaps to others, it was pointed out that the incomes of the American people, including corporations, have increased tremendously in the last 10 years. Naturally, I could not deny it. That is a patent fact. The country is prosperous and nearly everyone's income has been increased. Profits for the corporations have increased.

With this provision in the bill it will be possible for all well-intentioned, public-spirited persons to contribute more liberally than they have heretofore. I hope that such will be done.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK. Am I to understand, then, from what has just been said, that the measure which this rule makes in order does not materially take from or add to the total tax collected, but merely applies to the manner of making income-tax returns?

Mr. SABATH. That is about all; and it simplifies and eliminates unnecessary complications in reporting. There is a change in manner of allowing exemptions for dependents. The per capita exemption is uniformly \$500, which favors those of large families. It would, though, militate against a man and wife without children in that it would make their exemption \$1,000 instead of \$1,200, as at present. This is covered at the bottom of page 1 of the committee report. The only ones who would be injuriously affected by the simplified returns are accountants and tax lawyers. This act will simplify income-tax reporting and the small taxpayers will not be obliged to employ professional help to make tax returns. So the bill is really a splendid one and deserves the support of everybody.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EBERHARTER. I thank the gentleman for yielding. In justice to the auditors and attorneys of the country and the accountants, I want to say that as far as I know all of these groups, I believe, were very much in favor of simplification of the tax structure. So I would not want the gentleman's statement to the effect that auditors may complain about the simplification of the tax structure to stand unchallenged in the record. I think all the accountants would agree to that.

Mr. SABATH. We have many honest accountants and tax attorneys. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Which is a good thing.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. ROWE. I believe the gentleman qualified his position by saying, "If there would be any who would object it would be they."

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include a memorandum from the International Association of Milk Dealers.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN].

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, when history is properly recorded I am certain that no committee of either body will rank higher than the faithful Committee on Ways and Means. Without question, the great majority of the citizens of the United States appreciate the ability, earnestness and courage of its entire membership. All of us are aware of the long and faithful hours of work that the members of this committee give in order to lessen as much as possible the burdens of the taxpayers of our Nation. In my opinion, and I am certain that all agree with me, few have ever served in this body who have ranked in ability, perseverance and trustworthiness with the able Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, our respected and revered colleague from North Carolina, ROBERT L. DOUGHTON.

Like all of you, I have received hundreds of letters urging the adoption of legislation designed to make more simple our tax structure. In my opinion H. R. 4646 will do a great deal toward this accomplishment.

H. R. 4646 has been unanimously reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. It has the approval of the Treasury Department as well as the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The Rules Committee reports it unanimously. The rule is the usual one providing for 2 days of general debate.

This bill is confined to the simplification of the individual income tax. It has the following objectives:

First. To relieve the great majority of taxpayers from the necessity of computing their income tax.

Second. To reduce the number of tax computations.

Third. To simplify the tax-return form.

Fourth. To decrease the number of persons required to file declarations of estimated tax.

Fifth. To eliminate some of the difficulties and uncertainties in the making of estimates required for declarations.

I feel this bill is most deserving and should unanimously pass this body.

I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES].

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, this bill brought to the floor by the great Ways and Means Committee of the House is designed to simplify income tax returns. Of course, the House is in favor of such legislation. We ought to have it. The American taxpayers demand it. There was no occasion as I see it for the complicated, intricate tax reports that have been required.

Mr. Speaker, it would have been reasonable and fair to the Members of the

House and to people generally for the committee to have permitted open hearings on this legislation. After all, if it is sound legislation there should not be anything so sacred about it but that it could be subjected to open discussion. As a matter of fact only recently I asked on the floor of this House that such hearings be granted.

Mr. Speaker, I have every confidence in the membership of this great committee, but I do call attention to the fact that the Ways and Means Committee of the House has asked that this bill be brought to the floor under what is known as a "gag rule." No Member under this rule is permitted to offer an amendment even if he wants to do so. I hardly think this is fair. Of course the members of the committee tell us that since this is a bill just to simplify tax returns there should be no necessity and no time for offering amendments.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to be fair about this proposition, but I do call your attention to the fact that this House has heretofore followed the advice of the Ways and Means Committee with respect to various tax bills that have been submitted in the past few years. Those bills were brought in under "gag" rules, and we were placed in the position of voting them either up or down—no chance to offer amendments, so we voted for those measures because, of course, it was necessary that we raise the funds so much needed for carrying on the prosecution of the war and for the expenses of our Government.

Mr. Speaker, I am not complaining about the raising of taxes, but, after all, the complicated tax bills we have heretofore voted through the House, and which were so highly recommended, came to the floor under "gag" rules I have mentioned. They are the measures that got us into a lot of difficulty and required the use of confusing and complicated tax reports that baffled efficient lawyers and tax experts. In considering these tax bills the House has sort of followed the Ways and Means Committee up the hill, and now we seem to be following the committee down again. Taxpayers have had about all they could do to take care of their business and to carry on their ordinary affairs without being confused and confounded with unnecessary complicated reports. Then to make matters even more inconvenient many of our taxpayers are required to make returns not just once a year but additional estimates three or four times a year.

Mr. Speaker, no one doubts the necessity of giving taxpayers a chance to pay taxes assessed against them without being harassed and without a lot of unnecessary, complicated reports. But, Mr. Speaker, if we are going to simplify returns, why wait for a year? Let us begin now.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES of Kansas. I yield to the distinguished Member from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I wonder if the trouble has not been in these other bills that got us into so much trouble,

the committee was following formulas laid down by the Treasury Department, and this time the Ways and Means Committee perhaps has written its own bill.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Very likely that is correct, but if they saw fit to follow those formulas which were sent down by some agency and brought that before the House, and we went along, that is our responsibility. I appreciate that. The thing to which I am calling attention is that we did follow the Ways and Means Committee through all these complications I have mentioned. Now they tell us they have brought in a measure to simplify those things. Well and good. But there ought not to be anything so sacred about this but what the public could be heard if they so desired. If the Ways and Means Committee ever suggested a willingness for the public to be heard on this measure, I never heard of it. The committee held executive sessions a great deal of the time during the past 3 months, but invited only witnesses they wanted. Newspaper reporters were not even permitted to attend the hearings. If it were a measure that should be highly confidential, that would be different. But this is one subject in which the public is most deeply interested and entitled to be heard.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON].

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, it is true, as the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] has stated, that no public hearings were held on this particular measure. However, I think the RECORD should show at this point that the committee as a whole and the individual members received scores of letters from tax accountants, tax lawyers, and other people who are highly versed in tax questions, all of them making helpful suggestions. A number of these suggestions were incorporated in the measure that has been presented to the House. I, for one, feel sure that we could not have accomplished anything more in the way of simplification if we had held public hearings from this time until Christmas.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield to my good friend.

Mr. JENKINS. I think it might be well if the gentleman would acquaint the membership with this fact, that outside of the tax experts, these certified public accountants are probably more interested in tax legislation than any other group of people. A special effort was made to contact their national organizations and they did send a representative to meet with the experts who worked with this committee on several occasions. They had every opportunity to present their views with reference to this most important matter.

Mr. KNUTSON. Yes. In the preparation of this measure the committee had the help of the best minds of the country and I think their contributions are reflected in the measure before us, which is easily a milestone in American taxation, or legislation affecting taxation.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. I yield.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I appreciate the gentleman's statement about having the best minds in the preparation of this particular measure, but, did not the gentleman's committee have what was considered the best minds in preparing the other measures which they presented last year and the year before that?

Mr. KNUTSON. Oh, the gentleman knows that in the past 12 years we have had 17 tax bills. We have had to slap one on top of the other until the whole structure resembled a stack of buckwheat cakes. There has not been any time to work on simplification. As soon as we got through with one bill we started working on another revenue measure.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this bill will pass the House. It contains some features that are commendable. I think, in fact I know, that that group of complainants who represent a number of religious, educational, and charitable institutions are not satisfied with this bill. It cannot be said that there were any public hearings with reference to this bill. It is true that representatives of some of our churches, colleges, and other organizations made a request of the Ways and Means Committee for an opportunity to be heard. It is true that request was denied. I am not here to challenge any committee on what they think should be done. However, it is not a true statement to say that there was no demand on the part of anyone to be heard with reference to this bill. There was a demand for public hearings and it was denied. As a matter of fact, those institutions depending upon contributions will be worse off under this bill than they are at the present time.

The references that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] made to the bill in reference to contributions does not affect the point involved. The objection is that the individual who gives a substantial sum from his wages to religion and charity has the same amount withheld from his wages as the individual who gives nothing. The objection of the churches, colleges, hospitals, and orphanages under this bill is that everybody, regardless of whether they give a nickel, is entitled to a blanket deduction. That has not been taken care of in this bill and those people were denied a hearing before the committee.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. JENKINS. I should like to say to the gentleman that what he has told the House is absolutely true. It is very important. I want him to carry back to those he has so ably represented this assurance, that the committee did give this matter very serious consideration. They presented the same proposition the gentleman presents here now. It was not

included, for after it was all balanced up and we had the advice of the experts—

Mr. CURTIS. If I may interrupt, let me say that no one appeared before the gentleman's committee in regard to that, but they did make a request.

Mr. JENKINS. Just a minute. Several people came before the committee, I mean of the experts who gave careful consideration to the gentleman's proposition; and I want the gentleman to feel that his organization regardless of what he might think about it because he might not know all the facts and the groups he speaks for—that their case was ably presented by members of the committee who felt as he does about the matter, but when it was weighed up, when it was balanced out in the minds of the members and those who must make this thing work, it was deemed best not to do it at this time. That does not mean they have been precluded, that the door has been shut against them, and it does not mean that the subject has been resolved against them at all.

Mr. CURTIS. But here is what it does mean, it means that after these people made their requests and these so-called experts appeared in opposition to it, the Council on Taxes and Philanthropy asked that there might be a public hearing where they might hear what the experts had to say and make an answer to the experts. This was denied by the committee.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Nebraska 2 additional minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. I do not stand here representing any charitable institution or any colleges, or any charitable group, or anyone else. I am speaking in my own right.

I submit this is a public matter. I feel that whenever we suggest a tax structure that works against the interest of those splendid institutions we have hurt the United States. The minute we cripple these institutions we invite a Federal subsidy to every college, every orphanage, and every other institution of that nature, and we have then started on the road toward totalitarianism. My complaint against the committee is that they did not bring their experts into a public hearing to state their objections openly and permit those objections to be answered.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Certainly the gentleman does not take the position that he and his associates have not been heard.

I recall the gentleman came before our committee with some associates.

Mr. CURTIS. I was not before the gentleman's committee on this bill.

Mr. KNUTSON. We gave the gentleman all the time he wanted. The personnel of the committee has not changed, with one or two exceptions. The gentleman, therefore, would have talked to the same people that he talked to last summer.

Mr. CURTIS. We did not get before the committee in reference to this bill.

Mr. KNUTSON. The gentleman got before the committee when we had the preceding bill up for consideration.

Mr. CURTIS. At that time there was no movement under way to fix it so that 30,000,000 taxpayers would not file a return; there was no movement under way at that time to grant a blanket deduction to everyone. This proposition has never been heard by the committee in connection with the pending bill in open hearings.

Last year we were told that the relief sought should be in connection with an administrative bill, not a revenue bill.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has again expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, the bill that will come before us upon the adoption of this rule is not only popular with the members of our committee who have unanimously endorsed it and recommended it; it is not only popular with the Members of the House with whom I have discussed it—with the exception of the gentleman from Nebraska who has just spoken—but this bill is going to be popular with the taxpayers of the Nation because it gives relief where relief is needed.

The only phase of the bill that apparently is misunderstood is that section of the bill permitting the 10 percent automatic deduction for those who may wish to avail themselves of that in lieu of enumerating the deductions for charity, interest, taxes, and so forth, as permitted by general law. There are some who think we have repealed the provisions of present law which authorize deductions for charity running up to 15 percent. We have not done so. Any man who gives up to 15 percent of his income and is willing to enumerate his gifts as required by present law can get that deduction from his adjusted gross income.

When we had the previous bill up and were proposing to give in the interest in simplification a 6 percent automatic deduction in lieu of the enumerated deductions for charities and otherwise, there was some opposition at that time to that proposition, and it is my recollection that the gentleman from Nebraska and others who thought as he did were heard before our committee on the point. This year notwithstanding the records of the Bureau of Internal Revenue indicated that the average of gifts to charity was 2½ percent, we provided an automatic deduction for those who wished to take it of 10 percent.

To our great surprise, we heard from the gentleman from Nebraska and from a large group throughout the Nation that we were planning to do something that would greatly handicap gifts to charities; so after we had voted to make it 10 percent for those who wished to file that type of return we then voted to open the subject again, and the gentleman from Nebraska and the group for whom he was speaking were given four separate hearings by the joint group of our experts. Each member of the committee got dozens of letters. I reckon I

had several hundred. I do not know why they picked on me so, but word got out over the country in some way or other that I was the chief malefactor or something; anyway they singled me out for special attention and I got a lot of letters, all of which I read. We could not do what we were asked to do and still do the job of simplification that was needed. We knew it, our experts knew it, and those advocating no automatic deduction knew it but they said it was better, more to the public interest, not to simplify than to have an automatic deduction which might—and I yet do not see how—but which might curtail gifts to charities.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON. I have only 5 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. But the gentleman referred to me several times.

Mr. ROBERTSON. That is right; I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I am objecting to the principle of the thing, not the amount of the flat deduction.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Did not the gentleman appear before the Rules Committee and say that 10 percent was too much?

Mr. CURTIS. I do not recall that I did.

Mr. ROBERTSON. The papers quoted the gentleman as saying that it was an outrageous amount.

Mr. CURTIS. I object to a blanket deduction at all. That is not the way to handle it; as between two taxpayers it is unfair.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Virginia.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. ROBERTSON. We gave every consideration to the viewpoint of the gentleman from Nebraska and to those who thought as he did, but we found it absolutely impossible to work out this simplification plan on any basis other than what we used; and we have every reason to believe that the fears of the gentleman from Nebraska that we will throw a damper upon charitable gifts will prove to be unfounded.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 4646, to provide for simplification of the income tax.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 4646, with Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I am indeed glad, and I am sure our committee is, that the Committee on Rules has unanimously reported the resolution providing for consideration of the pending bill, and especially do I appreciate the very laudatory words spoken by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], a member of the Committee on Rules, with reference to the Committee on Ways and Means and its chairman.

The pending bill, H. R. 4646, was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and I believe, if fully understood, at least I trust it will receive the unanimous approval of the membership of the House.

As is well known to all, there has been much complaint about the complications of income tax, especially with reference to individuals. Our committee began its work on simplification as soon as the 1943 tax bill was disposed of.

In the writing of this bill there has been no sign of partisanship in our committee. The minority members of the committee have worked wholeheartedly with the majority in a sincere effort to solve this problem, and they are entitled to the same credit and commendation for their efforts in this connection as the majority. In addition, we have been given valuable assistance by our own staff, the Treasury staff, and the staff of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. There has never been a bill before our committee in which the entire membership of our committee, our staff, the Treasury staff, and the staff of the Bureau of Internal Revenue have worked so harmoniously.

Existing complicated conditions in our tax laws which this bill will largely correct have been brought about because of the greatly increased revenue needs of the Government in recent years, especially since our country entered into the war.

In the process of levying higher and still higher taxes, it became necessary to provide more and more relief provisions so as not to completely liquidate or overburden many taxpayers and thus destroy our domestic economy and source of future revenues. The net result has been the enactment of several revenue acts, each superimposed upon the then existing law, thereby greatly increasing the complexities which now confront and confuse taxpayers, especially the millions of new taxpayers only recently made subject to the income tax. Thus by increasing the number of taxpayers from about 5,000,000 in 1939 to over 50,000,000 at the present time, 45,000,000 new or additional taxpayers have been created. Accordingly it was found that a system which was designed to apply to about 5,000,000, became unduly burdensome and complicated when applied to the great mass of new taxpayers making an increase in the tax burden of individuals from \$1,029,000,000 to over \$17,000,000,000.

It will also be remembered that Congress enacted the current Tax Payment Act of 1943. This act, which many taxpayers doubtless favored in the belief that they would be forgiven a full year's tax liability, further complicated the tax

return forms and placed additional burdens upon the taxpayers. This was especially true with respect to the returns filed on March 15 of this year, when the transition from the old to the new method of collection required additional computations with respect to the unforgiven or unabated portion of the 1942 liability.

The bill is so designed that 30,000,000 taxpayers subject to withholding will be relieved of the necessity of filing a regular income-tax return. These 30,000,000 taxpayers are those with incomes under \$5,000 and who have less than \$100 of income not subject to withholding. Under the present law these taxpayers are given a receipt by their employers showing the wages paid during the year and the amount of tax withheld. It is contemplated under this bill that the employee can list his other income, if any, and the number of his dependents on the back of this receipt and send it to the collector in lieu of a regular return. The collector will compute the tax for him. If any additional tax is due he will get a bill from the collector and have at least 30 days to make payment. In case he has overpaid his tax he will get a refund. He will have no additional tax to pay in most cases since the amount his employer withholds from his wages will cover his entire tax liability.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REED of New York. That is all the income-tax returns they will have to make?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is all they will have to do, and it will thus relieve 30,000,000 who are now confused by the complicated tax returns that it is necessary for them to make. If we had done nothing else in this bill and stopped right there and had merely saved these 30,000,000 taxpayers, whose chief income is from salaries and wages, from the complexity and difficulty and complication of having to make out income-tax returns, I think that the time would have been well occupied.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Is there any provision made whereby the taxpayer can have the benefit where he loses all or part of these receipts that you are talking about?

Mr. DOUGHTON. There is.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. Of course, there would be no difference in that respect than what is pending under the present law. That is covered by a regulation of the Treasury Department; in other words, they want the evidence of the amount of money that has been withheld from this wage-earner's wages.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I do not know of any reason why he could not get a duplicate receipt from his employer.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I assume that the employer keeps books and he could easily obtain a duplicate receipt,

Mr. DOUGHTON. That could be taken care of by regulation.

Mr. COOPER. That is provided for by regulation.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. All right.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Approximately 10,000,000 taxpayers of those who will be required to file a regular return, will not have to compute their tax, but may take their tax from a simple one-page tax table which will be on the return form. Some, such as farmers and businessmen, will use the business income schedules to get the benefit of their business deductions and if their income, after business deductions, is less than \$5,000, they will be able to take their tax from the tax table in lieu of being required to make actual tax computations.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Do I understand, though, that those 30,000,000 taxpayers the gentleman has mentioned will have to make the usual returns in January or March of next year, under this bill?

Mr. DOUGHTON. They will not. All they will have to do is to send in this receipt furnished them by their employer, and on the back of the same answer three or four simple questions. The collector will figure out their taxes. If they have not paid the full amount due, if the amount withheld has not been sufficient, they will be sent a bill and given 30 days in which to pay the bill, and if they have overpaid their tax, a refund will be made.

Mr. REES of Kansas. What I am getting at, will these 30,000,000 taxpayers be in the same shape, as far as making returns is concerned, at the end of this year as they were in 1943?

Mr. DOUGHTON. They will just be in the shape that they will be until the end of time. They will not have anything else to do.

Mr. REES of Kansas. In other words, their situation is not changed until January 1945, so far as the collection of taxes is concerned?

Mr. COOPER. I am sure the gentleman from Kansas remembers the receipt he received from the Sergeant at Arms for the amount of money withheld from his salary.

Mr. REES of Kansas. That is right.

Mr. COOPER. A receipt similar to that is issued by every employer in this country to every employee from whose wages or salary amounts have been withheld.

Mr. REES of Kansas. That is being done now.

Mr. COOPER. All the taxpayer has to do is to take the receipt that is issued to him by his employer and turn it over on the back and answer about three or four simple questions, and sign it and mail it to the collector of internal revenue, and that is his return.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So he will have to make a return.

Mr. DOUGHTON. No; this receipt takes the place of his return.

Mr. COOPER. That is his return.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes.

Mr. REES of Kansas. From now on; is that correct?

Mr. COOPER. Beginning January 1 of this year.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Beginning January 1 when?

Mr. COOPER. This year.

Mr. REES of Kansas. 1944?

Mr. COOPER. Beginning January 1, 1944, after December 31 of this year.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. Of course, the gentleman, I know, is familiar with the withholding tables which will show that part of it to be paid.

Mr. REES of Kansas. The withholding table, though, does not withhold taxes that will be withheld after this law goes into effect; is that not correct?

Mr. COOPER. The 1944 return will be filed in 1945.

Mr. REES of Kansas. That is correct.

Mr. COOPER. That is right.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So they will file returns for 1944.

Mr. COOPER. They will file this receipt.

Mr. REES of Kansas. File a receipt and make a report.

Mr. COOPER. No, they do not have to make a report. When they file this receipt, answering the few questions on the back, that is the return.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The receipt takes the place of the return, and he has satisfied the law when he files such receipt with the collector sometime between January and March 15, the due date of his final return.

Mr. REES of Kansas. One more question. These returns that are being required, that is, not returns, but reports, estimates, or whatever you call them—

Mr. DOUGHTON. You mean declarations of estimated tax which are required to be made by taxpayers whose tax liability is not satisfied through withholding?

Mr. REES of Kansas. We made them in April, and we make them in June and October and December.

Mr. DOUGHTON. These declarations were made on April 15 this year because the Commissioner extended the time for filing them from March 15 to April 15.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But this bill will not affect our being required to make those declarations for the remainder of this year, will it?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Under the bill, as under existing law, except in the case of farmers, a declaration of estimated tax is required to be made on or before March 15. You can correct that declaration under existing law either in June or September or in December. Under the bill, you can correct the estimate in June, September, or January. If you are satisfied with your estimate made in March you do not have to amend it.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So we will have to continue to make these estimates the balance of this year.

Mr. DOUGHTON. No; unless you want to correct your estimate. After you have corrected your estimate you make your payment, and your first estimate will do. You need not make any other estimate at all unless you have reason to change and correct your estimate.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Anyone who has an income over \$5,000, or if he gets an income of more than \$100 outside of his

salary, will have to make those estimates, will he not?

Mr. DOUGHTON. If he has more than \$100 from sources not subject to withholding, an estimate is required; and if he has less than \$100 from sources not subject to withholding, he is not required to make a declaration of estimated tax unless his income exceeds \$5,000, if single, and \$5,500 if married, plus \$500 for each dependent.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Right on through the year.

Mr. DOUGHTON. He is only required to make one estimate, but he can correct the amount if he wants to.

Mr. COOPER. I think the important point that the gentleman from Kansas should bear in mind is that when a man makes his declaration of his estimated tax—

Mr. REES of Kansas. In April.

Mr. COOPER. March 15. There was a blanket extension of 1 month, which made it April 15. When he makes that declaration of his estimated tax on March 15, as long as he is satisfied with it he does not have to do anything else. He does have the right to revise that estimate if he wants to on June 15 and on September 15, and under this bill on the following January 15, but if he is still satisfied with the estimate that he made on March 15, he does not have to file any other estimate during the year.

Mr. DOUGHTON. He can let that go until March 15 of next year if he so elects, and then he makes a final return and payment.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But if he is in the brokerage business or livestock business, or farm business, or some other business like that, then he will have to continue to make estimates.

Mr. DOUGHTON. He will not have to unless he finds he is too far out of line. If he finds that he has estimated too much or paid too much he can correct his estimate. But if he is satisfied that his first estimate is not too large, he can go on with his quarterly payments based upon his first estimate under existing law. Farmers do not have to file a declaration of estimated tax until December 15 under existing law. The bill gives farmers until January 15 after the close of their year to file a declaration of their estimated tax. However, if they file their final return by January 15 following the close of the taxable year, they will not, under the bill, be required to make any estimate.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Does that situation change in this bill for 1945, or are we going to continue to do that same sort of thing under this bill?

Mr. DOUGHTON. The bill permits farmers and others to take advantage of its provisions with respect to their final estimate or final return for 1944, to be made in 1945.

Mr. COOPER. If the distinguished gentleman from Kansas will turn to page 2 of the report, under No. 7, he will receive very valuable information on the very point on which he is seeking information.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I shall not decline to yield, because the chairman of the committee should furnish any information he can about the bill, but I believe that if I may be permitted to conclude my prepared statement I shall cover most of the questions that may be raised.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman described the procedure for the wage earner who filed his receipt and said that if he owed any more money the collector would figure it out and bill him for it, and he would have to pay it in 30 days.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the procedure if he has overpaid his taxes?

Mr. DOUGHTON. He will get a refund. The collector figures out the tax on the basis of the information furnished on the withholding receipt.

Mr. CURTIS. Who makes the refund, the collector or the Treasury?

Mr. DOUGHTON. The collector. It will be made by the collector to whom he sends his receipt.

Only 10,000,000 will be required or will choose to compute their tax. This covers those taxpayers with incomes, after business deductions, of over \$5,000, and those under \$5,000 who choose to itemize their actual nonbusiness deductions in lieu of using the table. Taxpayers with incomes of more than \$5,000, in computing their tax, may choose to take a flat standard deduction of \$500 in lieu of their nonbusiness deductions. In all cases the return form will be much simpler than that required under the existing law.

It is estimated that under existing law there are about 16,000,000 out of the 50,000,000 taxpayers, who are required to make declarations of estimated tax. This includes businessmen, farmers, agricultural labor and those whose income subject to withholding is more than \$2,700 in the case of a single person and \$3,500 in the case of a married person, and whose income not subject to withholding exceeds \$100.

Under the bill, there will be 4,000,000 fewer persons required to make estimates. If they do not have more than \$100 from sources not subject to withholding they will only be required to make a declaration of their estimated tax if their income is over \$5,000 if single, or \$5,500 if married, plus an additional \$500 for each dependent.

There has been considerable complaint over the difficulties in making estimates. This is particularly true with reference to the farmer, businessman, and professional man. While under the existing law an estimate made on March 15 may be revised in June, September, and December, the taxpayer may be subject to penalty if his last declaration underestimates his tax by more than 20 percent.

A farmer is not required to make a declaration of estimated tax under existing law until December 15. Under the bill the farmer will not be required to make any estimate at all if he files his final return on income for the preceding year, by January 15. If he does not desire to make a final return and payment on January 15, he may file his final return on March 15.

The bill further simplifies and liberalizes existing law with respect to charitable contributions. This subject was given most careful study and consideration by your committee, as we recognized the splendid work being performed by religious, charitable, and educational institutions, many of which are dependent upon contributions for their existence. I know I express the viewpoint and desire of the entire membership in stating that we are anxious to do everything possible to aid and assist in the continuation of such splendid work. Under existing law it is difficult for taxpayers to determine the amount of their deductible contributions to charities. They must first determine their net income without any allowance for charitable contributions. These total contributions cannot exceed 15 percent of their net income thus computed. They are then required to again compute their net income, with the charitable deductions included. The bill amends existing law so that the existing 15 percent limitation for contributions shall be 15 percent of the taxpayer's gross income instead of the existing 15 percent of net income. This has the effect of increasing and simplifying the allowance for charitable contributions, and enables the taxpayer to compute the same without first having to compute his net income. The bill not only simplifies the computations for those making charitable contributions, but also enables them to make larger contributions, free of tax, than under the existing law.

The committee carefully considered a proposal to grant an additional exemption from withholding for those persons who signified their intention to contribute, or who were regular contributors to religious, charitable, or other organizations. We found this to be impractical of administration, and would seriously jeopardize the revenue and place upon the employer an additional burden he could ill afford under present manpower conditions. It would also make difficult, if not impossible, the use of the withholding tables which are computed on the basis of the standard deduction allowance. We were also advised that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to properly check and determine whether such contemplated contributions had, in fact, been made and the fear was expressed that such a provision would inevitably lead to great abuse and fraud.

There are some who fear that the allowance of the 10-percent standard deduction, which in no case can exceed \$500, will have an adverse effect on taxpayers' contributions to charitable organizations. I do not share such fears, as I do not believe that the great mass of contributors do so for the purpose of securing a tax reduction, but because of the worthy causes such contributions advance. Moreover if total deductions are in excess of 10 percent of their income they are permitted to itemize these deductions and thereby get the benefit of the larger amount. It may be true that some taxpayers in the larger income levels consider the tax-saving effect of contributions, but the flat allowance of a

maximum of \$500 will in no way deter or influence them in connection with making contributions from a tax-savings standpoint.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. As I understand the statement that has been made here, and I should like to have it confirmed by the chairman if it is a fact, the average contribution is about 2½ percent, and has been. This provides for a 10-percent deduction.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes, a 10-percent standard deduction allowance if the income is less than \$5,000. However, this standard deduction allowance, which is secured by using the tax table in the law, covers not only charitable deductions, but other personal deductions such as medical expenses, taxes on a home, interest on a personal loan, and the like. If his income is \$5,000 or more, he is allowed as standard deduction of \$500. Nobody is forced to take the standard deduction. If their actual deductions, including charitable contributions, exceed their standard deductions, they can take their actual deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Where the income is above \$5,000, what is he allowed as a deduction?

Mr. DOUGHTON. He can either take the standard deduction of \$500, which would be 10 percent of \$5,000, or he can take his actual deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The full amount he has been giving heretofore?

Mr. DOUGHTON. So far as the charitable deduction is concerned he can take up to 15 percent of his gross income, if he itemizes his deductions. Under existing law he is limited to 15 percent of his net income.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I agree with the gentleman that it appears that you have liberalized it rather than restricted it.

Mr. DOUGHTON. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. I am afraid the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky might have the impression that we are allowing a 10-percent deduction under this bill for charitable contributions. This 10 percent must include taxes, interest, charitable contributions, and other deductible items. I am fearful that the gentleman was getting the idea that we had increased it from 2½ percent to 10 percent.

Mr. DOUGHTON. It includes all deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If the total income is \$5,000 or less, you allow \$500 clear.

Mr. DOUGHTON. If the total income is \$5,000 or less he can get a standard deduction of approximately 10 percent of his gross income by using the tax table, or he can take his actual deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If it is above \$5,000, then you include provision for that in the tax return?

Mr. DOUGHTON. He can take a standard deduction of \$500 or his actual deductions if greater than the standard deduction of \$500.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If it is above \$5,000?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. He can take the \$500 deduction or itemize the actual contributions?

Mr. DOUGHTON. He can take the actual deductions that he would be allowed to take under the law; yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. That is as I understand it.

Mr. DOUGHTON. He is not denied that privilege at all.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio, a member of the committee.

Mr. JENKINS. This bill does not, under any circumstances, prevent anybody from filing a return and make any contribution that he pleases. Of course, it will not be considered under the present law, and it will not be under the law we will pass now, over 15 percent. But as the distinguished chairman says, and I think it will be agreed to by all, this ninth point in the report is very clear. It reads as follows:

The existing law has been amended with respect to deductions for charitable contributions so as to allow up to 15 percent of the adjusted gross income.

That is just what the chairman said.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Now it is on net income.

Mr. JENKINS. But this makes it 15 percent of the adjusted gross income. The report reads further as follows, "in lieu of the present law limit of 15 percent of net income." Before it was 15 percent of net, and now it will be 15 percent of the gross under the new law.

Mr. DOUGHTON. And the taxpayer can give more than he can under the present law.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. "Gross income" simply means income after deduction?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes. There are several fundamental changes, and the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], a member of the Committee on Rules, was kind enough to mention some of the fundamental changes which I will repeat. It has been necessary to amend several provisions of existing law to carry out the simplification program.

Among the most important are the following:

First. The bill repeals the Victory tax, and thus makes possible the use of a single tax base.

Second. A new normal tax is imposed upon the net income of every individual in excess of \$500. This normal tax is necessary in order to retain as taxpayers 11,000,000 persons now subject only to the Victory tax. Your committee felt these individuals should continue to pay a small tax and thus contribute to the war effort.

Third. The existing normal tax is integrated with the surtax. For surtax purposes, a uniform exemption of \$500 is allowed per person, that is, the taxpayer is allowed \$500 for himself, \$500 for his spouse, and \$500 for each dependent.

Fourth. Another change of existing law made by the pending bill has to do with dependents. The bill allows a \$500 exemption for each dependent instead of \$350 allowed under existing law. The definition of dependency is changed by eliminating the 18-year-age limit and the requirement that those over 18 years of age must be mentally or physically incapable of self-support. The bill substitutes the concept that a dependent is anyone for whom the taxpayer furnishes over half the support, provided the person is closely related to the taxpayer, and does not have a gross income in excess of \$500. Under the bill, all persons with gross incomes of \$500 and over are classed as taxpayers and may not be claimed as dependents by any other taxpayer.

The existing law with respect to dependents' income is amended by the bill. For many years, the law has required the earnings of an unemancipated child to be reported with the income of the parent. Since the law as to emancipation is determined by, and varies according to the States, it has been extremely difficult to determine whether such earnings are includible in the parent's income, and has been practically nonenforceable of administration. While it is true that a semblance of enforcement might be possible in the case of withholding on such earnings, the committee felt that such earnings not in excess of \$500 should not be required to be included in the parent's income. To require the inclusion of such income by the parent, would lead to endless confusion and practically defeat all efforts to simplify the individual income tax. One need only to consider the plight of a taxpayer endeavoring to estimate the earnings of his minor child during the summer vacation, and the estimated deductions to which he might be entitled in earning such income in the form of depreciation and repairs on his lawn mower used in mowing the neighbors' lawns, to reach the conclusion that such income should not be required to be reported by the parent, and that where amounts have been withheld from a minor child where no final tax liability exists, such amounts should be refunded.

Fifth. Another complication under present law is the itemizing of small amount of deductions from various sources. The bill extends the policy, now used on the short form, of allowing taxpayers to take a standard amount of nonbusiness deductions in lieu of describing their actual deductions. All taxpayers with less than \$5,000 can, by using the withholding receipt or the tax table, receive approximately 10-percent deductions. All taxpayers with income of over \$5,000 can use a standard deduction of \$500. Any taxpayer may, if he chooses, itemize his actual deductions to take advantage of a greater amount. Taxpayers with certain business deductions may take those separately before taking the standard deduction.

Sixth. The new withholding tables, which under the terms of the bill will

become effective on January 1, 1945, are designed to withhold as nearly the actual amount of final tax liability as possible from those taxpayers with incomes of \$5,000 or less derived solely from wages subject to withholding. The present law attempts to withhold the full tax only up to \$3,000. These tables are constructed on the basis of much narrower wage brackets than existing withholding tables. This will bring about more accuracy by narrowing the differential in amounts withheld between adjacent wage brackets.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I would like to get this straight. Is it not a fact that the withholding of taxes from incomes does not change until January 1945?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct. You see, we could not make the change this year. It would have caused hardships upon the employer as well as the Government in preparing new forms. Moreover, about half of the year will be gone when this bill becomes law.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So under this bill then there will be no difference in the withholding of wages or salaries until January 1, 1945?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct, January 1, 1945.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Then after January 1, 1945, the withholding in practically all cases will be increased?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Withholding will be increased in some cases but the tax will not be increased. There is one thing that I want to make clear, about which there has been a considerable misunderstanding. We withhold the tax as a means of collecting the tax. It is not a tax at all. This bill will come nearer withholding the present amount of tax than will the present law.

Mr. REES of Kansas. The gentleman means, I believe, that the amount of taxes collected from the individual, the amount withheld, will be greater after January 1, 1945.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The amount withheld—but the total tax will not be greater.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Is that because we have not withheld under the 1943 tax law a sufficient amount?

Mr. DOUGHTON. We have not withheld enough.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So we are going to wait until January 1945 before we begin withholding more?

Mr. DOUGHTON. We have to, because we did not know when this bill would become law and unless it became law before January 1 next, it would unduly burden the employer, as well as the Government and the taxpayer.

Mr. KNUTSON. And then, of course, there was an election coming on and that is another reason.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The total amount of tax collected from the individual taxpayer will be approximately the same as under the present law. Under this bill, it is estimated we will collect about \$60,000,000 less, but the number of taxpayers and the total amount collected will be approximately the same.

Mr. REES of Kansas. How do they make up for that difference?

Mr. DOUGHTON. We just lose it. However, that is only about three-tenths of 1 percent. Out of \$17,000,000,000, if you will make the calculation you will find that \$60,000,000 is only about three-tenths of 1 percent of \$17,000,000,000. That is as near as we could come to it. We had to make some adjustments and we made just as few as possible. We set out to relieve the taxpayers from complicated returns, and we think we have succeeded reasonably well.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. If the increased withholding does not begin until January 1945, then our people will still have to make out the complicated returns on March 15 of next year? This bill will not simplify the tax return?

Mr. DOUGHTON. No. The new law will apply to the final returns they make in 1945 for 1944.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. But, what I am inquiring about—

Mr. DOUGHTON. The new law will apply to 1944 except the withholding.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Perhaps I did not make my question as plain as I wanted to. Will this law that we are now considering eliminate the complicated forms for the next income-tax return, which will be returnable on March 15, 1945, or will we have to wait until March 15, 1946, to get relief?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Oh, no; they will not have to wait until March 15, 1946, they will be relieved of filing complicated forms next March 1945.

A new simplified tax table is provided which may be used by taxpayers with adjusted gross incomes under \$5,000, regardless of the source of their income. Under the present law, the use of the short-cut tax table in ascertaining tax liability is limited to those whose gross income is derived solely from salaries, wages, bonuses, commissions, dividends, interest and annuities and not in excess of \$3,000. The new tax table in the bill is so constructed as to allow the taxpayer a standard deduction of approximately 10 percent of his gross income and its use is optional with the taxpayer. This change in existing law will allow a greater number of taxpayers to use the simple tax table and make unnecessary any computation of their tax liability.

Eight. Under the bill, the limitation with respect to deduction for medical expenses is made applicable to the taxpayer's gross income instead of net income. This results in slightly reducing the medical expense allowance, but is believed justified in the interest of simplification.

Further studies are being given, not only with respect to still greater simplification of the individual income tax, but also to the corporate tax provisions of existing law, and I am hopeful that additional simplification will be achieved as a result of our continued studies.

In conclusion, I repeat what I said at the outset of my remarks—that this bill was unanimously reported to the House by the committee and, in my opinion,

merits the unanimous approval of the membership of the House, for the reason that it relieves 30,000,000 taxpayers from the necessity of filing regular income-tax returns, or computing their tax liability. Ten million of the remaining 20,000,000 taxpayers will no longer be required to compute their tax, as the same can be determined from a simple one-page tax table. It further merits your approval for the reason that it will relieve an additional 4,000,000 taxpayers from the necessity of making declarations of estimated tax, and simplifies and removes much of the present uncertainty and difficulty confronting those who still will be required to make such estimates. The bill makes other changes in existing law which greatly simplify and benefit not only the taxpayer but also the administration of the individual income tax.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield to the gentleman. I want to be as helpful as I can in having our bill understood.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I appreciate that. As I understand this bill which I have before me, the rates are increased, are they not?

Mr. DOUGHTON. In some cases, where necessary for simplification. In other cases, the tax burden has been reduced.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But they are increased according to the items that appear on page 3 of the bill.

Mr. DOUGHTON. You are looking at the increases in surtax rates. It should be borne in mind that the old normal tax of 6 percent was merged with the new surtax.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Those increases take effect as of January 1, 1944, is that correct?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is correct. The gentleman understands the bill pretty well. He is a student of taxation matters.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But you will not collect any more from the taxpayer's salary check than you are collecting now, until the end of 1944?

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is right.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So that at the end of 1944 the individual will owe more tax, of course, than you have collected under his salary, but you will, as a matter of fact, increase those taxpayers' taxes, will you not?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Some taxpayers will pay a little more, others a little less.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But I mean the fact is, you will have increased their taxes?

Mr. DOUGHTON. A man with more than two dependents will pay less on account of the increase in the dependency allowance from \$350 to \$500. The more dependents a man has, the more his expenses are. The man with fewer dependents can pay a little more taxes.

If you will look at the burden tables in the report I think you will understand this matter more clearly. The chairman endeavored to get a copy of the report into the hands of each Member, and when we get through with this discussion if any of you do not understand this bill before we vote on it, or have any difficulty in understanding it, or if you

are losing any sleep about it, I suggest you study the report. Because it is one of the clearest reports that has ever been presented.

Mr. REES of Kansas. But the chairman has given all of his time and his energy now for several weeks and, of course, is familiar with the bill. I want to get this information direct from the chairman.

One thing further: At the end of a year all of these taxpayers, salaried men and women, will find that the entire amount of their taxes have not been deducted from their earnings.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Oh, yes; that is withheld.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Not for 1944; they will still owe more taxes.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Some will and some will not.

Mr. REES of Kansas. In full by the amount withheld?

Mr. DOUGHTON. Where there is under-withholding, additional taxes will be due.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. I think we ought to clear this up. The withholding is not a tax; it is merely a method of collecting the tax.

Mr. DOUGHTON. That has been an erroneous impression in the minds of a lot of people; it is not a tax, it is merely a method of collecting tax.

Mr. REES of Kansas. I appreciate that. The next thing is that certain taxes are actually increased.

Mr. DOUGHTON. In some cases, and in other cases decreased.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOUGHTON. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman understands the increases that are made here for dependents, does he not?

Mr. REES of Kansas. That is correct.

Mr. COOPER. They are increased from \$350 under the present law to \$500. In order to make up for that, slight adjustments had to be made here and there in the rate schedules.

Mr. REES of Kansas. So that rate schedules have been changed in some instances?

Mr. COOPER. In some instances there have been some slight changes. For instance, the first surtax bracket is increased by 1 percent. In the next four or five brackets there is no change at all, then in the next few brackets a change of 1 percent and so on. There had to be some slight adjustment in order to provide for the simplification that it attempted by this bill.

Mr. REES of Kansas. The thing I want brought to the attention of the House is that some slight changes have been made in the tax rates. I am not saying they should not be made, but that ought to be explained. There have been some adjustments in that respect.

Mr. COOPER. That is fully covered in the report.

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is all set out clearly in the report.

The gentleman will see from page 8 of the report where the tax has been reduced.

Where there is a minus sign, it indicates that the taxes are less. In another part of the report the gentleman will find where there have been increases. The over-all loss in revenue of approximately \$60,000,000 is a very negligible part of the \$17,000,000,000; it was as close as we could come to it and provide simplification.

Mr. REES of Kansas. The next thing I want brought out, although it may be repetition, is that after January 1 the amount of withholding from salaried incomes will be increased.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I should like to call to the attention of the gentleman from Kansas the fact that if he will simply pick up the report he will see from pages 8 to 18 tables showing the amount of increase or decrease for almost every conceivable amount of income. It shows increases or decreases as low as one or two dollars. If the gentleman will only look at the report, he will get all that information in respect to any salary increase or decrease, and he will see from the comparative tables instances where there has been scarcely any change.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The report states the following in regard to a dependent:

It is required that the dependent be related to the taxpayer within one of the following relationships: Child, the descendants of such child; a stepchild; a brother, sister, or brother or sister by the half-blood, stepbrother, or stepsister; parent or grandparent; a stepfather or stepmother; a niece or nephew; an uncle or aunt; a son-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, or sister-in-law. For the purpose of determining whether any of the foregoing relationships exist a legally adopted child is considered as a child by blood.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Then also there has been a change in the deduction for husband and wife from \$1,200 to \$1,000.

Mr. DOUGHTON. That is right; it has been fixed at \$500 each, and \$500 for each dependent.

Mr. KNUTSON. For the sake of the record at this point it should be noted that under existing law exemption ceases when a child becomes 18 years of age.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. Providing it is a normal child and not helpless; but under this bill the dependency allowance goes on as long as the taxpayer pays more than half the expense.

Mr. DOUGHTON. There is no time limit. If the taxpayer pays more than half of the child's upkeep and the dependent does not earn over \$500 a year.

Mr. COOPER. When the dependent becomes a taxpayer himself; but as long as a taxpayer contributes more than half of the support of a dependent he may still deduct for the dependent.

Mr. DOUGHTON. And if it is less than \$500 per annum.

Mr. KNUTSON. And the parent may continue the deduction as long as the children are in college.

Mr. DOUGHTON. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina has consumed 54 minutes.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JENKINS].

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, I am sure everybody appreciates that any tax bill is a complicated matter. This tax bill is no exception. When tax bills are presented I really feel good that the membership will take it upon itself to ask questions. I have never seen anybody yet who has had the temerity to stand before this House and proclaim himself a tax expert, for there are so many things about taxes that no one man will claim to know all about; and when I say that I mean the most astute tax man in this Congress has something to learn about every tax problem. Some contingency may arise of which he has never heard. For instance, our distinguished chairman for nearly an hour presented his views on this tax bill, and I think most eloquently and most accurately, but, in spite of all that, it has been brought to my mind that some things in connection with the discussion are not yet very clear. But I am not going to despair about that, because I doubt if one taxpayer in a million ever looks at the tax law when he makes up his return. He does not have access to the tax laws, and if he did, they are so complicated he could not do much with them. He has to depend almost altogether upon the tax blanks that are sent to him by the collector. The preparation of these tax blanks is the problem of the Treasury. That work has been very complicated; there is no question about it. Tax blanks have been so complicated that the average American citizen could not understand them. It was really pathetic 3 weeks before the 15th of March to see literally hundreds and thousands of taxpayers standing in line for hours here in Washington waiting an opportunity to consult some official of the Treasury to determine what their tax would be. That was the case all over the United States. Lawyers in little towns like the one I come from practically closed shop for 3 weeks before the 15th of March and did almost nothing but fill out income-tax returns. That is not a compliment to this Congress. At the same time I do not want to criticize this Congress because we cannot justly criticize the Congress. We would not be justified in criticizing the Congress. Why? Because in the last 10 years—we have heard about it so much—we have been in an emergency of one kind or another nearly all the time, and it is true that we have been in some emergencies. We are in one now. In those 12 years we have had 17 new tax bills, one superimposed upon another—not all alike, many different. We have had, for instance, family exemptions changed three or four different times in the last 12 years. There have been so many changes that the taxpayer has been hampered and pestered well nigh unto death.

The public sentiment became so distinct, so strong, and so certain about the 15th of last March that we, the Members of the Congress, were given a mandate to do something, and we have tried to do it in this bill. In this bill, as you know, we do not take into consideration the cor-

porations. All we deal with in this bill is personal income tax. Some of these days we are going to bring to the House for consideration a simplification bill covering corporations. I do not know who can live through an ordeal like that will be, but eventually we are going to have to come to it.

There were some members of our committee, and I was one, who thought we should not tackle this matter piecemeal, that we should revamp the tax structure in its entirety from the beginning because there are such things as fundamental principles of taxation. Taxation is a real science; it is not guesswork; but when you patch it up 17 times in 11 years, sometimes you do feel that it is sort of patchwork. I think we should go to work and spend 3 or 4 months with experts, with outside help, giving everybody a chance to come in, and revamp the whole tax structure. But what would be the result? We would in effect be recodifying the tax laws, and anyone who has had any experience in the recodification of laws knows that it is a terrific task. The committee, after consideration, decided that the best we could do would be to bring in a bill which would result in simplification to as many as soon as possible. I dare say that anyone who will read the committee report, anyone who will look into the matter carefully, will come to the conclusion that we have done a pretty good job when you consider the time consumed in the effort.

Mr. KNUTSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. In connection with what the gentleman is saying, about 6 weeks ago I introduced a joint resolution to set up a commission of 15 experts, outsiders, to make a study of the whole tax system along the same line as was done in Great Britain several years ago; then have them report back to the Congress as early in January next as possible. Their report would in part serve as a basis for permanent tax simplification and reform.

Mr. JENKINS. The distinguished gentleman from Minnesota is to be complimented for his effort in that respect. There is no question but that all over the United States, especially in the business stratum of the Nation, the people are alive and alert to this matter of rebuilding the tax structure of the Nation. For instance, our Republican leader, the minority leader of this House, has appointed a committee of Members from the Republican side to give study to this matter. Upon this committee he has placed the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee. This committee is at work. The people of our country will support just tax measures drawn to deal fairly with all classes of the people.

There is another reason why on the 15th of March last or about the 15th of March there was so much unrest in the country. That was due to the fact that we had put into effect the withholding tax. The withholding tax made millions of taxpayers who had never been taxpayers before. When we passed a law

providing for a withholding tax we took a most colossal step into a new field. A more colossal step than that has never been taken in this country for a long time, so far as taxation is concerned. But it has been productive of more revenue going into the Treasury of the United States than anyone ever anticipated. A few days ago we secured some figures from the Treasury which indicated that in the first three-quarters of the present fiscal year we have taken in over \$12,000,000,000 directly from withholding. Up to that time many people escaped taxation, not willfully, maliciously, and illegally, but the tax structure was such that they were not brought within the purview of the law. This withholding tax came down upon their heads and about the 15th of March it was a rather disconcerting thing to many people, many of whom have not gotten over it yet.

In addition, there was the Victory tax. We passed the Victory tax as an emergency matter. It had been passed only a short time when we found we had to amend it because complaints were heard that some people were able to reduce their Victory tax more than others by reason of credits for insurance and so forth. We finally came to the conclusion we should repeal it, and in this law we do repeal the Victory tax.

When we passed the Victory tax, here is what we did. We yielded to a demand in the country that there were a lot of people who were not paying any taxes at all. We were yielding to the demand that there were many people in the lower brackets who would be willing to pay a small tax. We therefore levied the Victory tax, which was a low-base tax. It applied to earnings above \$624 per year. The Victory tax applied to every man or woman or child who earned more than \$624 a year.

Now, we come forward and we make a gesture of doing a thing that I think ought to be done, and I dare say you will agree with me. Have you not been worried about the difference between the normal tax and the surtax? When we came along and passed the Victory tax, that made three different bases, a Victory-tax base, normal-tax base, and surtax base. They tell us that we cannot very well build up a tax structure that will throw these three bases together into one. I had been hoping that we might evolve a plan by which we could have just one base, everybody to start from one base; but they say we cannot do that very well, and when I say "they," I mean the experts of the country. Not only our experts and the Treasury experts, but other experts outside say that if we do that we are going to relieve from taxation 11 or 12 million people who are now paying taxes and who are making no strenuous objections to it. So I say when we consider the clamor that prevailed all over the country back about March 15 last, we can easily appreciate that there was some excuse for it.

As the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means said, there is another factor to be taken into consideration. Up to about 4 years ago there were only about 4,000,000 people

who paid income taxes. You will remember that the income tax is not an old tax. Every person here was old enough to have voted for the sixteenth amendment in 1913. Up to that time we did not have such a thing as a Federal income tax. However, since that time it has grown in financial importance so that I should say today that \$9 out of every \$10 the Government spends come from the income-tax collections. It has developed into a gigantic structure. What are we going to do about it? We will never give it up. We cannot. It has been abused many times, but if we lay under it a scientific foundation, as we will be able to, we will build up a scientific superstructure that will be a guide to us and it will be a fine system out of which the Government can get revenue easier than any other, and then all of this trouble will be at an end, because, as the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee said, we will release effectively 30,000,000 of these 50,000,000 taxpayers from the burdens of the complexities that come from filling out difficult tax forms. The list has grown, as I have said, from 4,000,000 to 50,000,000, and we will bring a measure of freedom to 30,000,000 with one stroke. I would not have you think that it will be as easy as a stroke of a pen, but it will gradually be effective. However, it is going to take a little time, but we will have to do it and we will do it.

How will we do it? This bill does it for the 30,000,000 to which I have referred. That is the list of those against whom the withholding tax is levied. The employer withholds from the wages of the employee in an amount equal to the taxes of the 30,000,000 taxpayers. The employers know how much they earn and they deduct a certain percentage provided by law. That is sent to the Treasury. The employer gives the man a receipt. Now, why should that man on the 15th of March be worried about what his tax is going to be? Why can we not give him a little receipt and enable him to satisfy his taxes without too much trouble? That is exactly what we are going to do in this bill. We are going to give him a little receipt. His employer will give it to him. On the front of it will be written his name, the amount he earns and the amount deducted. On the back of it there will be some spaces for him to fill in. In one of those spaces he will insert the number of his dependents and give certain other information, such as the total of any outside money he may have earned in addition to his salary or wages. That is put on the list. When that goes to the collector, the collector will have his auditors go over it and in due season that man will get a notice that he paid too much or too little. This law will apply to 1944 incomes. It is going to be no great hardship, because whenever the taxpayer puts the facts on the back of that little piece of paper, the collector will do the job for him and he will not have to stand in line. When we take 30,000,000 out of the line we will have done not only a humane thing but we will have done a thing that will be fiscally to the advantage of the Government of the United States.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. How does your employer make allowance, say, for the exemption on account of a wife or children or dependents when he takes out the tax; I mean, under this new bill?

Mr. JENKINS. Here is the way that is done. There is the table that has been prepared, and in that table there is a line for the number of exemptions, and there is a line for the amount he earns, and that table will have taken into consideration all these factors.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The table is a part of the bill?

Mr. JENKINS. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. So the employer operates under this table?

Mr. JENKINS. Absolutely. In some cases, if a wage earner is not satisfied with it, he can make his own computation, and he can go to work and employ an accountant to help him, or he might be able to do it himself and take his own deductions, and at the end of the computation he might have made a dollar or lost a dollar. Regardless of whether the employer makes this check the employer will have gone ahead and withheld from his wages.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Under the present law a person paying his Federal income tax is allowed to deduct the taxes he pays to either the county, the State, or the city, such as real-estate taxes, and other things. What is to be done with them in that situation under this bill?

Mr. JENKINS. A lump-sum allowance is made. A 10-percent allowance is made in that case. If he wants to take that 10-percent allowance he may do so under this table. If he does not want to do that, if he wants to claim more, a different situation will arise. Take the case of a man who is employed and makes, say, \$200 a month as a railroad man. He has a couple of houses he rents out here. He will put in on his income the amount he received in rent and he will be entitled to take out the taxes, and so forth, and if he is not satisfied with that lump-sum amount given him he can go to work, take his taxes out, and other deductions out; but when he does that he cannot come under the table.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. The gentleman made reference to 10 percent and 15 percent.

Mr. JENKINS. I mean a man is permitted under the present law deductions for charities up to 15 percent of his net income.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. For charities?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, out of his net income.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. This tax proposition, does that go into the 15 percent, too?

Mr. JENKINS. No; that is another proposition.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Why did the gentleman use that 10 percent? Did he misspeak himself or what?

Mr. JENKINS. As I understand it, that is a deduction of 10 percent not of

the gross income and not of the net income, but of what they call the adjusted net income. In the case of a man who makes nothing but a salary, there is no such thing as adjusted net income, because it only applies to businessmen.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Does that 10 percent refer to the deductions for charity?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes; the 10 percent includes charitable contributions; but if his actual deductions, including his charitable contributions, exceed the 10-percent allowance, he may choose to take his actual deductions instead of his 10-percent allowance.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. You can accept that.

Mr. JENKINS. He can accept it if he wants to.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If his salary is up to \$5,000.

Mr. JENKINS. He can do so if he wishes. If he does not, he can make his own return, but if he chooses to go outside of the table, he must itemize his deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. So the workingman must make his return according to this table here or he does not have the benefit of this. If he goes outside of that, having a house to rent, and so on, he must make a regular return.

Mr. JENKINS. If his income is less than \$5,000, that is, if his earnings and his other income are less than \$5,000, and he doesn't choose to use the tax table he must itemize his deductions.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. He is no longer under this table then?

Mr. JENKINS. No.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. It seems to me there is considerable confusion about this 15-percent exemption for contributions. This law does not in any way change the existing law as far as the 15-percent deduction allowable for contributions is concerned. It does this, however: It sets up a standard deduction which, if a taxpayer takes advantage of it and it is used under withholding, he is allowed 10 percent or not in excess of \$500 for a standard deduction, which must consist of contributions to charitable and religious organizations, interest, and other items. A taxpayer does not have to take advantage of it, but if he does and uses this form, he must, of course, have his wages withheld on that basis.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it not also true that there is no way under this bill that an individual can reduce the amount of taxes to be withheld from his pay check by reason of contributions or other deductions?

Mr. JENKINS. That is right, except to the extent that such contributions are included in the 10-percent allowance upon which the withholding tables are based.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. How soon will this taxpayer get back any amount that he overpaid? I understand he is to be repaid through the collectors' offices of the several States.

Mr. JENKINS. I do not know exactly. We have been informed by the Bureau of Internal Revenue that it will be made as soon as reasonably possible.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Because some times when the Government owes you money, you have a long road to travel.

Mr. JENKINS. Every time you ask that question it brings a smile, because every man who has had experience with the tax department knows they are not as anxious to return as they are to collect, and that has been our experience. They promise to do better on these small refunds, for the refunds are made by the collector.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I commend the Committee on Ways and Means for their diligence in bringing in this tax bill seeking to simplify the income-tax return.

The inquiry I wish to make is this: What is the primary purpose of the bill other than that? Are you seeking to eliminate returns from a large number of individuals who have a refund coming to them instead of owing the Government money? Is that the primary purpose?

Mr. JENKINS. No; these are just incidents. This matter of refunding money is just an incident.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Then this bill will eliminate in many cases the necessity for filing the return?

Mr. JENKINS. It will for 30,000,000 taxpayers; any man whose income is altogether wages or salary subject to withholding.

Mr. CHENOWETH. It eliminates the necessity of the return completely.

Mr. JENKINS. Except this, that I tell you. This little slip that he will get from his employer will show how much he has earned and how much has been withheld, and the employee will fill out two or three simple questions on the back of the slip and send it back to the collector.

We had a good deal of discussion in the committee about whether we would abandon this altogether and just leave the man to his employer and the Government, but we decided that would not be fair to the man—the taxpayer—because the employer might not make a correct report. The employer might find it sometimes to his advantage not to make a correct report. We require the 30,000,000 to file these receipts for their own benefit.

Mr. CHENOWETH. In other words, you are reducing the amount that is going to be withheld.

Mr. JENKINS. No; we do not touch that.

Mr. CHENOWETH. In other words, then, you are increasing the tax rate; is that it?

Mr. JENKINS. No.

Mr. CHENOWETH. It is very obvious now under the 20-percent withholding

that they are paying too much money in many cases and they are getting refunds back from the Government, which is an unnecessary burden on the Government. There is nothing gained by it.

Mr. JENKINS. I think I can answer that question. I think many of these refunds now are coming to the unemancipated children who earned a little money working in the factories where these taxes were deducted and the Treasury has decided to make refunds to them.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I received some complaints from constituents who were rather substantial businessmen, complaining about the delay in obtaining refunds.

Mr. JENKINS. No doubt that is true, because this matter of refunds is a slow process.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Is not this what it amounts to? There is nothing to be gained by compelling a large group of taxpayers to go through the formality of filing returns and then applying for refunds? Why not arrive at some conclusion or rate which would obviate the necessity of that? Is that what you are trying to do here?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, that is what we are trying to do, because we are putting in the law a table, a table that will control any salary or wage earner under \$5,000. Three thousand dollars is the law now, and \$5,000 will be the law after this bill becomes a law.

Mr. CHENOWETH. In other words, the amount withheld will be exactly the amount of tax he owes the Government?

Mr. JENKINS. Exactly. That is supposed to be exactly right. If it is not right, that is the reason we give him the chance to find out. For instance, here is a man who is working for 2 or 3 employers in the course of a year. Maybe he works for 10 different people in the course of a year. That fellow is going to have a little trouble, because one man will say, "Well, I paid him so much." He has gone. He has lost his address. This man will have to scratch around and see that he gets his proper receipts and have them all filed. But a man who works steadily for 1 employer the whole year through, I dare say that out of the 30,000,000 very few of them will have any trouble, because the Treasury is going to be guided by the same table as the employer.

An employee may say, "Well, I forgot to list the proper number of my dependents," and he can prove that he did. Suppose he reported that he had two dependents when as a fact he had three. This is a clear mistake. That man ought to have a chance to correct that. If too much has been withheld against him, he ought to have a chance for his refund.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I should like to go back for a moment to the question the gentleman from Kansas raised, that this does not go into effect until the first of 1945; in other words, we will have to repeat next year the same performance we saw this year. We will have several million people filing returns next year.

Mr. JENKINS. No; this will apply.

Mr. CHENOWETH. This withholding will be the same this year as last year,

they will pay too much money and then have a refund coming from the Government.

Mr. JENKINS. At least 30,000,000 who earn \$5,000 or less will have complete relief from filing complicated returns.

Mr. CHENOWETH. But that will not go into effect until the first of next year?

Mr. JENKINS. It applies to this year's taxes.

Mr. CHENOWETH. But you are not changing the amount withheld?

Mr. JENKINS. The new withholding table is not in effect until January 1, 1945. But the relief from making complicated returns is applicable to 1944 returns filed in 1945.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Is not the reason for that that the withholding would be the equivalent of the normal tax and the surtax that ordinarily would apply if there were no withholding tax?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes; so far as taxpayers in the first two surtax brackets are concerned.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Those under three thousand will not be affected by this?

Mr. JENKINS. This will be for their benefit, too.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I think the refunds are going mostly to those under three thousand.

Mr. JENKINS. Does the gentleman mean now?

Mr. CHENOWETH. Yes.

Mr. JENKINS. As I said before, I think a lot of that has come about because of a misunderstanding with reference to the earning capacity of unemancipated children, and men entering the armed services, and working part time, and dependents becoming taxpayers.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I am not talking about children; I am talking about individuals, adults, who are earning amounts where the amount withheld has been too much and the Government has to make this refund. It entails a large amount of bookkeeping, and I do not see the necessity for it. I thought you would correct that here.

Mr. JENKINS. We have attempted to correct that by trying to make the withholding tables approximate the correct tax liability of taxpayers of salaries of \$5,000 or less.

Mr. CHENOWETH. He is going to make a return of what he made this year?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes; but not the big, bulky return. He will have the withholding receipts which I have previously referred to.

Mr. CHENOWETH. The refund principle will not be changed, then, until a year from the first of the coming year?

Mr. JENKINS. There is no refund principle about it. It is a matter of right. If a man pays too much, the Treasury must refund as soon as it can.

Mr. CHENOWETH. The same thing will happen this year that happened last year, because the law will not take effect until the first of 1945.

Mr. JENKINS. No; I say that this will relieve a lot of that.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I hope so.

Mr. JENKINS. Yes; it will; there is no question about it.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I am not clear as to just how that is going to be done.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Does not this take care of the tax for 1944?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. When this receipt is made out next year, it will deal with the taxes the man has paid in 1944?

Mr. JENKINS. That is right.

Mr. CHENOWETH. It is the same situation as this year.

Mr. JENKINS. No, not quite. I am afraid our minds have not met on this yet.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Before we leave these refunds, it should be mentioned, I think, that we have tried to adjust more closely the withholding to the actual tax in this new bill. We had some fairly wide bracket variations in the 1942 act. The withholding will not be changed during 1944. We are still withholding under the Revenue Act of 1942. Therefore, these adjustments will have to be made up to January 1, but from that date on the withholding should be fairly accurate.

Mr. CHENOWETH. That was the point I had in mind, that there would be no change in the picture until after January 1, 1945.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. That is true. There will be a different method of filing tax returns. As the gentleman from Ohio has stated, this W-2 form can and will be filed after January 1. When this employee receives the W-2 statement from his employer, that will contain the amount of wages he has received. He will write on the back of that receipt his name, and the number of his dependents, and send that to the Collector of Internal Revenue. The Collector will figure the tax, write him a note, and say that his taxes were so many dollars either overwithheld or underwithheld. They will make the adjustment. But after this tax gets into operation, the withholding should be fairly accurate.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Does the gentleman believe, then, that the large number of unnecessary returns will be eliminated next year?

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. The large number of complicated returns will certainly be eliminated, because these 30,000,000 are going to use this W-2 form next year.

Mr. CHENOWETH. They will not make a return, then, unless the collector tells them they owe some money?

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. The collector will figure their tax for them next year.

Mr. JENKINS. As the gentleman from Kansas says, there are some considerations that we must not overlook. During this year of 1944 we are going to have a change in what we have heretofore called the marital exemptions. They are going to be changed, and they are going to be changed very materially in some cases.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. I think we should state to the gentleman from Colorado that this question of refunds bothered the members of the committee a great deal, but we finally decided that in the process of changing the withholding rates and graduating the withholding, and so forth, we would make a great mistake to place that change into effect during the middle of the year 1944, and we thought it was advisable to defer that change until the 1st of January, so that those who had refunds coming from overpayment of taxes through withholding in 1943 will more than likely have those refunds for the tax year 1944.

Mr. JENKINS. In that connection, I think we were given some assurance by the Treasury that they would put on an extra staff and get that accomplished.

Mr. MILLS. They will make the refunds much more quickly than they are doing this year.

Mr. CHENOWETH. But I understand the returns will have to be made, which makes the refunds necessary.

Mr. MILLS. The returns the gentleman has in mind will not have to be made, it is the W-2 return that will be filed by the wage earner after January 1, 1945. He will not make any computation of his tax, as he has had to do in the past.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I appreciate the observation of the gentleman.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON of Kansas. I was much interested in these W-2 returns which the employee receives from the employer. We will have 30,000,000 taxpayers who receive these particular W-2 forms. The collector of internal revenue advises me that they estimated that this year they would have 80,000,000 of those because of employees' working in different places, but their estimates were low. They are going to have 90,000,000 this year of these W-2 forms, which shows somewhat the burden we have placed on the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I do not want to be facetious, but the other evening I heard a radio commentator state that the Committee on Ways and Means was planning on increasing the exemptions for dependents so that the American families would be increased. Can the gentleman comment on that, or have you considered it, or is it necessary?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not know whether that is a question of eugenics or sociology, or manpower, or national policy, but it is hardly a question of taxation.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Does the gentleman feel that the number of infants can be increased in this country if you grant larger exemptions for the additional number of children in the family?

Mr. JENKINS. Of course, I think childbirth could easily be increased in this country.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. This commentator said they were doing that over in Germany. I do not feel that we necessarily have to adopt a German system in order to increase our population in this country.

Mr. JENKINS. To be serious, I will say that was given no consideration by the committee.

Let me pass to one other matter, and then I will conclude. There is another new departure in this bill which I think deserves consideration. That is the departure that changes the family status and the family exemption. Heretofore we have had what we call family exemptions, built around the family hearthstone, and we have allowed special encouragement by way of exemptions to those who keep families together, the heads of families, and so forth. But we do away with that. I do not know whether it is the best thing or not because the family is the basis of American life. The figures indicate that this new plan is probably a better plan from the standpoint of increased revenues. The plan adopted in this bill is this: We are going to change the definition of "taxpayer." Everybody is going to be a taxpayer who has a net income of \$500 or more. It makes no difference how old one is or where he is or what his circumstances are. There he stands. If he earns more than \$500, he is a taxpayer. If he is an unemancipated boy of 14 or 15 years of age and if he works and makes over \$500 a year, he is a taxpayer. He has been elevated to the dignified role of a taxpayer. He has got to pay his taxes. He is amenable to the same law and the same restrictions in that respect as his parents are. Heretofore many a boy has made money and the parents have taken it and failed to account for it as a part of their income. Instead of pressing the parent to account for the earnings of the child, we have decided we are going to put the child on his own feet if he makes more than \$500 a year and make him a taxpayer. If he makes less than \$500, we just leave that go. We are not going to hold the parents responsible for that. It has been decided that is the best policy.

What else are we going to do? Instead of saying we have family exemptions we say we have "exemptions." Instead of the father saying "I have an exemption for myself and an exemption for my wife, and an exemption for my child," he says, "I have three exemptions." They stand out financially, they are measured in dollars, each one of them is worth \$500. Whenever that is done, of course, a man with a large family, with a large number of these exemptions, will

naturally pay less taxes in the long run than the man who is a single man or a married man without any children.

I will say that of two of the cardinal principles of this whole bill, one of them is the fact that we provide an easy system by which the man who works can pay his tax without being compelled to stand in the long line waiting a chance to get the assistance of a tax official to assist him make out his tax return. And we provide a system by which family life will be maintained without a man having to be squeamish about it. For instance, here is an old couple with a daughter who has stood by them and worked and has kept them together. She has kept the family together. Under the present law they are not entitled to an exemption for that person, because she is over 18 years of age. Why should they not have an exemption? She keeps that family unit together. In this law we propose to give them that exemption. This law will provide an exemption, regardless of age.

Let me recapitulate the principal features of this bill:

First. It brings great relief from complexities to 30,000,000 taxpayers who are primarily wage earners or salary earners earning up to \$5,000.

Second. It brings relief to 10,000,000 taxpayers whose earnings and other income taken together does not exceed \$5,000.

Third. It provides that every person, regardless of age who earns \$500 or more per year is a taxpayer.

Fourth. That exemptions are changed to \$500 for husband, \$500 for the wife, \$500 for each dependent child or person dependent on the taxpayer.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat that this bill, while not perfect, will go a long way toward providing the simplification that the people are demanding.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order and to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, "I have lived, sir, a long time," said the venerable Franklin at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, "and the longer I live, the more convincing proof I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?" In keeping with that fundamental belief of a Christian Nation, the churches of America plan to make the day when our boys assault Fortress Europe a day of prayer for their safe deliverance. In the calm assurance that those prayers will be answered, I would like to see some suitable day designated as a national holiday to commemorate those who gave their lives in World War No. 2 that others might live, and to be annually celebrated on a par with the

day our ancestors declared their independence. I would like to see the Congress adopt a recent suggestion of the War Department that a national cemetery be established in every State in the Union as an honored and sacred resting place for those who, like the young men of Athens "gave their bodies to the Commonwealth". And in order that those heroes may receive, as Pericles said of the men of Athens, "each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by", I would like to see our Nation adopt a national flower which in the springtime may be found blooming in all of those national cemeteries—flowers that are reborn on what may be the anniversary of invasion day and be a yearly reminder of the fact that the bodies of those who sleep beneath them will some day rise again to become as incorruptible as their souls.

The flowering dogwood is not only a typical American flowering tree or shrub, but one or more of the 16 species of *Cornus* is to be found in every State of the Union. The white flowering dogwood is to be found only in this country. All over the world where people love, admire and cherish trees, their attention has been attracted to the dogwoods of America. There is an old legend, dating back to the earliest missionary work of the Jesuit Priests among the Shawnee Indians, to the effect that the story of the crucifixion impressed the Shawnees strongly, but they had not torn away from their age-old belief that their own gods had exclusive control over the trees and shrubs and herbs and could do with them as they pleased. When Christ was about to be crucified, their legend runs, the Indian gods were very angry and decreed that the wood of no tree that they had created should be used for this purpose. Paying no attention at all to the gods, the people took the wood of the dogwood tree and fashioned the cross of it. The dogwood made no protest—its wood did not settle as fast as it was hung, it did not rot and fall away. For this offense the Shawnee gods turned the dogwood from a tall, erect tree into a small, tortured one which should bear the cross forever afterward in its bloom. The flower's four white bracts are the cross, the notches in them show where the nails were driven through the Saviour's hands and the stain at the notch is His blood.

More than half a century ago the patriotic citizens of the State of Pennsylvania made the hallowed ground of Valley Forge a State park to the memory of George Washington and his Revolutionary soldiers who won for us our independence and our freedom. Realizing that no prettier or more appropriate flower or flowering shrub could be had to beautify the park than the native white flowering dogwood which grew there, the landscaping and beautification of the park area were built around the dogwood as the central theme. One of the dogwood trees standing a short distance west of Valley Forge chapel, and now

over 90 years of age, has been pronounced by artists and nature lovers to be one of the most beautiful trees in the world when in the month of May its dark and rugged limbs appear to be supporting a heavy snowfall against a rich background of verdant blue grass. Subsequent plantings of this beautiful tree in the Valley Forge State Park have developed it into such a unique beauty spot that each year, prior to the present war, more than half a million people made a pilgrimage to Valley Forge to view what many regard as the greatest flower show in America and to do homage to the memory of distinguished heroes.

Numerous bills have been introduced in the Congress to honor and to provide in a material way for those who survive the present struggle to make safe for future generations the rich heritage bequeathed to us by the men of Valley Forge. I have introduced today a bill to honor the memory of those who fall in the struggle. That bill designates the white flowering American dogwood as our national flower, with the hope that it will be used, as indicated above, to make of each national cemetery hereafter established a beauty spot comparable to that of Valley Forge. The hardness of the wood of those dogwood trees will symbolize for us the irrefragable spirit of the youth of America that stormed the portals of Fortress Europe, and met undaunted a salute from the arsenals of hell. The white petals of the flowering dogwood will symbolize for us the purity of their cause in which the ideals of a freedom-loving Christian people triumphed over the barbaric dogmas of a brutal dictator; while their soft and natural beauty will glide into the darker musings of a sorrowing heart and convey the comforting message, "He rests in peace."

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 4646, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under special order, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Rowe] has 1 hour to speak today. That was an error. The assignment should have been for Wednesday of next week. I ask unanimous consent that it be assigned for Wednesday of next week.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. PRATT] be allowed to extend his own remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record, and in-

clude an editorial from the Dallas News, commending the record made by Secretary Hull.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to insert an editorial from *Il Progresso*, an Italian newspaper, in New York City.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. ROGERS of California (at the request of Mr. RAMSPECK) for 2 weeks, on account of important business.

To Mr. GALLAGHER (at the request of Mr. SIMPSON) for 3 days, on account of official business.

#### INVESTIGATION OF SEIZURE OF MONTGOMERY WARD & CO.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that the resolution providing for the investigation of the Montgomery Ward matter will be taken up on Friday.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman state what time Friday? Will it be taken up the first thing or after the disposition of the tax bill?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I presume it would be the first order of business on Friday.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 4, 1944, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Patents on Wednesday, May 10, 1944, at 10 a. m., to further consider H. R. 2987, a bill to provide equitable compensation for useful suggestions or inventions by personnel of the Department of the Interior.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold a public hearing Thursday, May 18, 1944, at 10 o'clock a. m., on H. R. 2809, to amend section 511 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (ship construction reserve fund).

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1499. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting pursuant to section 16 of the Organic Act of the Virgin

Islands of the United States, approved June 22, 1936, one copy each of various legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

1500. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting pursuant to section 16 of the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands of the United States, approved June 22, 1936, one copy each of various legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

1501. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting the Thirtieth Annual Report, prepared by direction of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, covering operations during the calendar year 1943; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1502. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting pursuant to section 16 of the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands of the United States, approved June 22, 1936, one copy each of various legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

1503. A letter from the Secretary of War, dated April 6, 1944, advising that, in accordance with a recent decision of the War Department General Staff, the confidential classification accompanying the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943, has been removed, and that there is no longer any objection to the printing of the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943, including an interim report from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 27, 1941, together with accompanying papers, submitting surveys and studies of the Hungry Horse Dam, Mont., made under authority of section 7, of the Flood Control Act, approved June 22, 1936, which was then referred to the Committee on Flood Control; to the Committee on Printing.

1504. A letter from the Secretary of War, dated April 6, 1944, advising that, in accordance with a recent decision of the War Department General Staff, the confidential classification accompanying the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943, has been removed, and that there is no longer any objection to the printing of the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on November 26, 1942, including an interim report from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 27, 1941, together with accompanying papers, submitting surveys and studies of the Cheat River and tributaries, West Virginia, made under authority of section 7, of the Flood Control Act, approved June 22, 1936, which was then referred to the Committee on Flood Control; to the Committee on Printing.

1505. A letter from the Secretary of War, dated April 6, 1944, advising that, in accordance with a recent decision of the War Department General Staff, the confidential classification accompanying the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943, has been removed, and that there is no longer any objection to the printing of the letter of the Secretary of War transmitted to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943, including an interim report from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 27, 1941, together with accompanying papers, submitting surveys and studies of Ycughlogheny River, Pa. and Md., made under authority of section 7 of the Flood Control Act, approved June 22, 1936, which

was then referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors; to the Committee on Printing.

1503. A letter from the Chairman, War Production Board, transmitting the Eleventh Report on the operations of the Chairman of the War Production Board; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1507. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide for the transportation to their homes of persons discharged from the naval service because of under age at the time of enlistment; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. BURCH of Virginia: Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. H. R. 4517. A bill to remove restrictions on establishing post-office branches and stations; with amendment (Rept. No. 1373, pt. II). Referred to the Committee on the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 or rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4483) granting an increase of pension to Harrison H. Bradford, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LANE:

H. R. 4738. A bill to repeal the automobile-use tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 4739. A bill to further amend the act approved October 14, 1940, as amended; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ROBERTSON:

H. R. 4740. A bill to designate the white flowering American dogwood as the national flower of the United States; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. R. 4741. A bill to provide for water-pollution control activities in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H. R. 4742. A bill to provide for Federal assistance in the maintenance, expansion, and operation of school-lunch and school-milk programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HARE:

H. J. Res. 271. Joint resolution making an additional appropriation for the fiscal year 1944 for emergency maternity and infant care for wives of enlisted men in the armed forces; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H. Con. Res. 82. Concurrent resolution for a tribute of sympathy, friendship, and support to the Polish people on the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. Res. 526. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 4710, a bill authorizing the ac-

quisition and conversion or construction of certain landing craft and district craft for the United States Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the president, Mayaguez Chamber of Commerce, Puerto Rico, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to approve Insular Affairs Committee's report, which recommends restoration of trade to normal commercial channels; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CUNNINGHAM:

H. R. 4743. A bill granting an increase of pension to Belle C. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DISNEY:

H. R. 4744. A bill for the relief of the Lubell Bros., Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GROSS:

H. R. 4745. A bill for the relief of S. Carl Wolfskill; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 4746. A bill for the relief of Harry D. Koons; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred, as follows:

5609. By Mr. CLASON: Petition of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, demanding that the Civil Aeronautics Board grant additional certificates of convenience and necessity to competing transcontinental air lines that will give to Massachusetts through trunk-line routes direct to important cities throughout the country without the necessity of changing at New York; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

5610. By Mr. GOODWIN: Resolution of the school committee of the city of Somerville, Mass., relative to the necessity for the continuation of the school-lunch program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

5611. Also, resolution of members of the Somerville Chapter 27 of the Disabled American Veterans, opposing the so-called G. I. bill of rights; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

5612. Also, resolution of members of Malden Chapter of the Disabled American Veterans, opposing the so-called G. I. bill of rights; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

5613. By Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL: Petitions of the Hall Furlough Club, No. 4, tenth ward, Binghamton, N. Y., and signed by 99 residents of the Thirty-fourth Congressional District, urging the passage of the Hall furlough bill (H. R. 1504) providing free transportation during furlough for members of our armed forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

5614. By Mr. SHORT: Petition of Jennie E. Hovey and others, of Howe County, Mo., urging support of House bill 2082, introduced by Hon. JOSEPH R. ERYSON, of South Carolina, to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war, by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war and until the termination of demobilization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.