

improvement factor clauses, assuring them of regular wage increases even when basic contracts remain unchanged.

Thus the depressed class is not merely a low-paid group. It has assumed a distinct identity as a class increasingly isolated from the great mass of wage earners, a class that is denied the voice, the power and the progress of other American workers, a class condemned to poverty.

The penalties imposed upon these workers are not merely relative. The present minimum wage is simply not enough to meet minimum human needs. According to a Department of Labor study, a family of four requires an income of at least \$2.25 an hour. Other studies have estimated the minimum living costs of a single person at nearly \$3,000 a year, or nearly \$1.50 an hour. At best, members of the depressed class are 33½ percent below a living wage.

Let me cite a truly ironical fact. In many cities the employed head of a family of four, who earns \$1 an hour, would be better off if he quit his job and went on home relief—because home relief budgets for families of this size, even though they are designed simply to ward off starvation, frequently call for more than \$2,000 a year.

I have referred only briefly to the question of wage-hour coverage, but this is of at least equal importance. The price of the 75-cent minimum in 1950 was a reduction in the number of workers protected by the law. Among those wholly excluded are workers in the retail and service trades, whose numbers are relatively greater with each passing year.

What does all this mean to the rest of us? In the narrowest and most selfish terms, it means money.

Poverty below the subsistence level, as we all should know by now, is quickly translated into slums, delinquency, and disease—and, therefore, into higher taxes to curb these evils.

Moreover, our national economic health is at stake. An expanding national economy, one that will absorb both the present unemployed and the 700,000 or so new workers who enter the labor market annually, can

be achieved only if we have the ability to consume what we produce. We can't reach that goal while millions of our citizens are unable to afford even the bare necessities.

Our recovery from last year's recession is an apt example. All the economic signs were favorable toward the end of 1958. There was clearly a pentup demand for goods of all kinds; inventories were depleted; the shakeout had apparently run its course.

But in a matter of months the much-heralded revival had lost headway. Production soared, but sales lagged behind. Employment fell off. Inventories began to grow again. There weren't enough customers with money to buy what they wanted and needed.

We in the United States have never sought to bring about economic equality among our people. We picture our country as a land of opportunity, in which each of us can reasonably expect to prosper in proportion to his diligence and skill.

To be sure, we have not fully realized this goal, but for the most part, until recent years, we have recognized our shortcomings and tried to correct them. The Fair Labor Standards Act itself is an example.

Unless we continue on this course, unless we strive ceaselessly to make this a land of opportunity for all, we make a mockery of our own pretensions and place a heavy burden on our conscience as a people.

What do we propose?

First, we propose to raise the minimum hourly wage to \$1.25—a modest step when it is considered that industrial wages as a whole have gone up 30 cents an hour since the \$1 minimum was instituted.

Second, we propose to extend the coverage of the law to some 7,500,000 additional workers, most of them in the retail and service trades, with lesser numbers in a dozen other fields. This, too, is modest enough. It would leave more than 12 million workers still unprotected.

What possible objections can be raised against these proposals? Knowing the opposition as I do, I predict there will be three

principal points of attack. One will come from the self-appointed "defenders of small business," who are in reality lobbyists for the huge chain and department stores. They will be raising a wholly untenable argument.

Our bill would apply to retail establishments with gross annual sales of \$500,000 or more. These include only 3 percent of the Nation's retail enterprises, yet these 3 percent employ more than half the Nation's retail workers. The other 97 percent, the bona fide small businesses, would not be involved.

These big operations can certainly afford a \$1.25 minimum and a 40-hour week. But surveys have shown that in practice they pay more of their workers less than \$1 an hour than do the single-owner stores. By forcing the huge chains to meet fair labor standards and by increasing the purchasing power of the lowest paid, we will help small businessmen, not hurt them.

Another equally specious argument will undoubtedly be raised by the Eisenhower administration—that our bill will be inflationary. But studies by the Department of Labor after each previous increase in the minimum wage have proved that this is simply not true. There has been no significant effect upon either prices or wages, and there is no reason to expect a different result this time.

Finally, the diehard opposition from low-wage States and low-wage industries will raise the tattered banner of local autonomy. They will claim that minimum wage regulation in retail and service industries should be left in State hands. But the record shows that the need is greatest in those very States where no action will ever be taken. The few effective wage-hour laws at the State level are in the States where wages are already higher than average and where union organization is strongest.

I hope that this year Congress will not be deterred by these baseless objections.

The problem confronting us is both grave and urgent. It must be met promptly and firmly if we are to maintain a sound economy, a good conscience, and the cause of democracy throughout the world.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, MAY 4, 1959

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Wm. Kenneth Lyons, minister, Anacostia Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

I love the Lord, because He hath heard my voice and my supplications.—Psalm 116: 1.

Our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for this new day, with its privileges and opportunities. May we in gratitude for Thy love and mercy, serve Thee today with sincere hearts. Give us grace to do Thy will, and to accept Thy purposes for us in the spirit of joyful obedience, believing that Thy will is always best.

Keep our hearts from sin, our minds pure, and our motives true. Forgive us when we fail. Whether the day brings prosperity or loss, sunshine or shadow, blessings or bereavement, may our faith remain firm, our love unflinching, our hope undaunted. Through us today may mankind be blessed, and the coming of Thy Kingdom hastened, for His name's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 30, 1959, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 3293. An act to authorize the construction of modern naval vessels.

H. Con. Res. 34. Concurrent resolution favoring the meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Parliamentary Conference for 1959 in Washington, D.C.

The message also 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. 5916. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists on its amendments to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HILL, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MUNDT to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following

titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 455. The act to provide for the appointment of an assistant to the Secretary of State to assure joint policy and planning and equitable budgeting of exchange of persons, programs, and administrative cooperation between staffs engaged in carrying out such programs;

S. 753. An act to authorize cooperative associations of milk producers to bargain with purchasers singly or in groups, and for other purposes;

S. 994. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Spokane Valley project, Washington and Idaho, under Federal reclamation laws; and

S. 1289. An act to increase and extend the special milk program for children.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, May 3, marked the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish constitution, one of the most remarkable

documents known to Western civilization. In its aspirations for cementing a nation of free people, it compares favorably with our great Declaration of Independence. Its structure closely followed our own form of representative government as initiated by our Founding Fathers.

The Soviet Iron Curtain has never been able to dim the ardor of the Polish people for freedom and independence. They have long now endured unbearable physical and mental suffering. However, their ordeals have strengthened the moral fiber of the Polish people and have increased their determination to help themselves at the earliest opportunity to regain their freedom. We should all have an abiding respect for those resolute men and women who displayed such courage and fortitude in the face of tremendous odds and the most brutal reprisals by the Soviet tyrants.

A passion for liberty denied them in their homeland resulted in the migration of many Poles to our shores. Poland's loss was our gain as they came here endowed with a high purpose of patriotism. They helped cultivate our soil, developed our coal and iron mines, and made tremendous contributions in all fields to the expansion of our industry. They greatly contributed to the spiritual and religious growth of our country.

The 168th anniversary of the Polish constitution is an appropriate occasion for all of us to express appreciation to all Americans of Polish birth or descent for their contributions in the defense and development of our great country. It is my fervent hope that the day may soon come when Poland will have a rebirth of freedom under the type of constitution whose establishment is now being commemorated.

CONFIDENCE IN SECRETARY HERTER

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Herter deserves the widest support from the Congress and the President for the beginning he has made at Paris. He has achieved unity among the West—Great Britain, France, West Germany, and ourselves.

And this unity has produced a negotiating position that recognizes the two fundamental elements in a viable Central European settlement: That Communist troops and armaments must be limited in the area if it is to evolve toward freedom; and that Western, and particularly West German, troops and armaments must likewise be limited in the area if Russia's legitimate security interests are to be recognized.

If, as appears to be the case, these two fundamentals are the essence of the West's position, we have at last disengaged ourselves from the idea that world opinion will let us merely say no to every Soviet proposal without advancing a constructive proposal of our own.

This disengagement makes the best of sense. Our diplomacy can be firm without being sterile.

When Secretary Herter goes to Geneva, our full confidence should go with him.

NATIONAL RADIO MONTH

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, it would be hard to find a public service privately financed and administered more vital to the local and the national interest than radio. It is because of this complete integration of radio in the lives of the American people that I wish to be recorded as a devoted believer in the designation of May as National Radio Month. We in the Congress have of course an acute awareness of the now indispensable service that radio performs for the people on behalf of government. Radio is without the shadow of a doubt, the most powerful bulwark to democracy since printing. It is bringing the spoken word to 66 million Americans every day, over more than 3,900 AM and FM stations. It means that government and news, education and entertainment, and enlightened salesmanship and advertising are within easy and pleasant earshot of 97 percent of all American homes. These enjoy a total of no less than 150 million radio sets. This is to say nothing of the radios in 38 million automobiles. There is the incalculable life and treasure saving performance, on the heroic scale, that is now the daily self-accepted duty of radio, warning us of disasters, helping us when catastrophe strikes. It is in one sense the very heartbeat of our system of defense. Like few other services I can call to mind the work of radio in the public interest makes it the champion of the people's needs and desires and earns it our very special gratitude and applause. I take pride in saluting the radio industry in this National Radio Month.

HAS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE Mc- ELROY CHANGED HIS MIND ABOUT THE ADEQUACY OF THE 1960 MILITARY BUDGET?

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, no member of the Eisenhower administration has been more eloquent in defending the adequacy of the 1960 defense budget than has Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy.

In testimony before the Committee on Armed Services of the House and other committees of this Congress Secretary McElroy has repeatedly said that even though the Russians may be out-producing us in guided missiles, we still

do not have to worry about matching their production item for item in 1960.

I was amazed then to find that on April 27, in an address before the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association dinner in New York City he declared that the Soviets may be increasing their military spending by as much as 50 percent over the next 7 years, and that such action would force us in this country to match the Soviets or even better them in the field of military production. This situation, said the Secretary, would confront the Nation with one of the hard choices which we may soon have to make.

I wonder if this speech means that the Secretary has changed his thinking about the adequacy of the 1960 military budget? It certainly looks that way. It does seem to me that at the very least Secretary McElroy owes it to the Congress to come back here and tell us whether he has changed his thinking. If, as he says, we are going to have to face up to some hard choices with regard to our military strength because of increased Soviet productive capacity, then perhaps we in Congress ought to start thinking about those hard choices now rather than waiting until later on. I think the speech of the Secretary deserves the conscientious consideration of every Member of this body, and I am asking that it be inserted in the RECORD.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include a copy of a letter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week, I had occasion to call the attention of my colleagues here in the House to a letter I received from the Adjutant General of the Army stating that preliminary physical examinations for West Point applicants would be discontinued. You recall that I objected strongly to the notice and wrote the Adjutant General to give my reasons for opposing such a change in the examining procedures.

I thought that those of you who agreed with my position would like to see the reply I received from the Adjutant General and am making it a part of these remarks. It is most gratifying to learn that the Department of the Army has no objection to permitting the Members of Congress to continue to use the service medical facilities to test the physical fitness of their applicants.

The letter follows:

HEADQUARTERS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1959.

HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SCHENCK: This is in reply to your letter of April 22 concerning medical examinations for your West Point applicants.

It is not the intent of the Department of the Army to refuse or otherwise deny a preliminary medical examination to any young man seeking a congressional nomination to the U.S. Military Academy.

The matter of preliminary testing, whether it be mental or medical, is the prerogative of the nominating authority. If you prefer to authorize a preliminary medical examination at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in advance of nomination, you are entirely at liberty to do so.

In appreciation of your interest, and in the hope that you will find this reply satisfactory, I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. V. LEE,

Major General, U.S. Army, the Adjutant General.

CALL OF THE PRIVATE CALENDAR

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Private Calendar on tomorrow be dispensed with.

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

There was no objection.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order on Calendar Wednesday of this week be dispensed with.

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

There was no objection.

AMENDING THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT OF 1937, THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT TAX ACT, AND THE RAILROAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings whereby the bill H.R. 5610 was laid on the table, the amendment agreed to, the bill engrossed and read a third time, and passed, be vacated for the purpose of offering an amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, will the chairman of our committee explain the purpose of this request?

Mr. HARRIS. The purpose of this unanimous consent request is that the bill H.R. 5610 be reconsidered, after the vacating of the proceedings of the House of last week in connection therewith, for the purpose of agreeing to an amendment.

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so to remind the House of the recommendation of my distinguished chairman and the majority of the members of the committee the other day. It certainly was not in the public interest to approve a bill in the House of

Representatives that nobody had read. That is exactly what we did. We were urged, as I recall, to accept a bill on faith with a very brief explanation of what were to be five major amendments to a bill, and they were never fully explained. Notwithstanding what happened, the House took its course of action which they deemed to be in the public interest. Here we are back in this situation today. Although I feel certainly inclined to object, I am not going to object, but I hope after this the House will at least have the consideration to accept the recommendation of its legislative committee rather than adopt a measure that they have not even had a chance to read.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, no quorum is present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 36]

Adair	Dulski	Moeller
Addonizio	Durham	Moore
Andersen,	Dwyer	Morgan
Minn.	Fallon	Multer
Anderson,	Farbstein	Mumma
Mont.	Fino	Murphy
Aspinall	Flynn	Nix
Barrett	Fogarty	Norblad
Bass, N.H.	Gallagher	Philbin
Belcher	Gavin	Pillion
Blicht	Giaino	Powell
Boggs	Glenn	Prokop
Bolton	Hall	Reece, Tenn.
Bonner	Halleck	Rivers, S.C.
Bow	Healey	Rodino
Bowles	Hess	Rogers, Tex.
Boyle	Hoffman, Ill.	Roosevelt
Brewster	Hosmer	Rostenkowski
Buckley	Irwin	St. George
Bush	Jennings	Santangelo
Cahill	Judd	Scherer
Carnahan	Kearns	Taylor
Carter	Kilgore	Teller
Celler	Lafore	Thompson, N.J.
Coad	Libonati	Thompson, Wyo.
Colmer	Lipscomb	Thornberry
Cook	McGovern	Toll
Cooley	McMillan	Tuck
Corbett	McSween	Vanik
Daniels	Macdonald	Watts
Davis, Tenn.	Madden	Weaver
Denton	Marrow	Williams
Diggs	Michel	Withrow
Dixon	Miller	Wolf
Dooley	Clement W.	Zablocki
Dorn, N.Y.	Miller, N.Y.	Zelenko
Downing	Minshall	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 301 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT OF 1937, THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT TAX ACT, AND THE RAILROAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"PART I—AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT OF 1937

"SECTION 1. (a) Section 2(a)3 of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 is amended to read as follows:

"3. Individuals who will have attained the age of sixty and will have completed thirty years of service or, in the case of women, who will have attained the age of sixty-two and will have completed less than thirty years of service, but the annuity of such individual shall be reduced by one one-hundred-and-eightieth for each calendar month that he or she is under age sixty-five when the annuity begins to accrue."

"(b) Section 2(d) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'If pursuant to the third sentence of this subsection an annuity was not paid to an individual with respect to one or more months in any calendar year, and it is subsequently established that the total amount of such individual's earnings during such year as determined in accordance with that sentence (but exclusive of earnings for services described in the first sentence of this subsection) did not exceed \$1,200, the annuity with respect to such month or months, and any deduction imposed by reason of the failure to report earnings for such month or months under the fifth sentence of this subsection, shall then be payable. If the total amount of such individual's earnings during such year (exclusive of earnings for services described in the first sentence of this subsection) is in excess of \$1,200, the number of months in such year with respect to which an annuity is not payable by reason for such third and fifth sentences shall not exceed one month for each \$100 of such excess, treating for the last \$50 or more of such excess as \$100; and if the amount of the annuity has changed during such year, any payments of annuity which become payable solely by reason of the limitation contained in this sentence shall be made first with respect to the month or months for which the annuity is larger.'

"(c) Section 2(e) of such Act is amended by striking out 'than an amount' and inserting in lieu thereof 'than 110 per centum of an amount'.

"(d) Section 2(g) of such Act is amended by inserting after 'wife under age 65' the following: 'other than a wife who is receiving such annuity by reason of an election under subsection (h)'

"(e) Section 2 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) A spouse who would be entitled to an annuity under subsection (e) if she or he had attained the age of 65 may elect upon or after attaining the age of 62 to receive such annuity, but the annuity in any such case shall be reduced by one one-hundred-and-eightieth for each calendar month that the spouse is under age 65 when the annuity begins to accrue."

"Sec. 2. (a) Section 3(a) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 is amended (1) by striking out '3.04', '2.28', and '1.52' and inserting in lieu thereof '3.35', '2.51', and '1.67', respectively; and (2) by striking out '\$200' and inserting in lieu thereof '\$250'.

"(b) Section 3(c) of such Act is amended by inserting after 'or in excess of \$350 for any month after June 30, 1954,' the following: 'and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, or in excess of \$400 for any month after the month in which this Act was so amended.'

"(c) Section 3(e) of such Act is amended (1) by striking out '\$4.55', '\$75.90', and 'his monthly compensation' and inserting in lieu thereof '\$5.00', '\$83.50' and '110 per centum of his monthly compensation', respectively; (2) by striking out 'is less than the amount, or the additional amount' and inserting in lieu thereof 'is less than 110 per centum of the amount, or 110 per centum of the additional amount'; (3) by inserting after 'age sixty-five,' the following: 'women entitled to spouses' annuities pursuant to elections made under subsection (h) of section 2 to be entitled to wife's insurance benefits determined under section 202(g) of the Social Security Act'; and (4) by striking out 'such amount or such additional amount' and inserting in lieu thereof '110 per centum of such amount or 110 per centum of such additional amount'.

"Sec. 3. (a) Section 5(f) (2) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 is amended by striking out 'and 7 per centum of his or her compensation after December 31, 1946 (exclusive in both cases of compensation in excess of \$300 for any month before July 1, 1954, and in the latter case in excess of \$350 for any month after June 30, 1954),' and by inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'plus 7 per centum of his or her compensation paid after December 31, 1946, and before January 1, 1959, plus 7½ per centum of his or her compensation paid after December 31, 1958, and before January 1, 1962, plus 8 per centum of his or her compensation paid after December 31, 1961 (exclusive of compensation in excess of \$300 for any month before July 1, 1954, and in excess of \$350 for any month after June 30, 1954, and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, and in excess of \$400 for any month after the month in which this Act was so amended)';

"(b) Section 5(h) of such Act is amended by striking out '\$33', '\$176', and '\$15.40' wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof '\$36.30', '\$193.60', and '\$16.95', respectively.

"(c) Section 5(1) (1) (ii) of such Act is amended by striking out 'or in which month he engaged on seven or more different calendar days in noncovered remunerative activity outside the United States (as defined in section 203(k) of the Social Security Act)' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'or, having engaged in any activity outside the United States, would be charged under such section 203(e) with any earnings derived from such activity if it had been an activity within the United States'.

"(d) Clause (A) (1) of section 5(1) (9) of such Act is amended by striking out the word 'and' appearing after 'July 1, 1954,' and by inserting after 'June 30, 1954,' the following: 'and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, and any excess over \$400 for any calendar month after the month in which this Act was so amended,'.

"(e) Clause (A) (ii) of section 5(1) (9) of such Act is amended (1) by setting 'and before 1959' after '1954' where it first appears; (2) by inserting after '\$4,200' where it first appears the following: ', or for any calendar year after 1958 is less than \$4,800'; (3) by striking out '\$350' and inserting in lieu thereof '\$400'; and (4) by striking out 'and \$4,200 for years after 1954, by' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: ', \$4,200 for years after 1954 and before 1959, and \$4,800 for years after 1958, by'.

"(f) Section 5(1) (10) of such Act is amended by striking out '44', '11', '\$350', '\$15.40', '\$36.66', '\$27.50', and '\$14.66' wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof '49', '12', '\$400', '\$16.95', '\$40.33', '\$30.25', and '\$16.13, respectively.

"Sec. 4. Section 20 of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 is amended (1) by inserting '(a)' immediately after 'Sec. 20.'; and (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) Pensions and annuities under this Act or the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935 shall not be considered as income for the purposes of section 522 of title 38 of the United States Code."

"Sec. 5. All pensions under section 6 of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, all joint and survivor annuities and survivor annuities deriving from joint and survivor annuities under that Act awarded before the month next following the month of enactment of this Act, all widows' and widowers' insurance annuities which began to accrue before the second calendar month next following the month of such enactment, and which, in accordance with the proviso in section 5(a) or section 5(b) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, are payable in the amount of the spouse's annuity to which the widow or widower was entitled, and all annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935, are increased by 10 per centum.

"Sec. 6. (a) The amendments made by section 1 (other than subsection (b) thereof), by subsections (a) and (c) of section 2, and by subsection (b) of section 3 shall be effective only with respect to annuities (not including annuities to which section 5 applies) accruing for months after the month of enactment of this Act. The amendment made by subsection (b) of section 1 and by subsection (c) of section 3 shall be effective with respect to annuities accruing during the calendar year 1959 and subsequent calendar years. The amendment made by subsection (a) of section 3 shall be effective only with respect to lump-sum payments (under section 5(f) (2) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937) in the case of deaths occurring after the month of enactment of this Act. The amendments made by subsection (f) of section 3 shall be effective only with respect to annuities accruing for months after the month of enactment of this Act and lump-sum payments (under section 5(f) (1) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937) in the case of deaths occurring after the month of enactment of this Act. Sections 4 and 5 shall be effective only with respect to pensions due in calendar months after the month next following the month of enactment of this Act and annuities accruing for months after the month of enactment of this Act.

"(b) All recertifications required by reason of the amendments made by this part shall be made by the Railroad Retirement Board without application therefor.

"PART II—AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT TAX ACT

"Sec. 201. (a) Section 3201 of the Railroad Retirement Tax Act is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3201. RATE OF TAX.

"In addition to other taxes, there is hereby imposed on the income of every employee a tax equal to—

"(1) 6¼ percent of so much of the compensation paid to such employee for services rendered by him after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959, and before January 1, 1962, and

"(2) 7¼ percent of so much of the compensation paid to such employee for services rendered by him after December 31, 1961,

as is not in excess of \$400 for any calendar month: *Provided*, That the rate of tax im-

posed by this section shall be increased, with respect to compensation paid for services rendered after December 31, 1964, by a number of percentage points (including fractional points) equal at any given time to the number of percentage points (including fractional points) by which the rate of the tax imposed with respect to wages by section 3101 at such time exceeds the rate provided by paragraph (2) of such section 3101 as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1956."

"(b) Section 3202(a) of the Railroad Retirement Tax Act is amended (1) by striking out 'after December 31, 1954' wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof 'after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959'; (2) by striking out '\$350' wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof '\$400'; (3) by striking out 'after 1954' and inserting in lieu thereof 'after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959'.

"(c) Section 3211 of the Railroad Retirement Tax Act is amended to read as follows: "SEC. 3211. RATE OF TAX.

"In addition to other taxes, there is hereby imposed on the income of each employee representative a tax equal to—

"(1) 13½ percent of so much of the compensation paid to such employee representative for services rendered by him after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959, and before January 1, 1962, and

"(2) 14½ percent of so much of the compensation paid to such employee representative for services rendered by him after December 31, 1961,

as is not in excess of \$400 for any calendar month: *Provided*, That the rate of tax imposed by this section shall be increased, with respect to compensation paid for services rendered after December 31, 1964, by a number of percentage points (including fractional points) equal at any given time to twice the number of percentage points (including fractional points) by which the rate of the tax imposed with respect to wages by section 3101 at such time exceeds the rate provided by paragraph (2) of such section 3101 as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1956."

"(d) (1) Section 3221 of the Railroad Retirement Tax Act is amended by striking out 'In addition to' and all that follows down through '\$350' the first time it appears, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(a) In addition to other taxes, there is hereby imposed on every employer an excise tax, with respect to having individuals in his employ, equal to—

"(1) 6¾ percent of so much of the compensation paid by such employer for services rendered to him after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959, and before January 1, 1962, and

"(2) 7¼ percent of so much of the compensation paid by such employer for services rendered to him after December 31, 1961, as is, with respect to any employee for any calendar month, not in excess of \$400'.

"(2) Such section 3221 is further amended (A) by striking out 'after December 31, 1954' and 'after 1954' wherever they appear in that section and inserting in lieu thereof 'after the month in which this provision was amended in 1959'; (B) by striking out '\$350' wherever else it appears in that section and inserting in lieu thereof '\$400'; and (C) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) The rate of tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be increased, with respect to compensation paid for services rendered after December 31, 1964, by a number of percentage points (including fractional points) equal at any given time to the number of

percentage points (including fractional points) by which the rate of the tax imposed with respect to wages by section 3111 at such time exceeds the rate provided by paragraph (2) of such section 3111 as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1956.

"Sec. 202. The amendments made by section 201 shall, except as otherwise provided in such amendments, be effective as of the first day of the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was enacted, and shall apply only with respect to compensation paid after the month of such enactment, for services rendered after such month of enactment.

"PART III—AMENDMENTS TO THE RAILROAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT

"Sec. 301. (a) Section 1(i) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out the proviso in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof: 'Provided, however, That in computing the compensation paid to any employee, no part of any month's compensation in excess of \$300 for any month before July 1, 1954, or in excess of \$350 for any month after June 30, 1954, and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, or in excess of \$400 for any month after the month in which this Act was so amended, shall be recognized.'

"(b) The first proviso of section 1(k) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out "\$400" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$500."

"Sec. 302. (a) Section 2(a) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out the language between '(i)' and '(ii)' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'for each day of unemployment in excess of four during any registration period, and.'

"(b) Section 2(a) of such Act is further amended by striking out columns I and II and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

Column I Total Compensation	Column II Daily Benefit Rate
\$500 to \$699.99-----	\$4.50
700 to 999.99-----	5.00
1,000 to 1,299.99-----	5.50
1,300 to 1,599.99-----	6.00
1,600 to 1,899.99-----	6.50
1,900 to 2,199.99-----	7.00
2,200 to 2,499.99-----	7.50
2,500 to 2,799.99-----	8.00
2,800 to 3,099.99-----	8.50
3,100 to 3,499.99-----	9.00
3,500 to 3,999.99-----	9.50
4,000 and over-----	10.20'

"(c) The proviso in such section 2(a) is amended by striking out '50' and '\$8.50' and inserting in lieu thereof '60' and '\$10.20', respectively.

"Sec. 303 (a) Section 2(c) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and instreing in lieu of such period a colon and the following: 'And provided further, That, with respect to an employee who has ten or more years of service as defined in section 1(f) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, who did not voluntarily leave work without good cause or voluntarily retire, and who had current rights to normal benefits for days of unemployment in a benefit year but has exhausted such rights, the benefit year in which such rights are exhausted shall be deemed not to be ended until the last day of the extended benefit period determined under the following schedule, and the maximum number of days of, and amount of payment for, unemployment within such benefit year for which benefits may be paid to the employee shall be enlarged to include all compensable days

of unemployment within such extended benefit period:

The extended benefit period shall begin on the first day of unemployment following the day on which the employee exhausted his then current rights to normal benefits for days of unemployment and shall continue for successive fourteen-day periods (each of which periods shall constitute a registration period) until the number of such fourteen-day periods totals—	total—
10 and less than 15---	7 but not more than 65 days)
15 and over-----	13

but not such extended benefit period shall extend beyond the beginning of the first registration period in a benefit year in which the employee is again qualified for benefits in accordance with section 3 of this Act on the basis of compensation earned after the first of such successive fourteen-day periods has begun. For an employee who has ten or more years of service, who did not voluntarily leave work without good cause or voluntarily retire, who has fourteen or more consecutive days of unemployment, and who is not a "qualified employee" for the general benefit year current when such unemployment commences but is or becomes a "qualified employee" for the next succeeding general benefit year, such succeeding benefit year shall, in his case, begin on the first day of the month in which such unemployment commences.

"(b) An employee who has less than ten years of service as defined in section 1(f) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, and who has after June 30, 1957, and before April 1, 1959, exhausted (within the meaning prescribed by the Railroad Retirement Board by regulation) his rights to unemployment benefits, shall be paid unemployment benefits for days of unemployment, not exceeding sixty-five, which occur in registration periods beginning on or after June 19, 1958, and before July 1, 1959, and which would not be days with respect to which he would be held entitled otherwise to receive unemployment benefits under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, except that an employee who has filed, and established, a first claim for benefits under the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 may not thereafter establish a claim under this subsection, and employee who has registered for, and established a claim for benefits under this subsection may not thereafter establish a claim under the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958. Except to the extent inconsistent with this subsection, the provisions of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act shall be applicable in the administration of this subsection.

"(c) The Secretary of Labor, upon request, shall furnish the Board information deemed necessary by the Board for the administration of the provisions of subsection (b) hereof, and the Board, upon request, shall furnish the Secretary of Labor information deemed necessary by the Secretary for the administration of the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958.

"Sec. 304. Section 3 of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out '\$400' and inserting in lieu thereof '\$500'.

"Sec. 305. Section 4 (a-2) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended by striking out subdivision (iv), and by striking out the semicolon at the end of subdivision (iii) and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

"Sec. 306. Section 8 (a) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended (1) by inserting after 'June 30, 1954' where it first appears the following: ', and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, and is not in excess of \$400 for any calendar month paid by him to any employee for services rendered to him after the month in which this Act was so amended'; (2) by inserting after 'June 30, 1954' where it appears for the second time the following: ', and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, and to not more than \$400 for any month after the month in which this Act was so amended'; (3) by inserting after 'June 30, 1954' where it appears for the third time the following: ', and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, or less than \$400 if such month is after the month in which this Act was so amended'; (4) by striking out 'December 31, 1947' in paragraph 2 and inserting in lieu thereof 'the month in which this Act was amended in 1959'; and (5) by striking out the table (except the column headings) in such paragraph 2 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

	Percent
'\$450,000,000 or more-----	1 1/2
\$400,000,000 or more but less than \$450,000,000-----	2
\$350,000,000 or more but less than \$400,000,000-----	2 1/2
\$300,000,000 or more but less than \$350,000,000-----	3
Less than \$300,000,000-----	3 3/4'

"Sec. 307. Section 8(b) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is amended (1) by striking out '3 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof '3 3/4 per centum'; and (2) by inserting before the period at the end of the first sentence the following: ', and before the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was amended in 1959, and as is not in excess of \$400 paid to him for services rendered as an employee representative in any calendar month after the month in which this Act was so amended'.

"Sec. 308. (a) Subsection (d) of section 10 of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act be amended to read as follows:

"(d) Whenever the Board finds at any time that the balance in the railroad unemployment insurance account will be insufficient to pay the benefits and refunds which it estimates are due, or will become due, under this Act, it shall request the Secretary of the Treasury to transfer from the Railroad Retirement Account to the credit of the railroad unemployment insurance account such moneys as the Board estimates would be necessary for the payment of such benefits and refunds, and the Secretary shall make such transfer. Whenever the Board finds that the balance in the railroad unemployment insurance account, without regard to the amounts transferred pursuant to the next preceding sentence, is sufficient to pay such benefits and refunds, it shall request the Secretary of the Treasury to retransfer from the railroad unemployment insurance account to the credit of the Railroad Retirement Account such moneys as in its judgment are not needed for the payment of such benefits and refunds, plus interest at the rate of 3 per centum per annum, and the Secretary shall make such retransfer. In determining the balance in the railroad unemployment

insurance account as of September 30 of any year pursuant to section 8(a) of this Act, any moneys transferred from the Railroad Retirement Account to the credit of the railroad unemployment insurance account which have not been retransferred as of such date from the latter account to the credit of the former, plus the interest accrued thereon to that date, shall be disregarded.

"(b) The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

"Sec. 309. The amendments made by section 301(b) shall be effective with respect to days in registration periods beginning after June 30, 1959. The amendments made by sections 302, 303 (a), and 305 shall be effective with respect to benefits accruing in general benefit years which begin after the benefit year ending June 30, 1958, and in extended benefit periods which begin after December 31, 1957. The amendment made by section 304 shall be effective with respect to base years after the base year ending December 31, 1957. The amendments made by clauses (4) and (5) of section 306 and clause (1) of section 307 shall be effective as of the first day of the calendar month next following the month in which this Act was enacted, and shall apply only with respect to compensation paid for services rendered in calendar months after the month in which this Act was enacted."

Mr. HARRIS (interrupting the reading of the amendment). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House, I have asked unanimous consent that the proceedings whereby the bill H.R. 5610 was laid on the table, the amendment agreed to, the bill engrossed and read a third time and passed, be vacated, for the purpose of offering an amendment.

The unanimous consent request was agreed to, and I have offered an amendment, which has just been read.

The amendment to the bill H.R. 5610 which I have just offered strikes out all after the enacting clause and inserts the provisions of the bill that passed the Senate last week.

You will recall that H.R. 5610, to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, was considered in the House last Wednesday. A substitute was offered by the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS]. The substitute was practically the same bill that was considered and passed by the other body, with the exception of one amendment, which had to do with section 4. Under this amendment pensions and annuities under this act or the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935 will not be considered as income for the purposes of section 522 of title 38 of the United States Code. The Senate had considered that amendment, which is not out of line with other provisions of law in other matters of this kind. So that is the matter that is before us now.

The necessity for this action is that last week after the House had taken the action it did, we, as usual, when we have a bill from the other body on the same subject on the Speaker's table, asked that that bill be taken from the Speaker's desk, that all after the enacting clause be stricken out, and that the House-passed bill be inserted. That was the usual procedure we followed, and I made the request after the House had taken its action last week. It later developed that that was not the correct action that should have been taken because there are tax provisions in this legislation. The Constitution provides, as you know, that all legislation relating directly to tax measures, revenues, must originate in the House of Representatives. Therefore, this action to vacate that proceeding is in order to comply with the constitutional provision by passing this legislation in order to accomplish what the House intended last week after it considered this matter rather extensively.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the amendment to section 20 of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 made by section 4 of the amendment provides that payments under such act shall not be considered as income for purposes of section 522 of title 38, United States Code. Under that section, pension for non-service-connected permanent and total disability is not paid to a veteran whose annual income exceeds \$1,400 if he has no dependents or \$2,700 if he has one or more dependents. Under existing law, certain items are disregarded in determining whether a veteran has exceeded the income limitations, and the amendment will add to the list of such items payments under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937.

The cost of this amendment is negligible.

The amendment was sponsored in the other body by Senator HILL, of Alabama. I was happy to sponsor it in the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings whereby S. 226, an act to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, so as to provide increases in benefits, and for other purposes, as amended, was read a third time, and passed, be vacated, and the bill be indefinitely postponed.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise the remarks I have made on this subject, and further that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks on this subject if they so desire.

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

There was no objection.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.

BOISE AND PAYETTE NATIONAL FORESTS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2497) to add certain lands located in Idaho to the Boise and Payette National Forests.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, as I understand this bill it provides for an exchange of land. I am wondering whether suitable land will be available to tourists and others who have been using this land for campsites, and so forth.

Mrs. PFOST. I should like to answer the gentleman to say that it will make available additional lands for tourist and recreational use. In other words, this reclamation land has been acquired and is in excess or in surplus of the needs for flooding purposes for the reservoir. Therefore, it allows the Forest Service to incorporate some 2,400 additional acres into the forest lands. They will place picnic tables and make other recreation spots as the facilities are available to take care of the public in the area.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, that is my only concern: whether we will be depriving the public of recreational facilities they have been using without providing substitute land and facilities.

Mrs. PFOST. On the contrary, it will be to their advantage.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the exterior boundaries of the Boise National Forest, located in the State of Idaho, are hereby extended to include the following described lands:

Lots 4, 5, 6, and 7 of section 6; lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, the east half of the northwest quarter, and the east half of the southwest quarter of section 7; the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter, the south half of the southwest quarter, the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of section 17; lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter, the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter, the east half of the northwest quarter, the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter, the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter, and the southeast

quarter of section 18; the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter, the south half of the northeast quarter, the north half of the northwest quarter, the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter, the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter, the west half of the southwest quarter, the east half of the southwest quarter, the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter, the northwest quarter of the southeast quarter, the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 20; the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter, and the south half of the southwest quarter of section 21; the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter, the northwest quarter, the west half of the southwest quarter, the east half of the southwest quarter, the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter, the west half of the southeast quarter, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 28; the northeast quarter, the west half, the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter, the west half of the southeast quarter, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 33; and the west half of the southwest quarter of section 34, all in township 14 north, range 3 east of the Boise meridian, in Valley County, State of Idaho.

Lots 3 and 4 of section 31 in township 15 north, range 3 east of the Boise meridian, in Valley County, State of Idaho.

Sec. 2. The exterior boundaries of the Payette National Forest, located in the State of Idaho, are hereby extended to include the following described lands:

The east half of the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter, the east half of the west half of the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter, the west half of the west half of the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter, and lots 13 and 14 of section 18; lots 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11, the east half of the east half of the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, the west half of the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, the west half of the east half of the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter, the east half of the southwest quarter, the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, the west half of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 19; lots 3 and 4 of section 20; and lot 1, the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter, the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter, and the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 30, all in township 16 north, range 3 east of the Boise meridian, in Valley County, State of Idaho.

Sec. 3. Lots 1, 5, and 6 of section 1 in township 14 north, range 2 east of the Boise meridian within the boundaries of the Boise National Forest, in Valley County, State of Idaho, and all of those lands described in sections 1 and 2 hereof owned by the United States are hereby, and any of said lands hereafter acquired by the United States in connection with the Cascade Reservoir reclamation project shall be, added to and made parts of the respective national forests and shall be subject to all laws, rules, and regulations applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the Act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended.

Sec. 4. (a) It is hereby declared that the sole purpose of sections 1, 2, and 3 of this Act is to subject the lands referred to therein to laws and regulations applicable to national forests, and nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize the United States to acquire any additional lands or any interest therein, nor to diminish or in anywise affect any valid rights in or to, or in connection with, any such lands which may be in existence on the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) The Secretary of Agriculture shall make available, from the lands referred to in the foregoing sections of this Act, to the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior, such lands as the Secretary of the Interior finds are needed in connection with the Cascade Reservoir reclamation project.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to enter into such agreements with the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to the relative responsibilities of the aforesaid Secretaries for the administration of, as well as accountings for and use of revenues arising from, lands made available to the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior pursuant to subsection (b) as the Secretary of the Interior finds to be proper in carrying out the purpose of this Act.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of the Interior may sell, under such terms and conditions as he deems desirable, any lands acquired in connection with the Cascade Reservoir reclamation project which in his judgment are surplus to the needs of the project and are not described in sections 1, 2, and 3 of this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 5, line 15, strike out section 5 and insert in lieu thereof the following language:

"Sec. 5. (a) The Secretary of the Interior shall prepare lists of lands acquired for the Cascade Reservoir reclamation project which are not described in sections 1, 2, and 3 of this Act and which, in his judgment, are excess to the needs of the project. The lands so listed shall be divided into two classes: those which are now or are likely, within ten years, to become chiefly valuable as home, cabin, recreation, or business sites (hereinafter referred to as Class A lands), and all other lands (hereinafter referred to as Class B lands). Lands of either class shall hereafter be sold or exchanged only in accordance with the provisions of this section.

"(b) The Secretary may exchange lands of either class for non-Federal lands of not less than approximately equal value situated within 300 feet of the shoreline established by the normal water surface elevation of 4,826.0 feet of the Cascade Reservoir and outside the exterior boundaries of the Boise and Payette National Forests as extended by this Act.

"(c) The Secretary may sell by competitive bidding, at not less than their appraised fair market value, lands of either class. Class A lands shall be sold in tracts of not more than five acres, with such reservations or dedications to public use of rights-of-way for roads, streets, and public utilities and upon such terms and conditions as he may deem appropriate. The former owner of lands so offered for sale shall have a personal nontransferable preference right to reacquire, within thirty days after the highest bid is declared, any class B lands which were formerly owned by him and one tract of class A lands which were formerly owned by him at, in either case, a price equal to the highest bid received for such lands. But in no case shall the former owner be required to pay more than three times the appraised fair market value of the lands. Where the ownership of lands at the time of their acquisition by the Government was in more than one person, and two or more such former owners assert a preference right for the same tract, the preference right applicants shall be given a period of thirty days in which to file a joint purchase application or otherwise to compose their conflict. If they fail to do so, the Secretary shall determine the order of preference among them by lot. Any lands remaining unsold after competitive bids have been solicited may be sold by the Secretary in such manner as he shall deem proper but at not less than their appraised fair market value. The Secretary may at any time with-

draw from sale any unsold lands and reoffer them at a reappraised fair market value.

"(d) As used in this section, the term 'lands' includes interests in land, and the term 'former owner' includes the surviving spouse of a deceased former owner."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WRIGHT BROTHERS NATIONAL MEMORIAL

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5488) to revise the boundaries of Wright Brothers National Memorial, N.C., and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in furtherance of the Act of March 2, 1927 (44 Stat. 1264), the following described lands are hereby added to the Wright Brothers National Memorial in the State of North Carolina:

TRACT 1

Beginning at a point on the existing eastern boundary line of the Wright Brothers National Memorial where said line intersects the northerly line of Roanoke Avenue; thence north 70 degrees 30 minutes east, 500 feet, more or less along the northerly line of Roanoke Avenue to the intersection of said line with the westerly right-of-way line of the relocated North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158; thence north 19 degrees 30 minutes west, 4,087.5 feet, more or less, along the said westerly right-of-way line of the relocated North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158 to the intersection of said line with the southerly property line of land now or formerly owned by R. W. Rowland; thence south 70 degrees 30 minutes west, 2,435 feet along the said southerly property line of land now or formerly owned by R. W. Rowland to a stake; thence south 19 degrees 30 minutes east, 1,057.5 feet, more or less, to a point on the existing northern boundary line of the Wright Brothers National Memorial; thence north 70 degrees 30 minutes east, 1,935 feet, more or less, along the existing northern boundary line of the Wright Brothers National Memorial to the northeastern corner of the said memorial; thence south 19 degrees 30 minutes east, 3,030 feet, more or less, along the existing eastern boundary line of the Wright Brothers National Memorial to the point of beginning, the tract as described containing approximately 95 acres.

TRACT 2

Beginning at a stake or other marker on the westerly line of Old North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158, sometimes known as the Virginia Dare Trail, where said line intersects the southerly line of Lowell Avenue; thence south 70 degrees 30 minutes west, 925 feet, more or less, along the southerly line of Lowell Avenue to the intersection of said line with the easterly right-of-way line of the relocated North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158; thence south 19 degrees 30 minutes east, 720 feet, more or less, along the said easterly right-of-way line of the relocated North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158 to the intersection of said line with the northerly line of Woodmere Avenue; thence north 70 degrees 30 minutes east, 925 feet, more or less, along the said northerly line of Woodmere Avenue to the intersection of said line with the westerly line of Old North Carolina State Highway Numbered 158; thence north 19 degrees 30 minutes west, 720 feet, more or less, along the said westerly line of Old North Carolina State

Highway Numbered 158 to the point of beginning, the tract as described containing approximately 16 acres.

Sec. 2. Lands added to the memorial pursuant to section 1 hereof shall be subject to all the laws, rules, and regulations applicable to said memorial.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DONATING TO PUEBLO OF ISLETA CERTAIN FEDERAL PROPERTY, NEW MEXICO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5460) to donate to the pueblo of Isleta certain Federal property in the State of New Mexico.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate bill, S. 1271, to donate to the pueblo of Isleta certain Federal property in the State of New Mexico, be considered in lieu of the House bill.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all of the right, title, and interest of the United States in the land described below, together with the buildings and improvements thereon, is hereby declared to be held in trust for the pueblo of Isleta, New Mexico: A tract of land within section 31, township 8 north, range 3 east, New Mexico principal meridian, more particularly described as follows: Beginning at a point which bears north 17 degrees 20 minutes east, 171 feet from the point where the northeast corner of the Antonio Gutierrez and Joaquin Sedillo grant and the northwest corner of the Lo de Padilla grant touch the Government corner on the south line of the Isleta Pueblo grant; thence west 180 feet; thence north 325 feet; thence east 180 feet; thence south 325 feet to the point of beginning, containing 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres, more or less, and located within the exterior boundaries of the pueblo of Isleta in the State of New Mexico.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 5460) was laid on the table.

AMENDING SECTION 6 OF THE ACT OF SEPTEMBER 11, 1957

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6118) to amend section 6 of the act of September 11, 1957.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand this bill provides that persons afflicted with tuberculosis can be brought into this country. Is that the purpose of the bill?

Mr. WALTER. This is an extension of the act that expires in June, for a period of 2 years. It permits the spouse, the child, or the parent of an American citizen or of a lawfully admitted alien to come into the United States under

specified safeguards, notwithstanding the fact that such immigrant is afflicted with tuberculosis. Continuous scrutiny and supervision of the administration of existing law has indicated to the Committee on the Judiciary the advisability of continuation of the discretionary authority vested in the Attorney General under the 1957 law. Medical testimony received by the committee appears to justify the committee's opinion. We believe that the temporary law has operated satisfactorily and in the interest of the United States. It is humanitarian in nature, and has not adversely affected public health and the general welfare of the United States, while serving the worthy purpose of keeping family units together by preventing separation of close relatives.

Mr. GROSS. I understand there are six persons, of those who have come in, who have not gone to a public health hospital. I wonder where they are? Are they at large in this country?

Mr. WALTER. No; these 6 people of the 1,507 who came in under the provisions of the law are now under deportation orders. This means that there has been noncompliance by less than one-half of 1 percent of the aliens admitted. According to the U.S. Public Health Service, in all cases of noncompliance an effort is being made to obtain compliance and if such efforts fail, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is informed for the purpose of enforcing the law.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, that is the question I was concerned with in reference to this bill. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I would like to say I support the legislation strongly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 6 of the Act of September 11, 1957 (71 Stat. 640), is hereby amended by substituting "1961" for "1959".

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That section 6 of the Act of September 11, 1957 (71 Stat. 640), is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 6. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 212(a)(6) of the Immigration and Nationality Act as far as they relate to aliens afflicted with tuberculosis, any alien who (A) is the spouse or child, including the minor unmarried adopted child, of a United States citizen, or of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or of an alien who has been issued an immigrant visa, or (B) has a son or daughter who is a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence or an alien who has been issued an immigrant visa, shall, if otherwise admissible, be issued a visa and admitted to the United States for permanent residence in accordance with such terms, conditions, and controls, if any, including the giving of a bond, as the Attorney General, in his discretion, after consultation with the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health

Service, may by regulations prescribe. No visa shall be issued under the authority of this section after June 30, 1961."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CREDITING POSTAL REVENUES CERTAIN AMOUNTS IN CONNECTION WITH POSTAL ACTIVITIES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4644) to credit to postal revenues certain amounts in connection with postal activities, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the first sentence of section 4050 of the Revised Statutes (39 U.S.C. 782) is amended by inserting immediately following the last semicolon in such sentence the following: "all commissions on toll telephones located in buildings under the custody of the Post Office Department or the Postal Field Service; all amounts collected from officers and employees of the Post Office Department or the Postal Field Service on account of payments to them by courts of witness fees and allowances for expenses of travel and subsistence in cases in which such officers and employees have been subpoenaed to testify in private litigation in their official capacities or to produce official records;"

(b) The second sentence in the seventh paragraph under the heading "Office of The Third Assistant Postmaster-General." in the Act of May 27, 1908 (35 Stat. 415; 39 U.S.C. 784), is amended by inserting "as part of the postal revenue" immediately before the period at the end of such sentence.

Sec. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall become effective on such date as may be specified by the Postmaster General but not later than the sixtieth day following the date of enactment of this Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DISCLAIMING ANY INTEREST ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES IN CERTAIN LANDS IN THE STATE OF COLORADO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3454) to disclaim any interest on the part of the United States in certain lands in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

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

There was no objection.

REVISING BOUNDARIES OF MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZ.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5262) to revise the boundaries of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, Ariz., and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to facilitate the administration and protection of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, the boundaries thereof are hereby revised to include the following described lands:

GILA AND SALT RIVER BASE AND MERIDIAN

Township 14 north, range 5 east: section 9, that portion of the southwest quarter southwest quarter located south and west of Beaver Creek, comprising about 2 acres; and section 16, southwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter and section 17, southeast quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter and south half southeast quarter northeast quarter, comprising about 40 acres.

Township 15 north, range 6 east: section 31, that portion of the northwest quarter southeast quarter located south and east of Beaver Creek and not heretofore included in the Montezuma Well section of the said monument, comprising approximately 17 acres.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, with donated funds, or otherwise and subject to such terms, reservations, and conditions as he may deem satisfactory, the land and interests in lands that are included within the boundaries of the Montezuma Castle National Monument as revised by section 1 of this Act. When so acquired, they shall be administered as a part of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SETTING ASIDE AND RESERVING MEMALOOSE ISLAND, COLUMBIA RIVER, OREG., FOR THE USE OF DALLES DAM PROJECT AND TRANSFERRING PROPERTY TO YAKIMA TRIBE OF INDIANS IN EXCHANGE THEREFOR

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5728) to set aside the reserve Memaloose Island, Columbia River, Oreg., for the use of the Dalles Dam project and transfer certain property to the Yakima Tribe of Indians in exchange therefor.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of June 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 768), concerning the withdrawal and use of Memaloose Island, Wasco County, Oregon, is repealed and the island, as described in said Act, is withdrawn from entry, sale, or other disposition and set aside for use by the Department of the Army in connection with the Dalles Dam project on the Columbia River.

SEC. 2. There is hereby taken by the United States, for the Dalles Dam project, the entire interest held in Memaloose Island by the Yakima Tribe of Indians, or any individual Indians; and in exchange therefor the Secretary of the Army or his designee shall transfer to the Secretary of the Interior the substitute burial ground designated as the Wisham Cemetery in Klickitat County, Washington, containing approximately eight and five-tenths acres of land. Title to such land shall be held in trust for the Yakima Tribe of Indians, but the tribe shall be responsible for maintenance of the burial

ground and the United States shall have no responsibility therefor.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 3, strike out the date "June 25, 1926" and insert in lieu thereof the date "June 24, 1926".

Page 1, line 8, strike out the words "the Dalles" and insert in lieu thereof the words "The Dalles".

Page 2, line 1, strike out the words "the Dalles" and insert in lieu thereof the words "The Dalles".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING SECTION 17(B) OF THE RECLAMATION PROJECT ACT OF 1939

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1778) to amend section 17(b) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939.

There being no objection the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 17, subsection (b), of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, as amended, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"The Secretary is hereby authorized, subject to the provisions of this subsection, to defer the time for the payment of such part of any installments of construction charges under any repayment contract or other form of obligation as he deems necessary to adjust such installments to amounts within the probable ability of the water users to pay. Any such deferment shall be effected only after findings by the Secretary that the installments under consideration probably cannot be paid on their due date without undue burden on the water users, considering the various factors which in the Secretary's judgment bear on the ability of the water users so to pay.

"The Secretary may effect the deferments hereunder subject to such conditions and provisions relating to the operation and maintenance of the project involved as he deems to be in the interest of the United States. If, however, any deferments would affect installments to accrue more than twelve months after the action of deferment, they shall be effected only by a formal supplemental contract. Such a contract shall provide by its terms that, it being only an interim solution of the repayment problems dealt with therein, its terms are not, in themselves, to be construed as a criterion of the terms of any amendatory contract that may be negotiated and that any such contract must be approved by the Congress unless it does not lengthen the repayment period for the project in question beyond that permitted by the laws applicable to that project, involves no reduction in the total amount payable by the water users, and is not in other respects less advantageous to the Government than the existing contract arrangements."

SEC. 2. The Act of March 6, 1952 (66 Stat. 16), as amended, is hereby further amended by deleting therefrom the words "and by section 3 of the Act of April 24, 1945 (59 Stat. 75, 76)".

SEC. 3. The provisions of section 17, subsection (b), of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939, as amended by section 1 of this Act, shall apply to any project within the administrative jurisdiction of the Bureau of

Reclamation to which, if it had been constructed as a project under the Federal reclamation laws (Act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto), these provisions would be applicable.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPORTIONMENT OF CERTAIN COSTS OF YAKIMA FEDERAL RECLAMATION PROJECT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3335) to provide for the apportionment by the Secretary of the Interior of certain costs of the Yakima Federal reclamation project, and for other purposes.

There being no objection the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior shall determine the portion of the cost of constructing the water supply works of the Yakima Federal reclamation project which is properly assignable to the furnishing of water, as provided by the Acts of August 1, 1914 (38 Stat. 582, 604), and July 1, 1940 (54 Stat. 707), to the Wapato Indian irrigation project. If the remainder is less than the sum of the obligations heretofore undertaken with respect to water supply construction costs by the water users' organizations of the Yakima project, including the obligation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with respect to two hundred and fifty thousand acre-feet of water for the "B" lands of the Wapato Indian irrigation project, the Secretary shall make such reduction in the obligation of those organizations as he finds to be proper to carry out the provisions of their contracts relating to reductions to conform the obligation to the Secretary's final determination of the cost of constructing said facilities.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTROL OF ESTATES OF INCOMPETENT VETERANS DERIVED FROM VETERANS' BENEFITS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6319) to amend chapter 55 of title 38, United States Code, to establish safeguards relative to the accumulation and final disposition of certain benefits in the case of incompetent veterans.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill may be passed over without prejudice.

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

There was no objection.

ADJUSTMENT OF IRRIGATION CHARGES ON WAPATO PROJECT, WASH.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 839) to approve an order of the Secretary of the Interior adjusting, deferring, and canceling certain irrigation charges against non-Indian-owned lands under the Wapato Indian irrigation project, Washington, and for other purposes.

There being no objection the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in accordance with the Act of June 22, 1936 (49 Stat. 1803, 25 U.S.C. 389-389e), the order of the Secretary of the Interior canceling \$35,700.72 of delinquent irrigation charges, providing for the deferred payment of \$13,851.98, and providing for the removal of two hundred thirty-two and fifty-six one hundredths acres of assessable land from the Wapato Indian irrigation project, as shown in the Wapato designation report 1953-1954-1955 part II, is hereby approved.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. That is the last eligible bill on the calendar.

AMENDMENT TO THE TEXAS CITY DISASTER RELIEF ACT

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LANE].

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4821) to amend the act of August 12, 1955, Public Law 378, 84th Congress (69 Stat. 707) so as to provide additional relief for losses sustained in the Texas City disaster, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of August 12, 1955, Public Law 378, Eighty-fourth Congress (69 Stat. 707), as amended, is further amended as provided herein.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Army or such person as he may designate shall apply the following rules:

(a) Each instance of death or personal injury shall be considered as having created a separate claim.

(b) A claim for death shall be deemed not to have abated on the death of the claimant before award under this Act and shall be settled by payment to the person or persons entitled to the estate of the deceased claimant under the laws of Texas, who shall be deemed claimants for this purpose.

(c) A brother or sister of a deceased person who was totally dependent on the deceased person and which brother or sister was permanently and totally disabled at the time of the death of such deceased person shall be entitled to assert a claim for death, but no award shall be made if it would diminish the award justly due other survivors of the deceased person under the Texas Wrongful Death Act or under subsection 2(b) of this section.

(d) Where a corporation sustained property damage in the Texas City disaster and filed a civil action against the United States for losses sustained in the Texas City disaster and thereafter was dissolved, and the claim filed on behalf of the dissolved corporation by it and by its two stockholders was administratively consolidated by the Secretary of the Army with other claims filed by said stockholders, the Secretary of the Army shall settle the claim, treating it as a claim asserted by the dissolved corporation.

(e) The Secretary of the Army shall consider and settle all claims based on death or permanent disability. "Permanent disability" under this subsection shall include only those permanent disabilities which are deemed to be 40 per centum or more disabling in accordance with the standard schedule of rating disabilities in current use by the Veterans' Administration.

SEC. 3. Section 3 is amended by the addition of the following sentence at the end of subsection (a) of that section: "The limitations of this subsection shall not apply to claims based upon death or upon permanent disabilities which are deemed to be 40 per centum or more disabling in accordance with the standard schedule of rating disabilities in current use by the Veterans' Administration, or to claims asserted by the brother or sister of a deceased person who was totally dependent on the deceased person and was permanently and totally disabled at the time of the death of such deceased person."

SEC. 4. Section 7 is amended to read as follows:

"The Secretary of the Treasury shall pay, out of moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the claims referred to in this Act in the amounts approved for payment by the Secretary of the Army, and the administrative costs of the investigation and settlement of claims under this Act."

SEC. 5. Within two years from the effective date of this Act, the Secretary of the Army or his designee shall fix and determine the awards, if any, on claims reconsidered or submitted under this Act. The authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to make payment of awards so fixed and determined or those awards heretofore made under the Act of August 12, 1955, shall terminate three years from the effective date of this Act.

Except as otherwise provided herein, the law of the State of Texas shall apply.

SEC. 6. The Secretary of the Army, two years and six months after the date of enactment of this Act, shall transmit to the Congress, in addition to any such information relating to the Act of August 12, 1955, which has not been reported heretofore—

(a) a statement of each claim reconsidered or submitted to the Secretary of the Army in accordance with this Act which has not been settled by him, with supporting papers and a report of his findings of fact and recommendations; and

(b) a report of each claim settled by him and paid pursuant to this Act. The reports shall contain a brief statement concerning the character and justice of each claim, the amount claimed, and the amount approved and paid.

SEC. 7. Claimants shall submit their claims in writing to the Secretary of the Army, under such rules as he prescribes, within ninety days after enactment of this Act.

SEC. 8. The Secretary of the Army is directed to reconsider and settle claims affected by the provisions of this Act without regard to any release of and assignment to the United States heretofore executed by the claimants.

SEC. 9. All departments and agencies of the Government upon the request of the Secretary of the Army or his designee are authorized to furnish any information available relevant to the reconsideration and settlement of claims under this Act.

SEC. 10. The Secretary of the Army, in settling the claims herein directed to be settled, shall proceed to consider the claims heretofore filed, if sufficient in form, and may at his option require the claimant to file an additional claim or submit additional evidence of loss. The Secretary of the Army shall forthwith notify all claimants or their attorneys, if any, whose claims are to be reconsidered under the provisions of this Act, that such reconsideration is being undertaken. When a file relating to a claim previously submitted under this Act shows that

a person other than a person who submitted the claim would be entitled to recover if he submitted a claim, the Secretary of the Army or his designee shall notify the person of his right to submit a claim.

SEC. 11. In making the settlements authorized by this Act, the Secretary of the Army shall proceed under all of the limitations and directions of the Act of August 12, 1955, except as herein amended, and shall make such settlements under the regulations and procedures used in making settlements under the Act of August 12, 1955, except as to such changes necessitated by this Act, and all of the provisions of the Act of August 12, 1955, except as herein amended, shall apply to settlements made under this Act.

SEC. 12. This Act may be cited as the "1959 Amendment to the Texas City Disaster Relief Act".

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this proposed legislation as recommended by your Committee on the Judiciary is to further amend Public Law 378 of the 84th Congress known as the Texas City Disaster Relief Act, to make it possible to extend compassionate relief to certain claimants in various categories outlined in this bill. These categories are those which your committee felt merit relief in the light of standards of compassionate relief provided for in the act.

Public Law 378, the Texas City Disaster Relief Act, was passed by Congress to compensate persons who suffered injury or loss as a result of the disaster which occurred on September 16 and 17, 1947, when two ships loaded with general cargo which included bagged ammonium nitrate fertilizer, exploded in the port of Texas City, Tex. This explosion and the fires that took place as a result of this disaster, destroyed or damaged approximately 1,000 buildings. There were 576 known dead as a result of these explosions and about 3,500 were injured.

The act of August 12, 1955, provided for means of settlement of most of those claims and by that act, we in the Congress recognized or assumed compassionate responsibility for the losses sustained as a result of the explosions, and we authorized the Secretary of the Army to investigate and settle certain claims. The Chief, Claims Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General, and all the officers of his staff were so designated. The program has now been completed, and under the act the Secretary of the Army was required to transmit to the Congress a statement of each claim not settled by him, with his findings and recommendations. The Secretary of the Army also transmitted to the Congress report of all claims settled, character of the claim and the amount paid.

In compliance with the law, the Secretary sent to Congress a report that 321 unsettled claims are still pending and his supplemental report was filed in January of this year. The report shows and discloses that a total of 1,719 claims were filed, 1,390 were settled, and 329 remain unsettled.

The claims which would be provided for under the terms of this bill, H.R. 4821, are those which your committee feels merits relief and is intended to be the final enactment for the settlement of all claims based on the Texas City disaster. It is felt that unless these claims

are recognized in the form provided under this bill now before the House for consideration, the individual cases will of course become the subject of private bills and your Committee on the Judiciary will be called upon to consider each of them individually on the basis of private relief. We feel that the procedure provided for in this bill will establish a fair and more uniform way to settle these pending claims.

The Judiciary Committee has carefully considered the matter of cost in connection with this legislation. As reflected in the final report made to the Congress concerning claims settled under the original act, the experience of the Army has been that as an overall proposition, the total amount paid out was about one-quarter of the amount originally claimed. Perhaps the breakdown by categories will give a better picture of how the claims were reduced in the course of settlement. The approximate figures and percentages were: Property damage, 12.8 percent; personal injury, 26 percent; death, 31.5 percent. The total maximum amount which can be expected to be claimed on the basis of this bill—on the basis of estimates—is \$4,038,379.09.

H.R. 4821 was introduced in the form suggested by the Department of the Army in report made to this committee and with the exception of limitations imposed by the committee amendments, the committee has accepted the suggestions of the Army regarding the language of the bill.

The provisions of the bill as modified by the amendments suggested by the subcommittee would enable the Secretary of the Army to settle claims in accordance with the following rules:

First. Each instance of death or personal injury shall be considered to have created a separate claim.

Second. A claim for death will not be considered to have abated on the death of a claimant before an award was made under the original act, and shall be settled by payment to the person or persons entitled to the estate of the deceased claimant under the laws of Texas.

Third. A totally dependent brother or sister of a person who died in the disaster will be permitted to assert a claim where that brother or sister was permanently and totally disabled at the time of the death.

Fourth. The claim of a dissolved corporation shall be considered as a claim of that corporation where the corporation filed a suit against the United States for disaster losses and then was dissolved and its claim was filed as a joint claim by its two stockholders and was subsequently administratively consolidated with the other claims of those two stockholders.

Fifth. The Secretary would be further empowered to settle all death claims arising from the disaster which had not been settled, and also all claims for permanent disability of 40 percent or more which were not settled under the original act.

The balance of the bill contains provisions which make it possible for the Secretary to proceed under the changes pro-

vided for in the foregoing rules, and to settle and pay the claims.

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BECKWORTH. How many claims does the gentleman feel there are in connection with the group that are not disabled to the extent of 40 percent or more?

Mr. LANE. It is hard to say definitely, but the committee felt there would not be too many of them; there would be a limited number. May I say to the gentleman from Texas that your subcommittee has agreed to this phraseology as a result of legislation that is now on the statute books governing claims in the Veterans' Administration. We have used the exact wording.

Mr. BECKWORTH. Would the gentleman object to the RECORD showing, even if he does not have the information now, about how many people there might be suffering disability of less than 40 percent but will get nothing, as I understand, under the terms of this bill?

Mr. LANE. As I understand it from the hearings, we had no information given to us and at the present time the Department is unable to give us the information and is not in position to obtain that information, but in order to help the gentleman from Texas, we will try further today to see if we can get something in the RECORD as soon as possible.

Mr. BECKWORTH. I am in great sympathy with this legislation, and know of a number of instances where people who have sustained less than that have received nothing.

Where a person, for example, had a building worth \$5,000 or \$10,000 that was completely destroyed and where that person did not file a suit in the Federal court at any time, is there anything in this legislation that would reimburse him?

Mr. LANE. Yes; if he still had a claim filed. As you recall, all of these claims at that time were investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the Department of Justice, so that the Government has a record of all those claims filed, although a good many who filed claims did not resort to the courts.

Mr. BECKWORTH. Must the claim have been filed in the court for him to get reimbursement for the loss of his building?

Mr. LANE. Under our bill, in section 5 that I will read. The Secretary would be further empowered to settle all death claims arising from disaster which had not been settled and also all claims for permanent disability of 40 percent or more which were not settled under the original act.

Mr. BECKWORTH. But that would not include the man who had lost the \$5,000 or \$10,000 building?

Mr. LANE. That is correct.

Mr. BECKWORTH. Does the gentleman feel that that type of claim should receive any consideration, in view of the fact that we have paid for hundreds of them?

Mr. LANE. May I say to the gentleman that the original bill that was filed

would have taken in all of those claims. It would have opened the gates wide even though they had never filed a claim; even though the claim had never been investigated, and the claimant would now be coming in at this late date. Your committee felt we did not want to strike out the original section of the bill, and by way of compromise we went to this section, which, of course, does not help the particular case the gentleman is interested in at this time.

Mr. BECKWORTH. It would not be my purpose at all to advocate the inclusion of any claim that is not bona fide, but if the U.S. Government is going to pay people money who sustained losses, the mere fact that a person did not file his claim in court or the mere fact that he did not make it known in the orderly way is not good reason to deny him relief.

Mr. LANE. I thank the gentleman. Some members of the committee felt as the gentleman does, but for the most part we felt that the Congress had gone a long way in connection with the Texas City disaster. This is the third time now that we have had the bill before the Congress. We felt that this should be the third and last and final enactment of legislation, even though perhaps it does not take in all of the cases the gentleman is interested in, as well as other members of the committee.

Mr. BECKWORTH. The gentleman has done a good job, I know, but I do not think the door should be closed to these claims where, in some instances, the people lost all they had.

Mr. LANE. I thank the gentleman. I am now informed by the Department of the Army that there are possible claims amounting to about 2,680 of these personal injury claims in the category of less than 40 percent disabled.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, this bill as it comes to the floor of the House this morning is part of the unfinished work of the Congress. A decision was made by this body when the basic law was passed several years ago to pay the sufferers of this disaster of 1947. This bill represents the final stage of legislation for the settlement of claims caused by the Texas City disaster.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is made necessary because of natural imperfections that we have in the legislative process; the fact that, although committees are diligent, it is possible sometimes to overlook certain legal or factual situations; because in the administration of any piece of legislation occasionally there results some inequitable or unfair treatment of one class or another and, finally, because of administrative interpretations of what the Congress had enacted several years ago. The object of this bill is to offer fair treatment and equality. And so it is necessary that we pass this cleanup bill.

As the chairman has explained there are five categories that this legislation would include. One would be that class of cases in which there was more than one claim for death or injury; for instance, where there were several children of a family who were killed. By the interpretation of the authorities administering this act it was held that only the maximum amount of one claim could

be paid for the death of all. And so language is provided that will permit each instance of death or personal injury to be considered as a separate claim. It is estimated that this will involve an expenditure of \$80,134.93.

Another is for the payment of claimants who have become deceased since the time of the filing of their claims. It is estimated this will involve expenditures to a maximum of \$106,251.50. Another change provides for payment to a totally and permanently disabled dependent sister or brother of a person killed in this disaster. Under the Texas law brothers and sisters are not dependents. Only those who are legally the dependents of the deceased person are entitled to recover. This provision would change that situation, and it is estimated that that would involve an expenditure of \$25,000.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SAYLOR. Is that going to change the inheritance laws of the State of Texas?

Mr. HENDERSON. I would reply to the gentleman that it would not change the inheritance laws of the State of Texas.

Mr. SAYLOR. The gentleman just said that there was no responsibility to this sister. We are now going to pass a law saying she may now recover. The reason she could not recover before under the laws of Texas is that she was not allowed to. The reason I ask this question is that there are some people who are vitally concerned with States rights. If the States rights issue is going to be raised, let us raise it in all of these bills, not just a few of them.

Mr. HENDERSON. The fourth classification which is provided for in this legislation is that of payment to stockholders of a claimant corporation which has since dissolved. It is estimated that the expenditure in this class of cases would be \$25,000.

The final classification is that group of cases in which claims have been made for death or for permanent disability in excess of 40 percent. It is estimated that this class of cases would require a maximum expenditure of \$3,801,992.66.

The provisions of the bill require claims to be made within 90 days after the enactment of the bill; that the Secretary of the Army make his decision within 2 years, and that within 2½ years the Secretary report to Congress. The Secretary of the Treasury has 3 years within which to pay the claims.

It is my hope that the House will follow the recommendation of the committee and pass this legislation.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MEADER. Can the gentleman state the total amount of money carried in this bill?

Mr. HENDERSON. The maximum amount which the Army estimates could be expended would be \$4,038,379.09. I would like to point out to the gentleman who asked the question that the experi-

ence of the Army authorities has been that it has paid about 25 percent of the maximum amount which has been claimed. For instance, \$60 million has been claimed already under the Texas disaster legislation and only \$16 million has been allowed.

Mr. MEADER. Does the gentleman anticipate that same ratio will apply to the additional claims provided for in this measure?

Mr. HENDERSON. There is nothing in the testimony which would indicate that the ratio would be any different.

Mr. MEADER. So that we might reasonably expect something of the order of \$1 million will be the cost of this additional legislation?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is what the committee anticipated.

Mr. MEADER. May I also inquire of the gentleman whether or not the Committee on the Judiciary, on which the gentleman and I both serve, and the Subcommittee on Claims, on which the gentleman serves, limited the original legislation so that it provided a somewhat lesser amount to be drawn from the U.S. Treasury than would be the case if the bill had been passed in its original form?

Mr. HENDERSON. May I say to the gentleman that as the bill came to the committee it had a provision which would open the door completely. The committee upon the basis of the testimony presented decided that considerable restraint was needed. Limiting language was suggested and was passed as an amendment to the bill that is now before the House.

Mr. MEADER. The gentleman feels that the measure as it is presented to the House is far better for the Government and the taxpayers generally than the original legislation?

Mr. HENDERSON. Indeed I do.

Mr. MEADER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LINDSAY. In connection with the questions asked about the dependent sister who is 40 percent or more disabled, does the gentleman recall what was testified before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary by the Army? As I recall it, the Army had testified that there were not more than one or two cases covered by that.

Mr. HENDERSON. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman refresh my memory? Was this strictly a Government operation at Texas City when this explosion occurred? In other words, has the Government assumed responsibility that it should not have assumed in this case?

Mr. HENDERSON. The gentleman is familiar with the history of this legislation. The question has arisen before. Our committee in this instance did not go back to the basic question of liability. The Congress made that decision several

years ago. The question before the committee and now before the House is one of equality of treatment, once that decision had been made. I think the gentleman is aware of the controversy that did arise when that legislation was originally before this House.

Mr. GROSS. Has the Bureau of the Budget changed its position with relation to this legislation? I understand from the report that the Bureau of the Budget is opposed to this legislation.

Mr. HENDERSON. The committee has no information as to the Bureau of the Budget's having changed its position.

Mr. GROSS. So it is opposed to this legislation?

Mr. HENDERSON. That is my understanding.

Mr. GROSS. Is the Department of the Army opposed to this legislation?

Mr. HENDERSON. It is my understanding the Department of the Army favors the legislation as it has been rewritten by the committee.

Mr. GROSS. But the report carries the statement that the Bureau of the Budget is positively opposed to this legislation?

Mr. HENDERSON. The statement as the gentleman has read it is the only word we have heard from the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when the basic Texas City disaster legislation was passed in the 84th Congress, it was realized by the committee and those of us who had been working on the measure that the Army, in making the settlement, faced a complicated, and, in many instances, a technical problem.

There were thousands of claims, most of which were easily evaluated and settled. There remained some, however, in which the Army was not entirely sure whether they came under the provisions of the act.

In such cases, under the provisions of the act, the Army was instructed to report back to the Congress with a detailed description of each claim and the reasons why it was not settled.

It was the intent of Congress that each such case should be scrutinized by the committee and that then the Army should be instructed as to the intent of the Congress.

That is exactly what the present legislation is designed to accomplish.

The procedure follows that used in the Port Chicago case in which the Navy made the basic settlements and then reported back to the Congress with borderline cases or others which had merit but in which the Navy felt that they should have further instructions.

We come to you now with all outstanding unsettled claims: each category of which, and in many cases, each individual claim of which has been carefully studied by the Judiciary Committee.

To my knowledge, there is not one in which the Army has said that the claimant does not deserve to have settlement. As a matter of fact, the individuals who handled the claims for the Army have said, unofficially, that they think these claims should be settled. I have no desire to commit them. They can speak for themselves, and if the bill passes, they will speak for themselves and for the Government in adjudicating the unsettled claims and making final settlement.

There are five categories in which the Army asked for further instructions. You will find them listed 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 on page 2 of the report. I shall take a case in point to show you the necessity and the justice for asking for favorable instruction.

The first covers this example: Suppose two sons were killed in the explosion and the parents made claim for the death of each. The Army takes the position that this is one claim even though there were two deaths. Manifestly, that was never the intent of the Congress; and this bill would make settlement for each death.

In the second category the Army took the position that if a father were killed in the disaster, and the mother filed a claim and then died before the claim could be settled, a surviving child would not receive the proceeds of the claim. This, too, is manifestly unfair. Incidentally, it is not in accord with the laws of Texas, which are supposed to govern in doubtful cases.

The third case in point covers a case where a brother who was killed had been supporting a totally dependent brother or sister who was permanently and totally disabled. There is only one in this category, but it is a very just claim, and the committee recommended that it be settled.

The fourth category has only one claim involved. A corporation filed and was entitled to the maximum of \$25,000 for damages sustained. The corporation was then dissolved. Had it remained intact, it would have received the maximum settlement. Under the Texas law the stockholders would have been entitled to the proceeds. The Army asked for instructions and the committee felt that the stockholders are still entitled to settlement.

The fifth and last category covers cases where, through no fault of the claimant, a suit was not filed in the original act against the Government generally due to advice of the counsel or perhaps to lack of information on the part of the possible claimant. This category was studied with particular care by the committee, and the subsection involved was drafted in the committee.

Here is a case in point: Suppose a claimant went to an attorney back in 1947, when the first civil suit was being prepared. The attorney advised that the Tort Claims Act did not apply and that there was no use filing the suit. This would have been good advice. The Tort Claims Act was held by the Supreme Court on a 4 to 3 decision to be inapplicable. Then comes the act of Congress providing for settlement. The claimant in this case got good advice from the attorney, but because he took that ad-

vice he would not be eligible to participate under the act. This manifestly is unfair, and I do not believe it is the intent of the Congress.

Another case, and there are quite a few in this category—a son was killed in the disaster. Subsequently, the mother and father were divorced, and the mother moved away. The father filed a claim and was awarded one-half of the maximum amount of the settlement. Later the mother learned of the case. In most such instances she had moved away and was not in touch with what was going on in Texas City. The committee felt that she should not be foreclosed from her share in the settlement.

All of these are just and equitable claims. The committee felt that they should be settled. This is a cleanup bill, just as was that passed in the case of Port Chicago. I trust that the House will again take favorable action.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill H.R. 4821, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTROL OF ESTATES OF INCOMPETENT VETERANS

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 6319) to amend chapter 55 of title 38, United States Code, to establish safeguards relative to the accumulation and final disposition of certain benefits in the case of incompetent veterans.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 3202(d) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentences: "In the event of the death of a mentally incompetent or insane veteran, all gratuitous benefits under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration deposited before or after the date of enactment of this sentence in the personal funds of patients trust fund on account of such veteran shall not be paid to the personal representative of such veteran, but shall be paid to the following persons living at the time of settlement, and in the order named: The surviving spouse, the children (without regard to age or marital status) in equal parts, and the dependent parents of such veteran, in equal parts. If any balance remains, such balance shall be deposited to the credit of the applicable current appropriation; except that there may be paid only so much of such balance as may be necessary to reimburse a person (other than a political subdivision of the United States) who bore the expenses of last sickness or burial of the veteran for such expenses."

(b) Section 3203(a)(2)(B) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by inserting "under the last two sentences of section 3202(d) of this title or" immediately before "under this paragraph" both places it appears.

Sec. 2. Section 3203(b) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4) and by strik-

ing out paragraphs (1) and (2) thereof and inserting the following:

"(1) Where any veteran having neither wife, child, nor dependent parent is being furnished hospital treatment, institutional or domiciliary care by the Veterans' Administration, and is rated by the Veterans' Administration in accordance with regulations as being incompetent by reason of mental illness, the pension, compensation, or retirement pay of such veteran shall be subject to the provisions of subsection (a) of this section; however, no payment of a lump sum herein authorized shall be made to the veteran until after the expiration of six months following a finding of competency and in the event of the veteran's death before payment of such lump sum no part thereof shall be payable.

"(2) In any case in which such an incompetent veteran having neither wife nor child is being furnished hospital treatment, institutional or domiciliary care without charge or otherwise by the United States, or any political subdivision thereof, and his estate from any source equals or exceeds \$1,500, further payments of pension, compensation, or emergency officers' retirement pay shall not be made until the estate is reduced to \$500. The amount which would be payable but for this paragraph shall be paid to the veteran as provided for the lump sum in paragraph (1) of this subsection, but in the event of the veteran's death before payment of such lump sum no part thereof shall be payable.

"(3) Where any benefit is discontinued by reason of paragraph (2) of this subsection the Administrator may nevertheless apportion and pay to the dependent parents of the veteran on the basis of need all or any part of the benefit which would otherwise be payable to or for such incompetent veteran. Paragraph (2) of this subsection shall not prevent the payment, out of any remaining amounts discontinued under that paragraph, on account of any veteran of so much of his pension, compensation, or retirement pay as equals the amount charged to the veteran for his current care and maintenance in the institution in which treatment or care is furnished him, but not more than the amount determined by the Administrator to be the proper charge as fixed by any applicable statute or valid administrative regulation."

Sec. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall take effect as of the first day of the first calendar month which begins more than ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this bill is designed to prevent the payment of gratuitous benefits for incompetent veterans, who are receiving care at public expense, from accumulating in excessive amounts and passing, upon the death of the incompetent veteran, to relatives having no claim against the Government on account of the veteran's military service.

It provides first that where the incompetent veteran has no wife or child and is being cared for at public expense his rights to gratuitous benefits—pension, compensation, and so forth—shall terminate when his estate reaches \$1,500 and shall not be restored until the estate is reduced to \$500. If the veteran regains competency he will be paid in full the

amount of the unpaid benefits, and if he has a dependent parent, benefits not otherwise payable may be apportioned to the parent or parents.

It is also provided that where a veteran is being cared for in a State institution and there is a charge for such care, payment would be permitted out of the benefits otherwise payable.

In addition, the bill provides that amounts held today in the account designated "personal funds of patients," and derived exclusively from gratuitous benefits paid by the Veterans' Administration, shall, upon the death of the veteran leaving no wife, child or dependent parent, be retained by the United States, instead of passing to the personal representative as existing law provides.

About \$65 million is involved in the "Personal Funds of Patients," a considerable portion of which it is believed will be saved by the passage of this legislation. However, no definite estimate of savings is possible at this time.

I insert in the RECORD at this point the favorable report of the Veterans' Administration on this bill:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1959.

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: The following comments are furnished pursuant to your request for a report by the Veterans' Administration on H.R. 6319, 86th Congress.

The purpose of the bill is to establish additional statutory safeguards so that upon the death of a mentally incompetent veteran large amounts representing gratuitous benefits provided for the veteran will not be paid to persons having no equitable claim to such benefits.

To accomplish this general purpose, the bill contains certain changes in the present law, briefly described as follows:

1. It provides that upon the death of a mentally incompetent veteran all gratuitous benefits deposited by the Veterans' Administration before or after enactment of these amendments in the personal funds of patients' accounts held by VA hospital and regional office managers shall be payable only to the surviving spouse, or the children (without regard to age or marital status) if there is no spouse, or the dependent parents if there is neither a surviving spouse or child. Any balance would be deposited to the applicable current appropriation except for reimbursement to a person who bore the expense of the last sickness or burial of the veteran. At present, these funds at the death of the incompetent institutionalized veteran are disposed of as a part of his estate and, in some instances, would therefore be paid to remote heirs.

2. The present law provides that where the Veterans' Administration is furnishing hospital treatment or domiciliary care to a mentally incompetent veteran without certain dependents payments of compensation, pension, or emergency officers' retirement pay will be discontinued when his estate from any source equals or exceeds \$1,500 and will not be resumed until it is reduced to \$500. The bill would make this limitation applicable where the incompetent veteran is being cared for in other Federal institutions or in State or similar public institutions. In recognition of the fact that many of the latter classes of institutions charge for the maintenance of the veteran, the bill generally

permits payment out of the benefit which would otherwise be discontinued because of the \$1,500 limitation to cover the amount charged for the veteran's current care and maintenance.

In addition, the bill broadens the \$1,500 limitation with respect to family status of the veteran. At present, it applies only where the veteran being furnished care by the Veterans' Administration has no wife, child, or dependent parent. Under the bill, this limitation would apply where the incompetent veteran is being furnished care by the Federal Government, or any political subdivision of the United States, if he has no wife or child. This safeguard against large accumulations of benefits would thus apply where the institutionalized incompetent veteran has a dependent parent, but no wife or child. However, the bill contains specific authorization to the Administrator to apportion and pay to dependent parents, on the basis of need, all or any part of the benefit which would otherwise be discontinued pursuant to this limitation. Since the bill also contains limitations on disposition of personal funds of patients, this extension of the \$1,500 safeguard is of particular significance where the veteran has a guardian to whom payments are being made.

We believe that this bill will provide much more effective methods for achieving its basic purposes than does the present law. In reports on prior bills, the Veterans' Administration has noted that some difficulties may be encountered with respect to the provisions limiting distribution of amounts in the personal funds of patients' accounts which have been paid into those accounts by the Veterans' Administration prior to enactment of the proposed amendments. However, we fully appreciate and endorse the objectives of these provisions of the bill.

Because the family status of veterans is so variable, it is not possible to determine the number of incompetent veterans who will die in the future under circumstances in which the bill would have a definite impact. However, it is believed that its enactment will result in material savings to the Government while at the same time serving the sound purpose of precluding distribution of benefits intended for the veteran to persons having no proper claim upon the Government for them. There is presently in the personal funds of patients' accounts an aggregate exceeding \$65 million, the major portion of which is probably composed of the proceeds of gratuitous benefits, out of which an indeterminate amount would revert to the applicable appropriation under this bill.

This bill contains the major elements, with some revisions, of the recommendations recently made in our report to you on H.R. 4302, 86th Congress. We, therefore, recommend favorable action on H.R. 6319 by the committee.

Advice has been received from the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to the committee.

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER G. WHITTIER,
Administrator.

I appointed a special subcommittee to consider this matter and named the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MITCHELL] as chairman. The other members were, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. QUIGLEY], the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FLYNN], the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CARTER], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], and the gentleman from California [Mr. TEAGUE]. The subcommittee is to be commended for the thought and effort which went into this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MITCHELL], such time as he may require.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, the bill, H.R. 6319, is remedial legislation and strikes at a problem or at an ill that has plagued a certain area in our veterans' program for many, many years. It concerns the payment of benefits to incompetent veterans. The committee in its study several years ago determined that in many instances incompetent veterans were accumulating large sums in their estates. They had no close relatives and, as a result, these gratuities which were paid by the Federal Government to these incompetent veterans over this long period of time were being paid at their death to extremely remote collateral heirs. There are many examples where the accumulation in the estate amounted to \$25,000 or \$75,000 or \$100,000 and these sums were paid to heirs, some of whom did not know the veteran and had no connection with him during his lifetime. That is the precise problem which this legislation seeks to solve. The bill, H.R. 6319, in my judgment, is a bill which will carry out the intent of the Congress. It was the intent of this body and of the other body, when legislation was enacted to provide gratuities for our veterans, that this money be provided to take care of the veterans and their immediate families and their dependents during the veterans' lifetime. This bill will help to carry out that intent and, yet, prevent these vast accumulations that I spoke of. May I emphasize in this connection that we are not here speaking of guardianship accounts of veterans who are under the control of a court. We are primarily concerned here with what are known as personal funds of patients. These special funds are in the hands of the manager of the veterans' hospital where a veteran is hospitalized or in the case of a veteran who is hospitalized in a State institution, this fund is in the hands of and under the control of the manager of the Veterans' Administration regional office nearest to the hospital. At the present time this special fund totals around \$65 million. The bill, in effect, accomplishes three changes in existing law.

First, under present law, if an incompetent veteran dies while he is being cared for in a Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary, the amount in the personal fund of the patient will be paid to the personal representative of the veteran who will make distribution of this amount and, in some cases, pay it to rather remote heirs. The bill changes that provision to limit the payments to the surviving spouse, children—without regard to age or marital status—and, if there is no spouse, to the dependent parents. Any balance would revert to the United States. If there are no beneficiaries within the permitted class, no payments would be made, and the entire amount would be retained by the United States.

The second change provided in this bill is to enlarge the scope of what is known as the \$500 to \$1,500 formula

which now applies where an incompetent veteran is receiving hospital or domiciliary care and who has neither wife, child, nor dependent parent. At the present time this provision applies only to Veterans' Administration hospitals or domiciliaries. The bill would extend this to the State institutions who are furnishing care for veterans and authorize payments to be made to the State for whatever charges are levied against the Veterans' Administration for the care of this veteran.

The third change involves the class of beneficiaries who are eligible under this \$500-\$1,500 formula to which it applies, the veteran with neither wife nor dependent family. Under this bill it is limited to veterans having neither wife nor child, but provision is made where a dependent parent exists that an apportionment may be given to the dependent parent on the basis of need.

I think it might be wise at this point to give some explanation with reference to the \$500-\$1,500 formula. This formula has been in existence for many years. In effect, when an incompetent veteran's estate reaches \$1,500 the benefits are stopped until it has been reduced to the sum of \$500. This in the past has proven to be an effective control against accumulation of estates of incompetent veterans.

In this bill we are strengthening this formula. Our subcommittee held hearings and went into the subject in great detail and considered it carefully in a rather lengthy executive session prior to reporting the bill to the full committee. The subcommittee was unanimous in its view that this legislation is positive in its approach to the problem, and that it will save a considerable sum of money to the taxpayers without reducing or withholding benefits which are needed by an incompetent veteran.

I would like to stress that the class of beneficiaries covered by this are the classes which are eligible for survivor benefits of a noncontractual nature. These benefits today are restricted to the widow of the veteran, his children, and dependent parents; and this bill maintains this same class. There is no basis, in the opinion of the committee, of remote, collateral heirs benefiting from the estate of an incompetent veteran who is being furnished hospital care at public expense.

I would like to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, that this legislation will also prevent in the future, by establishing advance controls, the vast accumulation of funds in the special fund for incompetent veterans to be paid to extremely remote heirs.

This bill, I would like to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, would in future save the taxpayers money while at the same time, because of the reversion clause, actually make more money available for our living veterans who are in need. I sincerely hope that very quickly the House will suspend the rules and pass H.R. 6319.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR].

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend the chairman of the special subcommittee, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MITCHELL] for his patience in dealing with a complex and a intricate problem affecting the veterans of our country. As a result of his patience in the hearings which were held the Veterans' Affairs Committee has brought to the floor a bill which I feel can have the active support of every Member of the House.

It is important to realize that in this bill there are no new principles of law. This bill merely extends the existing provisions of the law to a new class, and by extending these existing provisions it is to prevent the building up of money in veterans' accounts in the case of an incompetent veteran who has no close relatives or dependents.

Some Members of Congress who were here in prior sessions will recall that when a similar bill with a retroactive feature in it was presented, that bill was recommitted. I would like to impress upon all Members of the House that this bill has no retroactive features insofar as guardianship accounts are concerned. It will only take effect from date of enactment forward, and it cannot affect any veterans' guardianship accounts that are now in existence. These will be paid in accordance with State laws. All of my comments apply to incompetent veterans who are being hospitalized at public expense and who have neither wife, child, nor dependent parent.

What this bill actually does is to withhold moneys where they are not needed by a veteran and are not needed by his family because the veteran is already being taken care of fully and completely. They are receiving care in a veterans' institution. This bill has a provision which I think is very unusual, that in case any veteran who is incompetent and is affected by this bill at any time in the future recovers his competency or her competency, every dollar that he or she would have gotten had this bill not been passed will become available to that competent veteran.

There are some people who say that if this bill were not in effect some brothers and sisters of veterans would receive benefits. But let us look at this matter a minute. During World I, World War II, and the Korean war, we had many men lose their lives who had brothers and sisters. The Federal Government said that as a matter of policy there is no duty upon the Federal Government to make any payment to a brother or a sister, they are outside of the scope of those in the family that we take care of. We take care of the wives, children, and dependent parents. Other people are outside of the scope of the veterans' benefit laws. Bear in mind always, these veterans are in VA or State hospitals and being cared for at public expense.

This bill takes cognizance of that fact and makes sure that all of the classes of relatives Congress said are worthy of consideration will be taken care of. It will have the effect of preventing large sums of money going to people who have had no responsibility for the veteran in the past.

That is the purpose of the bill, and I urge suspension of the rules and passage of the bill at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I realize that in the short time allotted under suspension of the rules nothing can be done to change the bill. It should not pass—there is something inside of me that bitterly resents the taking away of the money that is owed the veteran by the Government. The fact that he is incompetent makes it infinitely worse. Worse than if the Government took it away from a blind man because he would have his mind to fight with. You, who have worked day in and day out with these veterans and have seen their families visiting the men in the hospitals, know full well the feeling that the veteran has for his family, particularly his brothers and sisters and the feeling they have for him. I know many a veteran who was worried very much about his brothers and his sisters and others of his family who would lose by this bill, who would be hurt by passage of this bill before he was taken so ill. This bill reaches down into the pockets of these poor veterans who cannot fight for themselves, who cannot think for themselves, and yet a so-called benign Government would take that money away that has accumulated for their benefit. Take for instance, the small amounts that are paid into various funds for the veterans by the veterans' organizations, such as Poppy Day. How do you suppose the public and they would feel when they realize that some of that money will not go to the veterans or their families? I shall vote against the bill. I shall not argue any more against it, because I shall wait for the other body, believing that some Members of the other body who have talked with me, who feel as I do about it, will defeat the bill over there as they did before. This money is earned by the veterans and it rightfully belongs to them. I cannot, in good conscience, vote for it.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks on the pending bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe that today's discussion on the floor should not be confined to historical reminiscences of Poland's glorious past. The time that we spend today on discussing Polish affairs should be at least in part devoted to casting a cold and realistic look at present-day Poland.

In the last 2 years, since the Gomulka regime was installed in Poland in October 1956, comparisons are being made between Poland and Yugoslavia, between Gomulka and Tito. I would like to advise those who make these comparisons and arrive at the conclusions that both Poland under Gomulka and Yugoslavia under Tito have veered away from Moscow and practice what some refer to as their own road to socialism to look a little closer at what is going on in both countries at the present time. It may be true that in the beginning Gomulka succeeded in his attempt to create in the Western World the impression that he is following in Tito's footsteps and cutting some of the strings that kept him, a puppet, attached to the fingers of the Moscow manipulators. It may be that the temporary relaxation of terrorism in Poland and a wider exchange of persons between Poland and the West has led some foreign observers to jump to the conclusion that Poland has regained some of the freedom and some of the independence of which the Soviet invaders deprived it in 1945.

Recent events show conclusively that these optimistic conclusions were entirely wrong. Contrary to Tito, Gomulka has not attempted and certainly not succeeded in leaving the militant international Communist conspiracy and after having for a short while built a flimsy front of respectability, has rather quickly returned to the Communist fold.

Again, as before October 1956, the Polish people live not only under the shadow of Moscow's might but also wholly within the Soviet imperialist orbit. Contrary to Tito, Gomulka remains a puppet and a most servile executor of orders issued at the Kremlin. More than that, in the field of foreign relations, Warsaw, the capital of Poland, has become the capital of the Soviet foreign policy, a place where aggressive pacts are being written and signed by the Kremlin's servants, a place where aggression against the Western World is being hatched by the reoccurring meetings of the leaders of the Soviet empire, a place where ideas hostile to the freedom-loving Western World are being put into reality.

In view of these events and in view of the Gomulka regime's unflinching loyalty to Soviet Russia, it becomes increasingly difficult to accept the theory that today's Poland is in any degree more free and more independent from Moscow than it was in the last decade.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

CV—463

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, today we pause to commemorate Polish Constitution Day—a significant date in the proud but tragic history of Poland.

One hundred sixty-eight years ago, Poland's enlightened leaders led their countrymen from the feudal path of the Middle Ages to the broad, democratic highways of modern times by accomplishing the most liberal and progressive reform in central and eastern Europe. By the constitution of May 3, 1791, Poland moved peacefully from an unlimited autocracy to a limited monarchy. For a brief period, Poland's torch of freedom and progress was allowed to burn brightly, but was quickly extinguished by her powerful aggressive neighbors.

For over a hundred years Poland's light glowed only in the hearts and minds of her suffering people. Again briefly after World War I, the Poles tasted freedom only until aggression descended upon them in 1939 when Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia conquered and despoiled their land.

While World War II brought freedom to many, it left Poland in the tenacious grip of Communist tyranny. Today, although Poland is reduced to the level of a Soviet satellite, her people continue to resist oppression, to keep faith in the future, and to maintain the ideal of a free and democratic Polish Republic. The spirit of the Constitution of 1791 lives in the minds and hearts of freedom-loving Poles throughout the world.

Today, as we proudly join Poles everywhere in rededication to the cause of freedom, we pay humble tribute to a brave people who have suffered much in their struggle against tyranny. Their fearless determination to preserve freedom and justice against overpowering odds has been an example to us all. Such spirit cannot be destroyed. It will keep the hidden flame of freedom lit until it can once again blaze brilliantly and openly in a free and independent Poland.

ONE HUNDRED LOCAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE DISAGREE WITH NATIONAL CHAMBER POLICY ON WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we all have a high regard for many of the able men throughout the country who are members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—and who, through the local chambers of commerce, work effectively for the progress of their communities. Locally as we all know, the chamber of commerce is usually in the forefront working for projects for the betterment of their communities and for developing the resources of their areas.

It seems, however, that on the national level, the staff of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce do not know the facts—they

are not aware of the facts like the members of our local chambers of commerce. Thus, we often see officials of the national level taking positions contrary to those held by the chambers of commerce on the local level.

Last week, Mr. Speaker, we witnessed another example of this very thing happening here in Washington. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, during their convention adopted a number of resolutions—policy declarations—including one under the heading "Valley Authorities"—which was aimed largely at the Tennessee Valley Authority—and this action demonstrated again the failure of the national officials of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to understand the purposes of the TVA and to view the programs of this great agency of our Government objectively.

I want to point out that earlier this year the policy committee of the chamber of commerce met here in Washington to formulate their policy declarations—and during this time a large delegation of members of the local chambers of commerce from the South appeared before the policy committee objecting to these proposed recommendations. As a result of their objections the policy committee abandoned the more extreme points and modified their declaration considerably. However, at the convention held last week, this policy recommendation was submitted to the convention and as presented it still evidenced a lack of knowledge of the true facts about the Tennessee Valley Authority.

We have all read the press reports of the repressive and restrictive resolution adopted by a majority of those attending the convention.

I merely want to say, Mr. Speaker, that I regret that the chamber of commerce representatives from other areas of the country are not as informed—at least as far as the TVA is concerned—and they are not as enlightened as the members of the chambers of commerce from the TVA area.

I am proud that Mr. Barrett C. Shelton, of Alabama, president of the Associated Valley Chambers of Commerce, and many others, Mr. Carmack Cochran, Nashville; Mayor George Dempster, Knoxville, and others from the South, spoke out. I congratulate them and although they were outvoted, it is to be hoped that their protests—and the protests from more than 100 chambers of commerce from the South, who know the TVA best, will yet lead the National Chamber of Commerce to reexamine their position on the TVA and other great water resources development projects.

The national chamber should consult their local chambers more fully—when formulating their policy pronouncements—they would then be better informed and more representative in attempting to express a national point of view—instead of supporting positions which are preconceived and prejudiced.

I respectfully urge favorable action upon H.R. 3460, soon to be considered, and let me say that on July 29, 1958, upon this bill, the TVA Board of Directors, all of them appointed by President Eisenhower, said in the letter to the committee that—

We welcome the opportunity to express our deep concern that the legislation now before your committee to authorize TVA to issue revenue bonds be favorably reported and approved by the House at this session of the Congress. We believe the bill, as approved by the Senate last year provides a workable basis on which to undertake this new means of financing.

That is the word from the Tennessee Valley Authority Board on this issue.

H.R. 3460 when enacted into law will first, be an improvement upon the present businesslike corporate structure of TVA; second, further safeguard the Government's and our investment in this joint venture; third, provide for, in a sound and orderly manner, the necessary normal growth additions to TVA's electricity facilities; and fourth, greatly reduce, the annual argument over TVA.

Let us follow the people, and the local chambers of commerce, rather than these who would stop progress in America.

FOOD COLORS

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to provide relief to the edible fat industries by allowing them to continue to use for a limited period certain necessary yellow food colors at levels found safe by the Food and Drug Administration. The need for this amendment to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act arises from the following situation:

In December of last year the Supreme Court decided that the Food and Drug Administration has no statutory authority to certify any coal tar color for use in food unless an unlimited amount of the color could be fed to test animals without causing harm. As we all know, virtually any substance could cause harm if fed in sufficient quantities. But as the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act has now been interpreted, the Food and Drug Administration is in the peculiar position of being unable to continue to certify coal tar colors for use in food, even though the color is perfectly safe in the levels of use employed by food manufacturers.

The Food and Drug Administration, as you know, for years prior to the Supreme Court decision had certified numerous coal tar colors for use in food, notably certain blues, greens, reds, yellows, and a violet. Even after the Supreme Court decision, the Food and Drug Administration has not acted to bar continued use of all of the food colors that would be vulnerable under the new and strict interpretation of the act. The Food and Drug Administration has continued to list and certify the blues, greens, and violet. Industries who use these colors are thus faced with no immediate legal problem.

Several years ago the Food and Drug Administration ordered discontinuance of the use in food of a red coal tar color

used to color oranges. As you know, this action posed severe problems to the citrus industries of Florida and Texas. At that time, the Congress enacted temporary legislation allowing continued use of a red coal tar color for use on oranges. When that legislation was about to expire in March of this year, the Congress again came to the relief of these citrus growers and in this session enacted Public Law 86-2 which was signed by the President last March. Under that law, a commercially necessary food color, safe under the conditions of use, has continued to be available.

Those colors that have not been delisted by the Food and Drug Administration pose no real question of safety. No one has suggested that when used at their present levels they are capable of causing harm to any consumer. However, the Administration has delisted certain colors required by the edible fat industries, known as F. D. & C. yellows 3 and 4. Those who use these yellows are thus in a unique and unfortunate position. Unless my bill is enacted, on May 7—the effective date of the delisting order—food producers dependent on the use of these colors will be denied an essential ingredient in the manufacture of various edible fats. This will be true even though no one has suggested that the use of those colors at the levels at which they have been used for decades has ever caused any harm to any consumer.

As I am sure you are aware, general color additive legislation will shortly again come before the Congress. A general color additive bill introduced by me last session failed of enactment. The Food and Drug Administration, however, has circulated a draft bill. They have asked for the comments of all interested parties by April 27. But long before any general legislation could possibly be enacted, the use of yellow food colors for edible fats will because of the curious situation which I have described become illegal. Of the four yellow food colors delisted, yellow Nos. 1 and 2 are water soluble and are of no concern here because there are other water-soluble yellows available. What we are concerned with are the fat-soluble yellow Nos. 3 and 4 since no appropriate substitute fat-soluble coloring is available.

Yellow Nos. 3 and 4 are extremely important to producers of edible fat. The bill I have introduced would allow continued use of these colors at safe levels for a limited period until September 1961, or the earlier enactment of general color additive legislation, or the development of suitable fat-soluble replacements.

Essentially the bill I have introduced gives those who use yellow Nos. 3 and 4 the same kind of relief as the Congress gave the people who use red coloring on their oranges. Thus, it would in no respect usurp the function of the Food and Drug Administration in prescribing the level of safe use. The bill would leave entirely to the Food and Drug Administration the function of prescribing the conditions, including quantitative tolerance limitations, under which yellow

Nos. 3 and 4 may be used. This is precisely what was done for citrus red.

The users of yellow Nos. 3 and 4 face a problem that I hope will be resolved by the enactment of general color legislation. Since all agree that there is no question of public safety involved here, I have introduced this bill in order to provide emergency relief for the users of yellow Nos. 3 and 4. The simplest way of resolving this temporary but acute problem is to do in the case of yellow Nos. 3 and 4 what was done for citrus red No. 2. The use of a coloring material in relatively small quantities to achieve a desirable purpose should not be barred because the presence of that material in quantities many times in excess of the quantity in fact used is believed by some to be a potential source of harm. Clearly the Secretary should have the power to permit the use of that material under proper quantitative restrictions. I hope this bill can receive the prompt attention of the Congress.

AIRPORT ON SUBSIDY-FREE BASIS AIM OF COMMITTEE

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, during the extended hearings in our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which I am privileged to be a member, and during the debate on the floor of the House recently in connection with Federal aid to airports, a great deal was said in favor of communities making all-out efforts to have self-supporting airports.

There is no question that the tremendous increase in air travel requires adequate airport facilities and that the safety features of these facilities are of primary importance. Dayton, Ohio, as has been said many times, is both the birthplace and the cradle of aviation. The facilities of the James M. Cox Municipal Airport are designed to meet this ever-increasing need. Civic leaders join with city and community officials in achieving these results.

I am very happy to note a story of their progress in the Dayton Journal Herald of April 29, 1959, and under unanimous consent I include it with these remarks in the RECORD, as follows:

AIRPORT ON SUBSIDY-FREE BASIS AIM OF COMMITTEE—ADVISORY GROUP RECOMMENDS THREE STEPS AT CONFERENCE WITH DAYTON OFFICIALS

The 3-month-old Dayton Airport Advisory Committee yesterday showed definite signs that it will grow into a husky influence in Dayton's aviation future.

In a brief, action-filled meeting with Dayton officials, a 5-man subcommittee headed by John P. Fraim, L. M. Berry executive, called for a positive approach aimed at operating Cox Municipal Airport on as near a subsidy-free basis as possible.

The subcommittee recommended the following courses:

1. Raise charges paid by fixed base operators to let them bear a greater and more equitable share of airport costs.

2. Limit proposed new fixed base leases to 1 year with the understanding that they would be reviewed for fairness at the end of that period.

3. Take immediate steps to formulate a land use program on which to base future rentals as a means of securing the maximum equitable income from other than airline sources.

Fraim also called for a city study of rates being charged by fixed base operators at Cox airport to see that excessive charges are not driving industrial or private business away.

FOUR ALREADY IN AGREEMENT

Under proposed new leases, to which he said four of the fixed base operators have already agreed, Jack Unterberger, Dayton engineer in charge of airport projects, reported the city will realize about \$27,000 in increased income in the next year.

Unterberger said Skyways, Inc., Ohio Aviation, Southern Ohio Aviation, and National Cash Register Co. (which will take over the hangar formerly used by the Kettering interests) had agreed to the following terms:

1. Increase electricity charge per hangar from \$46 to \$200 a month.

2. Increase the base rate for heating from \$1 to \$1.30 per 1,000 pounds of steam supplied.

3. Increase the city's share of gasoline sales from the present 2 cents to 2.5 cents per gallon.

Unterberger reported further hikes in the airport income from hangar users may be expected from adjustments in utilities charges to the Air Mod branch of the Cook Electric Co. and from charges to TWA when their lease expires next month.

MASTER PLAN SLATED

City Manager Herbert W. Starick said the 1 year leases would give the city enough time to draw a master plan for future land use and charges at the airport.

Urging such a program was John W. Gower, cochairman of the full advisory committee. He expressed dissatisfaction with a recent 3-year lease extended to the Cook Electric Co. for part of its airport facilities.

Thomas H. Wasmuth, vice president of the Rike-Kumler Co., pressed for limiting fixed base leases to 1 year pending drawing of the land use master plan.

Gerald Weller, Standard Register official, said fixed base operators would find the master plan to their advantage. It would permit the Dayton commission to consider leases of up to 20 years or more, Weller pointed out.

Skyways, Inc. plans construction of a number of T-hangars but will need long-term leases to secure financing, Weller said.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, because of widespread publicity given to statements made by our former President Harry Truman, I am impelled to take this opportunity to clarify any misunderstanding some people may have concerning his criticism of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

First, no person without bias or prejudice can or would dispute the fact that this great American as President of the United States used every method of peaceful negotiation and then forceful

and aggressive action in our fight against communism. No other man was ever called upon to make such momentous decisions in opposing the threat and spread of communism throughout the world. No other man has ever met this challenge with more immediate action of aggressive international diplomacy and with force on the battlefield.

However, in his courageous fight against the international Communist movement, Harry Truman has not lost sight of the value and importance of preserving our American way of life as a great democracy. And in this respect, he has such deep devotion for the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States that he has no hesitancy in criticizing a congressional committee when he believes that some of the procedures used by that committee violate the Bill of Rights. It is on this principle that he criticizes our Committee on Un-American Activities. I personally know that Mr. Truman is in complete accord with our objectives of exposing communistic activities in this country and in agreement with the purpose of legislative actions reported by the committee to preserve our internal security. His criticism is directed to the past actions of certain individual members of the committee who have used demagoguery on the committee in the process of exploiting sensational publicity for personal political gain without regard for the Bill of Rights. Mr. Truman does not attack or criticize the individual membership of the present committee nor the outstanding ability of our great chairman, FRANCIS WALTER. In fact, he believes that Chairman WALTER and other members of the committee have improved committee procedures and conduct of hearings.

ENDING SUBSIDIES FOR FARM DRAINAGE IN THE PRAIRIE POT-HOLE AREA

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, three-fourths of all the wild ducks bred in the continental United States come from the prairie pothole area of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In recent years, under agriculture conservation program subsidies, almost one-third of these potholes have been drained and thus ruined as waterfowl habitat.

Alarmed at the serious threat to our waterfowl by the drainage program, Congress last year enacted Public Law 85-585, earmarking the \$6.5 million which will accrue annually starting in fiscal 1960 from the \$3 duck stamp to a program of purchasing and leasing wetland areas.

Because of the imminent start of the wetland acquisition program, and because of the obvious conflict which would be created with it by continued subsidized farm drainage, I recently wrote As-

sistant Secretary of Interior for Fish and Wildlife, Ross L. Leffler, as follows:

Mr. ROSS L. LEFFLER,
Assistant Secretary of Interior for Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LEFFLER: I shall be grateful if you can convey to me certain information concerning the program of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife for acquiring wet lands in the upcoming fiscal year (that commencing July 1, 1959), and the relationship to it of wetlands drainage:

1. What areas, by county or other subdivision, in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, do you consider most eligible for acquisition, by purchase or lease, under the wetlands acquisition program set up by Public Law 85-585 of August 1, 1958? In the fiscal year starting next July 1, for the first time the proceeds of the \$3 duck stamp—the sum amounting to more than \$6 million annually paid for by the more than 2 million hunters—will be almost entirely earmarked for the leasing and purchase of wet lands valuable to waterfowl. How important in your total acquisition program is the so-called prairie pothole area? What percentage of the total funds available for purchase and lease are to be earmarked for this area? In addition to the Federal program, do any other agencies of State or local government have wetlands acquisition programs for this area? In what probable amounts?

2. In his testimony before the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations on August 15, 1957, Daniel H. Janzen, Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, testified:

"The position of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is that the Federal Government should not offer subsidies for drainage in the prairie pothole region of the Dakotas and Minnesota, because of the national interest in the 4 million acres of waterfowl wet lands there * * * in keeping with current economic policies in Government, substantial savings of somewhat more than \$1 million annually could be achieved by abolishing subsidies for drainage in the 3 pothole States."

I invite your comment on whether this statement is still true today.

3. Is substantially all of the farm drainage now practiced in the prairie pothole area materially damaging to waterfowl habitat? If subsidized farm drainage were ended in the prairie pothole area (of course, farmers would still be entitled to drain their lands at their own expense even in this area), would this substantially accomplish the goal of withdrawing Federal subsidies for farm drainage materially harmful to waterfowl habitat?

4. If Federal subsidy for wetlands drainage in the prairie pothole area is allowed to continue, what will be its effect on the wetlands acquisition program under Public Law 85-585? Will it, in your opinion, raise the cost of Federal leasing and purchasing under Public Law 85-585?

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
Member of Congress.

There follows Assistant Secretary Leffler's reply to me of April 30, 1959:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C. April 30, 1959.

HON. HENRY S. REUSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. REUSS: In your letter of April 22 you asked that I send you certain information concerning the program of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife for acquiring wet lands in fiscal year 1960 and subsequent

years, and the relationship of that program to wetland drainage.

The enclosed summary contains the requested information based on the most recent data available from the Bureau's files. Where possible, we have given specific answers to questions raised in your letter. However, as I am sure you will appreciate, in some instances only a qualified answer can be made at this time. The numbered sections in the summary correspond to the numbered paragraphs in your letter of April 22.

In the event that you desire elaboration of any of the points involved, we will be pleased to provide further details.

Sincerely yours,

ROSS LEFFLER,
Assistant Secretary.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED WETLAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM IN RELATION TO WETLAND DRAINAGE

1. The waterfowl production areas considered most eligible for acquisition by purchase or lease under the acquisition program established by Public Law 85-585 are pothole wetlands located in all or portions of 91 counties which contain the best remaining waterfowl breeding habitat. As shown in table 1, 23 of these counties are in Minnesota, 34 are in North Dakota, and 34 are in South Dakota.

The prairie pothole area is the most important single segment of our overall acquisition program to preserve waterfowl habitat in the United States. This ranking denotes the importance of the prairie pothole section as the breeding grounds from which comes annually about three-fourths of the waterfowl produced in this country. It reflects the imminence of destruction of the section as a major waterfowl production area and the concern with which this is viewed by wildlife authorities and conservationists, generally.

We believe that you will be interested to know that recently the Mississippi Flyway Council, comprising directors of fish and game departments in 14 States, adopted a council report recommending that first priority be given to the acquisition of waterfowl breeding habitat in the United States.

The planning of the program for acquisition of pothole wet lands by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife is being given major emphasis in fiscal year 1959. Detailed field investigations to identify areas having high waterfowl breeding history and potential for production are being conducted. The Staff of appraisers in the Minneapolis Regional Office of the Bureau is being expanded to handle the anticipated increased workload which will follow initiation of the pothole wetland acquisition program in fiscal year 1960.

Funds available for acquisition of pothole wet lands in fiscal year 1960 will be limited inasmuch as a majority of funds available for acquisition in that year are already committed for acquisition of areas previously approved by the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission. As yet, no determination has been made as to what percentage of the total funds available annually from the \$3 duck stamp will be programmed for the acquisition of pothole wet lands. Until actual field experience with the program is gained in fiscal year 1960 such a determination will not be possible. However, it is anticipated that a substantial portion of the overall funds available for acquisition will be earmarked for the pothole area in fiscal year 1961 and future years.

In addition to the Federal program, all three of the major pothole States, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, have programs for the acquisition of waterfowl breeding areas. While these are Statewide programs, the emphasis on acquisition of wet

lands is concentrated in the pothole sections of the respective States.

Minnesota initiated an accelerated wetlands preservation program in October 1951, and to date has acquired about 56,100 acres at a cost of about \$1,770,000. In 1957 a surcharge of \$1 was placed on upland game bird licenses to provide additional funds for wetland acquisition. This provision is to remain effective as long as \$200,000 from the annual Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration apportionment is spent for acquisition for wetland preservation.

Including license surcharge funds and Federal aid funds, about \$550,000 per year is available for the wetlands acquisition program of the Minnesota Department of Conservation and this rate is expected to continue. At recent prevailing land prices, it is estimated that these funds will be sufficient to purchase about 17,000 acres per year.

The North Dakota Game and Fish Department has acquired about 15,000 acres of wet lands at a cost of about \$212,000. Wetlands acquisition is proceeding at a rate of about 1,100 acres per year, using about \$15,000 of Federal aid funds.

South Dakota has acquired about 30,100 acres of wet lands at a cost of about \$754,327 of Federal aid funds. During the past 20 years South Dakota has acquired about 30,000 acres of land, using its regular funds. Most of these latter areas contain some wet lands of value for waterfowl production.

In recent years \$5 of each nonresident hunting license sold in South Dakota has been earmarked for land acquisition and development. The last session of the State Legislature enacted a law which earmarked \$9 of each nonresident hunting license fee for the acquisition of wet lands beginning in 1960. If South Dakota nonresident license sales continue at about the present rate, this will mean that an additional \$250,000 or so per year will become available for wetlands acquisition by the State. Total wetlands acquisition funds available from all sources for South Dakota will be about \$450,000 annually in 1960 and thereafter.

From the foregoing estimates it appears that together the three major pothole States will be spending about \$625,000 to acquire perhaps 20,000 acres of land this year. Beginning in 1960 the total funds available for wetlands acquisition by these States will be about \$1,015,000, which should purchase about 36,000 acres at current prices.

2. We believe that the statement quoted from testimony given before the Intergovernmental Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations on August 15, 1957, by Mr. Daniel H. Janzen, Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, would still be valid today. The position of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on Federal subsidies for drainage in the prairie pothole region has not changed. Expenditures by the Agricultural Conservation Program Service and the Soil Conservation Service directly related to drainage work in the three-State area as a whole are still somewhat more than \$1 million annually.

3. Substantially all of the farm drainage now practiced in the 91 counties listed in table 1 is materially damaging to waterfowl.

If subsidies for agricultural drainage in the pothole region are withdrawn, the major immediate threat to waterfowl breeding areas in the United States will be substantially reduced. It is believed that the rate of private drainage will be much less than that at which subsidized drainage has been carried out.

However, there are also important areas of wintering habitat which have been adversely affected by subsidized agricultural drainage. This has resulted from direct drainage, and from excessive turbidity, silting and upset of salinity balances in downstream areas.

4. Under Federal drainage subsidy a landowner is able to drain wet lands, converting

them to croplands, at only a fraction of the cost of private drainage. The prospect of immediate financial return resulting from increased crop production with only a nominal personal investment, will undoubtedly affect the attitude of the landowner toward sale and leasing of wet lands. In effect this will mean active competition between drainage programs and the wetlands preservation program for the same wetland areas. An inevitable result of continued drainage subsidy will be greater difficulty of negotiating lease and purchase agreements under the waterfowl program, with increased rates and a higher overhead cost.

TABLE 1—NINETY-ONE COUNTIES WHEREIN ACQUISITION OF POTHOLE WET LANDS IS PLANNED

Minnesota, 23 counties: Murray, Lyon, Yellow Medicine, Renville, Lac qui Parle, Chipewewa, Kandiyohi, Swift, Big Stone, Traverse, Stevens, Stearns, Grant, Douglas, Otter Tail, Wilkin, Clay, Becker, Mahanomen, Norman, Polk, Lincoln, and Pope.

North Dakota, 34 counties: Barnes, Burleigh, Dickey, Divide, Emmons, Kidder, La Moure, Logan, McIntosh, McLean, Mount-Ransom, Richland, Sargent, Stutsman, Williams, Benson, Bottineau, Burke, Cavalier, Eddy, Foster, Griggs, McHenry, Nelson, Pierce, Ramsey, Renville, Rolette, Sheridan, Steele, Towner, Ward, and Wells.

South Dakota, 34 counties: Beadle, Brookings, Brown, Campbell, Clark, Codington, Day, Deuel, Edmunds, Faulk, Grant, Hamlin, Hand Hughes, Hyde, Kingsbury, Marshall, McPherson, Potter, Roberts, Spink, Sully, Walworth, Brule, Aurora, Charles Mix, Lake, Hanson, Miner, McCook, Minnehaha, Douglas, Jerauld, and Sanborn.

As was said in the April 24, 1959, bulletin of the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners:

It makes little sense for the Government to continue paying for the destruction of valuable duck-nesting marshes in the very area where the Fish and Wildlife Service proposes to invest substantial amounts of the \$3 duck stamp revenues in acquiring enough wet lands to save the resource.

If the subsidized drainage of wet lands in the prairie pothole area is to continue, it will simply bid up the price of valuable marshland and thus make the Federal program of wetlands acquisition more costly and difficult. If subsidized drainage continues, it will cost more than \$1 million annually for the drainage subsidy program in the prairie pothole area. Incidentally, the \$1 million annually spent for drainage subsidies in the prairie pothole area is far less than what will be spent on wetlands acquisition in the same area starting in fiscal 1960 under the wetlands acquisition program. Under the Federal program, this is likely to be at least one-third of \$6½ million available, or more than \$2 million. In addition, Secretary Leffler's letter indicates that more than \$1 million will be available for wetlands acquisition on behalf of the three States of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Thus the million dollars in drainage subsidies which prairie pothole farmers would lose if the drainage program were ended in that area would be three times less than the amount they will gain under the wetlands acquisition program.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that this year's agriculture appropriation bill, for which hearings have just been concluded

ed before the House Committee on Appropriations, will contain a limiting amendment prohibiting further payments for draining wet lands in the 91 Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota counties listed by Secretary Leffler as the area where preserving our remaining wet lands for the future is vital.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MACHROWICZ). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 2 hours.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and also that any of my colleagues who so desire may extend their remarks at this point in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday throughout the United States, in many of our large and small communities, tribute was paid to the people of Poland who, 168 years ago, on May 3, 1791, startled all Europe by adopting a constitution which included within its framework the fundamentals of freedom written into the U.S. Constitution only 4 years earlier. This Polish constitution was so broad in scope in providing a democratic process for the people of Poland that despotic rulers of Europe could not tolerate such concepts for their own people. Through a violent conspiracy led by Russia and her neighbors, Poland and her constitution were quickly submerged. We Americans have for years paid tribute to the May 3d constitution of Poland because it tried to introduce among the nations of Europe those principles of respect for human dignity which our own forefathers in this country had so heroically carved out for this nation during the American Revolution.

It is fitting that these celebrations were held yesterday; fitting because they remind the entire world again that the same spirit and yearning for freedom which led the Poles to adopt their May 3d Constitution in 1791 continues among the people of Poland today, even though tragically that nation again must endure the indignity and oppression of Communist rule under its present regime.

Mr. Speaker, I think I speak with some authority when I assure all of you assembled here today that the fibers of freedom are so deeply ingrained in the Polish people that they transcend time itself. During the entire 1,000 years of Poland's history, this gallant nation periodically had been submerged by her tyrannical neighbors and had been the tragic victim of various invasions. But, through her entire glorious history, the people of Poland have never abandoned their firm dedication to the cause of freedom.

Poland's firm ties to religious beliefs have helped these people during their tragic periods of oppression, and even today these strong beliefs in religion continue to menace and deter the Commu-

nists' hopes for turning the Polish people away from their inherent belief in freedom and submit rather to the dogma of Communist oppression.

Just as tyrants have failed to crush the spirit of freedom in the Polish people during the past 1,000 years, so will they again fail in their present effort. This great charter, the May 3 Constitution of 1791, has been the rallying point for the Poles during the past 168 years, and I know that the people of Poland will not yield in their determined resistance to oppression until this constitution again becomes a living document in Poland.

These tributes to Poland's constitution of May 3 should again remind those in America and the entire free world that there can be no lasting peace so long as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, and the other captive nations, traditionally our friends and allies, remain enslaved in Communist bondage. To those who, for the sake of expediency, would be willing to forget the great dedication to freedom which these unfortunate nations have demonstrated so heroically in the past, I say they are making a fatal mistake—a mistake which sooner or later will reflect on the very freedom which we, as Americans, cherish so deeply in our own country. For liberty requires great sacrifices whether it is in our own country or any other part of the world. Ours is a polyglot nation. We Americans have taken the best that cultures of nations throughout the world have to offer and have welded them into one concept which we call America, the land of the free.

The Poles have indeed been an inspiration. They have been a source of great inspiration to people throughout the world in their great struggle for freedom and their dedication to those principles. They have fought in Europe and they have fought in this country. We need only to remind ourselves of the Polish immigrants who came here in the American Revolution—Pulaski, Kosciuszko, and in the War Between the States, Kyzanowski, and the Polish immigrants who came here as early as 1610 to help build a greater America. Also those gallant Poles who throughout World War I and World War II demonstrated their great heroism and dedication.

The gallant Army of Poland wrote some of the most inspiring chapters during these two last wars; the Warsaw uprising, the heroic battle at Monte Casino; the gallant defense of London against Nazi Messerschmidts by the Kosciuszko Squadron of the Polish Air Force—all these were definite evidence of the burning dedication to freedom and justice by these undaunted people.

Therefore, I say, Mr. Speaker, that I hope the United States will never yield in its stubborn determination that the people of Poland and the people of all enslaved nations must have their full freedom restored. And not until the captive nations of the world can again rule themselves under constitutions such as the one adopted in Poland on May 3, 1791, can we as Americans hope for a lasting peace in our time.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, annually since I have been in the Congress I have attended and participated in the ceremonies in this Chamber observing the anniversary of the Polish constitution, and it is with a sense of pride in a fellow Chicagoan that I am moved to observe that never have I listened to a presentation of the cause of Poland more moving, eloquent and convincing than that of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, Mr. PUCINSKI, who is responsible for the opportunity we have today again to voice our unending loyalty to the people of Poland in their strife to break the chains of bondage.

In commending the distinguished gentleman, and applauding the excellence of his remarks in content and in delivery, it seems to me not improper to remind my colleagues that high on the roll, of American war veterans of Polish blood is the name of Roman Pucinski, one of the first American fliers to bomb Tokyo in World War II.

The Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, the anniversary of which is honored today in the House, is a proud and glorious document to every Pole. This is true to a great extent because of the historical circumstances under which this old constitution was originally drawn up and approved by the Polish people.

This occurred at a particularly grim and critical time in Poland's history. In the latter part of the 18th century the Polish state trembled on the brink of obliteration. Hemmed in on nearly all sides by much stronger and unfriendly powers—Russia, Prussia and Austria—Poland had become the object of their rivalry and greed. In 1772 the three powerful neighbors of Poland bit off large portions of Polish territory and it became clear to the hapless Poles that a dismembering process was underway which might well result in their annihilation.

The shock of this thought spurred internal movements for reform in economic, social, and political life, and, as a result, Poland had a remarkable resurgence. Armed forces were mobilized, the economy was at least partially restored, and a movement for political change became more intensive. Throughout all this revival Poland's great neighbors did their utmost to block reform and sap Poland's will to resist. The monarchs that governed Russia, Prussia, and Austria, already made nervous by republican upheaval in France, looked with hostility upon the resurgence of liberty in Poland and strove to thwart it.

Undaunted by this opposition the Poles went ahead with their plans and approved the now famous constitution of 1791. By today's standards this political document would seem rather tame, but in Poland of that time it was a big step forward in internal liberty and a gesture of defiance to her surrounding enemies. The constitution envisaged responsibility of cabinet ministers and a fixed period of

work for the national parliament. It extended new civic rights to townsmen. It was, in short, an advance in constitutional government bolder than anything hitherto attempted in central Europe. With the adoption of this constitution the Polish people reached a new pinnacle of national greatness.

Sadly, however, it was only the prelude to the end. Almost immediately the soldiers of Russian Empress Catherine entered the country, and within a few short years Poland had been swallowed up. This began what was destined to be a long period of submergence and trial for the Polish nation.

Poland today is again passing through trial and difficulty, the nature of which is well known to us all. As we commemorate the constitution of 1791 in our speeches today we extend our sincerest sympathy to our Polish friends in their tribulations. Yet mere words seem hardly enough. Words can cheer and words can encourage, but words in themselves cannot actually better a bad situation. What would be far more appropriate, and in the long run more comforting and helpful to the Poles, would be the adoption of concrete measures by the American people that would really help the Poles to improve their lot.

It is in this spirit, therefore, that I propose the following five-point program of assistance for the Polish people.

POINT I—MORAL PRESSURE

First, I propose that we carry on a vigorous policy in the United Nations and elsewhere of exerting continuous moral pressure on the Kremlin to end, or at least relax its grip, on the affairs of Poland and other captive countries in Eastern Europe. Several times in the past the United Nations has sought to bring the U.S.S.R. and the Communist puppet governments in Eastern Europe to an accounting for violations of human rights and national freedoms.

In 1949 and 1950 the United Nations General Assembly passed resolutions aimed at winning greater respect for human rights in the Communist captive countries of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, but without effective result. Earlier, in 1948, the Security Council had sought to investigate the role of the U.S.S.R. in the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, but the representatives of Moscow blocked effective action. In 1956 when the Hungarian uprising was squelched by Red Army tanks and artillery, the United Nations tried to investigate the facts but was prevented by Soviet obstructionism. The Assembly condemned the Soviet intervention and a special United Nations committee made a forceful and revealing report on the fate of the insurrection in June 1958.

These are all instances in which the United Nations as a vehicle of world opinion has brought the moral authority of mankind to bear on the Soviet policy of oppression in Eastern Europe. While the Soviet Union has rejected these efforts, it has not done so with impunity. Every rejection by the Kremlin of a United Nations resolution has actually been a defeat before the judgment seat of mankind.

My regret is that the United States has made so few efforts over the years to bring the U.S.S.R. to an accounting before the bar of the United Nations. There is much more that we can and should do. The condition in the captive countries, especially Poland, is now such that the concerted pressure of international opinion, exerted through the United Nations, could have a favorable effect. I recommend that the U.S. delegation at the United Nations at the earliest opportunity take appropriate action to place on the agenda of the United Nations the question of Soviet intervention in, or of deprivation of human rights and freedoms in, Eastern European captive countries. By this means we can speed the day of greater freedom for our Polish friends.

POINT II—ECONOMIC AID

Secondly, I suggest that we continue our policy of extending economic aid to the Poles in order to assist them to pursue an independent policy. One of the main instruments of Soviet infiltration or control is the economic bond. The less absolute this bond the more propitious conditions are for a freer political life. The Poles need economic aid. We recognized that in June 1957, when we agreed upon a program of aid amounting to \$95 million, and also in February 1958, when we authorized an additional assistance sum of \$98 million. Part of this program has been in loans and part in sales of U.S. goods for Polish zlotys. Most of this aid has consisted of surplus agricultural commodities, although some machinery and medical equipment has been included.

This is not a program that demands vast sacrifices by the American taxpayer, but it can pay off richly in political dividends. It can help reinforce the currents of freedom that are now flowing a little more perceptibly in Poland, and thus it can assist not only our Polish friends but can also contribute to the establishment of a more peaceful situation in eastern and central Europe.

POINT III—MORE REFUGEE RELIEF

Thirdly, I propose that the Congress enact legislation to permit more refugees and escapees from Poland and other Communist-dominated countries to find a haven in the United States. Many Poles and others who fled or escaped from communism were admitted under the Refugee Relief Act passed by Congress in 1953, but that act eventually expired. It was followed by Public Law 316 of September 11, 1957, which authorized the admission of some 18,600 expellees and refugees, in addition to other categories. As of the present time the quota under this legislation for refugees and expellees from communism is practically entirely allotted. That leaves us therefore with meager legal authority to offer a home under our flag to any more of those who have had the courage to abandon their Communist-ruled homelands. Consequently, I urge the Congress to consider this question seriously so that appropriate legislation might be passed at this session to take care of these homeless people.

POINT IV—LIBERALIZING IMMIGRATION

Fourth, I propose that our basic immigration law be amended so that it may be applied more liberally to those who wish a permanent home in the free air of America. Out of the total quota of approximately 155,000 immigrants allowed by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 only about two-thirds is used. This is due to the way in which the various nationality quotas are assigned, to the kinds of preferences imposed, and to other factors. Thus each year there is a large group of unused immigration quotas that are going to waste, so to speak, because of the inflexibility of the law. At the same time there are many refugee-victims of communism who deserve our sympathetic attention. For this reason I urge that the unused quotas be pooled so that they can be applied to those nationalities where the need exists and where the most good can be accomplished in our effort to help Communist-persecuted peoples. At the same time, the preferences should be amended to give top priority status to members of families of those who are already residents in this country.

POINT V—WESTERN TERRITORIES

Finally, I would like to make a suggestion that could have a cogent effect on the position of Poland in the cold war. Of the many complex forces that are now working upon the Polish people and affecting their relations with Moscow, one of the most powerful in its emotional impact is the question of the so-called western territories—those lands, formerly occupied by Germans, to the east of the Oder-Neisse Rivers which were placed under Polish administration by the victorious Allies at Yalta and Potsdam. The Poles now occupy these territories, rule these territories, need these territories for injecting new vigor into their war-drained and looted economy, and want to retain these territories with all their hearts.

Yet the policy of uncertainty deliberately followed by the Western governments, the policy of rigid adherence to the principle that final legal disposition of these territories must await conclusion of a German peace treaty, is greatly embittering our relations with the Poles. Not only that, it is providing them with a very persuasive reason for continued reliance upon Moscow, for Moscow has championed the Polish side on this issue and is squeezing every possible drop of political benefit from it.

We should immediately recognize these territories as definitely Polish. That would not only be in accord with the hard facts, but it would be a stroke of immense political value. President de Gaulle of France has already broken the ice of Western policy on this point. I urge that we follow suit and formally acknowledge these lands to be Poland's.

Adoption of the short program I have outlined here today would do much to improve the lot of the Polish people, to cement Polish-American friendship, and to give hope and impetus to the Polish movement for independence and freedom. It would demonstrate in a concrete way how much we respect the prin-

ciples symbolized by the Polish Constitution of 1791. I heartily recommend that it be thoughtfully considered.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I want to endorse the fine and eloquent remarks of my colleague from Illinois and say to him that we in the Congress appreciate the fact that he has this special order so that we may give proper recognition to the people of Poland.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Poland never surrender their faith in God and in freedom. Even under the false government imposed on them by Soviet Russia, they look forward to the day when they will be independent and self-governing again.

How it must irritate the Kremlin at this time each year to observe the celebration of Polish Constitution Day in many other countries throughout the world. The descendants of Polish emigrants are joined by free men everywhere as they honor this day which, remembering the past, points to the future.

This is the spirit which communism can never conquer. Even the ruthless Stalin did not dare to annex Poland after World War II. He remembered that Russia and Germany on other occasions had tried to dismember and swallow their smaller neighbor, with painful results to themselves. Instead, backed by the power of the occupying Red Army, he installed a puppet government of Polish Communists, reinforced by secret police one-party dictatorship, censorship, and all the repressive elements of the new tyranny.

Hateful as it is, this restriction of Polish freedom is but a passing phase. Throughout their history, the Polish people have demonstrated a tenacity for freedom that has worn down every occupying power or tyrant that has attempted to enslave them.

I suspect that Gomulka and his jumpy associates often wonder how long they will last. In the meantime, the free world should send more economic aid to the Polish people as evidence of our sincere desire to help them. Material help, as well as moral support, will hasten the day of eventual liberation.

At the coming summit conference, the United States has a rare opportunity to speak up for the captive nations, and those within the Soviet sphere of influence. We must state, clearly and firmly, that we will never recognize the status quo in Eastern Europe.

The Communist government does not represent the Polish people because it was established by, and is the tool of, Red Russian imperialism.

The Soviet Government can never be trusted until it honors its treaty obligations in fact. If it wants a relaxation of international tensions, it can prove its intent by cooperating with the West in promoting a free choice through free elections in Poland.

Only by such leadership can the United States, in this year of 1959, keep faith with the Polish people.

This would be a fitting celebration for the 168th anniversary commemorating the adoption of the Polish Constitution.

Polish people everywhere look to us for this moral leadership.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I quite agree with the views expressed by the gentleman from Massachusetts. We in the United States can do a great service to the people in Poland in keeping alive the spirit of freedom and reminding them constantly that this Nation is not forgetting them, because they have over the years proved themselves a gallant and a free people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI].

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply impressed by the statements of my distinguished colleagues this afternoon and their obvious interest and sympathy with the plight of the Polish nation.

May 3 commemorated the 168th anniversary of the day when Poland established a constitution that has been a model for democratic principles ever since. The present-day oppressed condition of the Polish people has its parallel in historic events of the past. From 1795 through to the resurrection of the Polish nation after World War I, Czarist Russia was the brief oppressor of the freedom-loving people of Poland. Today this same Poland, despite the utterances of its puppet government, is enslaved behind the Iron Curtain under the heel of atheistic Soviet communistic oppression.

We realize, of course, that the unfortunate conditions in the Yalta agreement are directly responsible for the present plight of the Polish people.

However, it is to the future that we direct our thoughts and energies and rededicate ourselves to the principle and cause that Poland and all of the other freedom-loving peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain will some day, and we certainly hope soon, be free to establish a government of their own choice.

As an American of Polish extraction, I am proud of the great traditions of my forefathers and the great historic accomplishments of the Polish nation.

There are close to 7 million Americans of Polish ancestry here in the United States, and I personally have always felt that the strong love of freedom and sound moral traditions of the Polish nation have made these people valuable assets to the growth and development which has made the United States of America the greatest nation in the world.

At the close of World War II, when the thought of victory inspired the hope that the captive nations would again be free to rule their own destiny, the Polish nation found, to its sorrow, that communistic oppressors had taken away all rights of self-government.

Mr. Speaker, all Americans have been shocked and angered by the religious persecution of the Polish people by their oppressors. We know that the Communists have struck at the church with fire and sword and imprisonment. We know that they have tried—and failed—to substitute a progressive church movement. We know that this false move-

ment, this sham, has been boycotted by the vast majority of the Polish people who are opposed to all of its activities and aims.

The Polish people have never bowed to anyone. As they resisted Nazi aggression in the past, they are today resisting Communist enslavement. This resistance is not a futile shooting war. It is a silent, moral resistance of the spirit.

There is no lull in this battle. The peasant resists who opposes collectivization. The worker resists who refuses to be forced into labor speedups. The father and mother resist who tell their children of Poland's proud tradition and glorious history. The priest resists by spreading the gospel of Christ, the arisen. The intellectual resists by adding to the freedom of thought.

Peasant, worker, parent, priest, and intellectual—all are part of the struggle for Polish liberty which communism will never be able to win. One hundred and seventy-five million Americans share the prayers, the hopes, the aspirations for the day when Poland will again be free. A century ago, the Polish hero, Mickiewicz, wrote:

Poland, you will be taken out of the tomb because you are believing, loving, and full of hope.

With all my heart, I believe in the truth of these ringing words.

So, as we commemorate Polish Constitution Day, we fervently hope and pray that the God-loving democratic people of Poland, in whose hearts there beats great respect and admiration for the principles on which our Government is founded, will soon have an opportunity to regain control of their own government and their own destiny.

Mr. Speaker, once again I commend my colleagues for their noble expressions and their appreciation and their support of principles and the policy to free Poland and the other enslaved European countries so they will once more see the dawn of free government.

I believe the gentleman should be commended on his insistence that we here should remember in this fine fashion Polish Constitution Day.

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, we rise today in tribute to a brave nation and to a people in whose blood runs the strength and hope of men who would be free. Seldom has the world witnessed such fortitude and heroic struggle against tyranny as has been written in the pages of Polish history. Although surrounded by strong and aggressive neighbors who throughout the centuries have partitioned the country and subjected its people to political and moral oppression, the Polish people have never ceased to fight for freedom, not only for themselves but for man everywhere.

The Polish Constitution, adopted on May 3, 1791, is indeed a symbol of their faith. In an effort to ward off continuing alien attack, the wise statesmen of Poland on that memorable day in 1791, gave to the people an instrument inspired by

the ideals of our own Declaration of Independence and by the French proclamation of the rights of man. This document reaffirmed the independence of Poland and gave voice to the historic aspirations of its people. Political, economic, and social reforms characterized the new government. Ministerial responsibility was established and a parliamentary system was adopted. Poland became, in the east of Europe, an outpost of democracy.

Tragically, time was not given to the new government to bring to maturity the fruits of freedom. Again the nation was crushed by powerful neighbors. Yet, despite occupation throughout almost all of the 19th century, the unquenchable spirit of human liberty prevailed and gave rise to frequent insurrections.

It was not until World War I, however, that an independent Polish state was again a reality. For 20 years, as we know, Poland was a distinct and distinctive member of the family of nations. Her advance in social, economic, and cultural endeavors was marked. She continued to champion the cause of freedom. She deserved—and will forever deserve—to remain a free nation.

We must not forget that the situation of Poland today has its roots in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 25, 1939. The invasion of Poland on September 17, 1939, produced the spark that blew into flame World War II. The seed was laid for the dissolution of the Polish state and the partition of its territories between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany on September 28, 1939. It is true that when the Red army entered Polish territory on July 22, 1944, its political commissar proclaimed to the Polish people the liberation of their country. No doubt remains, however, that through the temporary establishment of the Polish Committee of National Liberation under the chairmanship of a Russian citizen and its transformation later into a Communist and Moscow-dominated Polish Government, freedom was quenched and a dictatorial police state ruthlessly installed. Even though the persistent denial of basic human freedoms resulted in the tragic Poznan revolt of June 1956 with some gains, such gains and hopes were again short-lived.

And so today, as we rise in the Congress of this great and free Nation to pay tribute to Poland, we grieve with her over her temporary present enslavement. We say temporary, because we know that while love of freedom lasts, no people who have so exemplified and fought for that freedom will ever permanently accept a deprivation of their rights and of their human dignity. Equally, we must remind ourselves of the self-evident truth that so long as even one human individual is deprived of his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, freedom nowhere is completely safe and the peace of the world cannot be assured. We choose this day, commemorating the glory of a free Poland, to rededicate ourselves to this great cause of freedom. We stand fast with those who refuse to abandon that cause.

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to participate in this tribute to a great nation. I am here today representing a substantial bloc of Polish people in the city of Minneapolis. It has been my privilege, and I deem it an honor to be able to represent these fine people in my city because through the years I have come to know them rather well. Many of them work in our industries in Minneapolis and I have become acquainted with them because of their activity and membership in our trade union movement. They are as loyal there, as they are loyal in their dedication to their motherland, and last but not least, great devotion and loyalty to our way of life here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know what further tribute I can pay to these people, not only of my city, but nationwide and those in Poland, than to repeat what I said on May 3, 1956, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include this statement as the best contribution that I can make in the commemoration of this great day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The remarks referred to are as follows:

IN TRIBUTE TO POLAND, THE FIRST ALLY

(Extension of remarks of Hon. ROY W. WIER, of Minnesota, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, May 3, 1956)

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, I consider it an honor to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of Polish independence and to pay tribute to a heroic people. Today all people of Polish extraction greet this eventful date with a song on their lips, the Third of May Mazurka, and I am sure that even though the Iron Curtain alters the tones and distorts the words, the echo repeats from all sides: "Poland is not dead yet, while we are alive."

On May 3, 1791, Poland guaranteed freedom to all her citizens by adopting a constitution, and became the first nation in Europe to have a written democratic document proclaiming the principles of human liberty.

On September 1, 1939, Poland was the first nation to take up arms to resist Nazi aggression—the first who had the courage to say, "No," to Hitler. Poland in her international policy was faithful at all times, not only to the letter but also to the spirit of her treaties, and did not allow herself to be led astray by the Nazi proposal to take part in an attack on Soviet Russia, and refused to cooperate in any anti-Soviet plot, abiding by her neutrality and striving for peace. Yes; Poland was first to fight, and for this honor paid dearly with the blood of her soldiers, not only in Poland during the September campaign but on all Allied fronts—in Norway, France, in the Battle of Britain, Africa, Italy, Belgium, Normandy, Holland, Germany—on the seas, and in the skies over Europe.

Poland was the first ally. While Poland was the mother of the United Nations, she was excluded from the Conference of the United Nations, convened on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco. Yet the thought that was to guide the work of the San Francisco Conference was expressed by a Polish king in 1750—Stanislaw Leszczynski, one of the early protagonists of international cooperation, who wrote a memorandum on strengthening the general peace. The thought underlying his plan was that the community of nations should go to the assistance of any country attacked. Likewise in 1833, Poland's greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz, proclaimed in his works the ideal of the common brotherhood

of man—a genuine international organization.

The Polish people have always been brave to the point of folly and they have always been believers in freedom. Time and again they have been found defending the rights of men and women to live their own lives in their own way. The Polish people fought against a German invader trying to steal other peoples' lands as far back as the year 963. In 1241 they saved Europe from the invading Tartar hordes. In 1685 it was Sobieski and the gallant Poles who protected and saved Christianity from the ravages of the Mohammedan sword and stopped the infidel hordes from overrunning Europe and destroying the Christian people. The liberty-loving Poles came to the aid of our American Colonies in the Revolutionary War. Wherever liberty and justice are at stake, the sons of Poland never fail to rally. Thousands of Polish boys from my State fought courageously on the battlefields of Korea.

Poland has always been devoted to the cause of humanity. Her contributions to human liberty and free institutions are glorious. She is a symbol of freedom and of peace.

In observing this anniversary of a great event in the history of Poland, let us recognize that the fate of this old, brave, great nation still disturbs the world and America. At Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, we played a role not entirely compatible with our ideals. Let us all hope and pray that Poland, the first nation in Europe to adopt a democratic form of government, will be permitted to work out her own destiny under a government of her own, chosen by her own people.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay particular tribute to the gentleman from Illinois who has the floor on this occasion of Poland's Constitution Day, and as has been done previously to point out the gentleman's own distinguished record with the Polish fraternal organizations and, in particular, the Polish-American Congress. I understand that he is the head of the Illinois division of the congress, if I am not mistaken. I had the privilege, Mr. Speaker, of making a visit some 2 years ago to Warsaw and coming back and reporting to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and to the Congress, at that time, the situation, as I had seen it and observed it there in the brief few days when I was visiting that city and the country of Poland. At that time, of course, all of us here in the United States were thrilled over the developments of the previous year in Poland and we had high hopes that the coming to power of the Gomulka regime would, perhaps, signify a new era in Poland's struggle to liberate herself from the enslavement by international communism. Unfortunately, and I am sure the gentleman from Illinois would agree with me in this, it seems that during the past 2 years the situation has deteriorated again from the high point it reached, as I say, nearly 3 years ago in Poland. Now, I recall in the early summer of 1957, we here in the House debated at some length the propriety and wisdom of extending economic assistance to the present Polish Government. It was finally approved by the Congress, as I recall, by a very large vote in both Houses of Congress. Of course, we have had a continuing pro-

gram since that time and I understand the Polish regime has made a new request, I believe, for some new credits to be granted by this Government. In view of the fact that the Gomulka regime has been either unwilling or unable to fulfill the high hopes placed in it when they came to power some 2 or 3 years ago, I was wondering if the distinguished gentleman from Illinois has any thoughts that he would care to share with the House at this time regarding the wisdom of continuing the economic assistance program that we have, as I say, been carrying on now for approximately 2 years.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the continuing program of economic assistance to the people of Poland is not only a wise one, but one that is extremely necessary. Here you have a nation of 27 million people who have over the years demonstrated repeatedly that they will not abandon their great belief and dedication to democracy and freedom, and freedom of religion. And there are these great ties that hold America and Poland together.

I think we must distinguish between the present rulers of Poland who undoubtedly are nothing but puppets of the Kremlin—they have repeatedly made statements that indicate they are getting their orders from Moscow—I think we have to distinguish between that particular regime and the Polish people themselves. It becomes increasingly difficult for any nation to continue in the great struggle for ultimate liberation when you see your youngsters dying from starvation, when you see many other hardships, similar to those the Poles have endured under previous oppressors; being repeated today in Poland under the present regime.

In the matter of this economic assistance we are giving to the people of Poland, it is to the people, not to Gomulka; and let those who think for one second that the Communist regime can endure, can perpetuate itself in office a day longer because of any assistance we may send to that nation, let them make no such mistake. A mistake like that would be tragic and fatal, because at the first opportunity, I am sure, the Polish people are going to reaffirm their great dedication to those principles which we in the United States hold so dear. And we try to distinguish, then, when we send economic assistance, between the regime which does not at all represent or speak for the people, and the people themselves. That is why I would certainly hope that we would continue making that distinction.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentleman in expressing the objective he has in mind in that respect. I take it from his remarks that he feels that the assistance which has been going to Poland during the last 2 years has actually been given primarily for the benefit of the Polish people, and will not have served merely to perpetuate, to use the gentleman's own words, a regime of puppets in power.

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct. I think we can find ample evidence of the good our aid has done in the constantly

increasing demands of the people of Poland for more freedom and more and more liberty; and I would say that Mr. Gomulka is certainly sitting in a most uneasy chair in Warsaw today.

Mr. BENTLEY. I agree with the gentleman; but, as I say, the thing that disturbs me is that during the time this program has been in effect, and I was one of its ardent supporters when it was first initiated, the situation in Poland during that period of time for which we have had a program has deteriorated. It disturbs me, as I say, because certainly we want to help the Polish people, and it seems to me that the situation has been getting worse. I am not saying this because we have had an American assistance program, but I am wondering because of this substantial amount of deterioration over the past 2 years whether or not it would be feasible and wise to take another look at the program as to whether or not it is accomplishing the objectives for which it was originally intended.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Perhaps we can look at it from another viewpoint, if the gentleman will permit an interruption.

Mr. BENTLEY. Surely.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Certainly the situation has been deteriorating over the last 2 years because of increasing pressure from Moscow on the Gomulka government. There is no question that Moscow is most concerned about the manifestation that took place during the Poznan uprising. I think one of the great deterrents to Moscow today has been the undaunted spirit of these Poles. Moscow knows better than anybody else, whether it is Khrushchev, Molotov, or anyone else, they know they cannot count on the Poles to give them any assistance if they ever start serious trouble in this world. They know the Poles are going to march against Russia and not against the West, should serious trouble happen.

Mr. BENTLEY. I appreciate the gentleman's thought on the question on this pressing problem that we have just taken the time to discuss. I think the airing of this important question brought out in the colloquy that occurred between the gentleman and myself has been helpful and timely at this particular point.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Speaker, I should like to read a recent editorial which appeared in the Polish-American Journal, a newspaper published in Pennsylvania, which I believe illustrates the point I have been trying to establish that the people of Poland will never accept communism. The editorial, which has as its title "Poland—Not a Communist Nation," follows:

POLAND—NOT A COMMUNIST NATION

The present Polish regime calls Poland a Communist country, and they use every means of propaganda to prove their point. Many U.S. news writers, columnists, correspondents, and news analysts refer to Poland as "Communist Poland." This type of reporting is a great injustice to the Poles—99 percent of whom hate, despise, and refuse to belong to any organization tinted Red.

The way the Poles celebrated Easter this year is proof that, though Poland is dominated and ruled by Communists, the Poles are not all a Communist nation.

Easter services were attended by large throngs in all churches of Warsaw and other towns and villages of Poland.

On Holy Saturday, during the traditional visit to the Lord's sepulchre, the churches in Warsaw were so overcrowded that thousands of persons lined up in the streets. The police had to regulate traffic so as to avoid excessive crowding. Warsaw did not merely go to church. From Good Friday through the day the city seemed to stay at church.

Even the Communists themselves—real or alleged ones—submitted to the Easter spell, and even cooperated. Offices were closed Good Friday and Holy Saturday. The Saturday newspapers appeared in special enlarged issues, and the next ones appeared only on Tuesday, March 31. Both radio and television programs and the press extended wishes of happy holidays to listeners and readers. But they avoided any mention of what the holidays mean and why they are observed. Municipal transportation in Warsaw was almost completely stopped on Easter Sunday morning, and only in the afternoon a larger number of trolleys and buses appeared.

The Poles were not at church during Holy Week and Easter Sunday for reasons of politics, but for reasons of religion.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and privilege to join my colleagues in calling the attention of the House to the fact that Sunday, May 3, was the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution. As I have done in the past, I wish to make a few remarks on the question of the feeling of the American people toward Poland as well as to refer to the present situation of the Polish nation under Communist domination.

There can be no question as to the historic and genuinely friendly feeling on the part of the American people toward the people of Poland. Ever since Thaddeus Kosciuszko came to our shores to assist our forefathers in their struggle for independence, the mutual feeling of gratitude which has existed between our two peoples has become increasingly strengthened over the years and reached its climax on the creation of a free Poland following World War I. More recently, the American people have noted with sympathy the enslavement of Poland by international communism and sympathize with the heroic efforts of the Polish people to liberate themselves from domination by Moscow.

My visit to Poland some 2 years ago is still, for me, an unforgettable experience. At that time, it was hoped and believed that the Polish Government was disengaging itself from the clutches of the Kremlin and would be enabled to pursue its own path toward peaceful progress and development. It was for that reason that I strongly advocated legislation which would authorize some form of economic assistance for the Polish Government and people. Unfortunately, developments since that time seem to indicate that the Gomulka regime is again hewing closely to the policies laid down by Moscow. While I sympathize, as do all freedom-loving Americans, with the present plight of the Polish people and with their desire to enjoy the maximum degree of independence which is possible under present circumstances, I am not convinced that a further extension at this time would be in the best interests either of our own

Government or of the people of Poland themselves. Our moral support for the Polish nation can be taken for granted; economic assistance which will merely serve to perpetuate the Communist regime in power without benefiting the people under it is something entirely different. I must, therefore, reserve my judgment as to the extension of further economic assistance at this time.

On the occasion of this glorious anniversary in the history of Poland, I am again happy to extend my good wishes and heartfelt sympathy to the people of Poland and my sincere hopes and prayers that the day will soon come again when they may enjoy complete rights of freedom and self-determination. I am sure that the cause of a free, independent, and democratic Poland will live forever in the hearts and minds of the American people, and I am convinced at this time that we can best assist this cause by renewing our determined opposition to international communism throughout the entire world.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Vermont.

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the gentleman from Illinois for his very fine statement on behalf of Poland and the Polish people. It seems to me today in connection with Poland's Constitution Day that we should notice Poland's long history of support for the principles of independence and that they should be in the spotlight today.

This is a proper occasion to call attention to the fact that after World War II, Poland was not properly reconstituted, and has not been given a chance to be free and independent so that she could work to set up democratic government.

This situation applies also to the other countries of Eastern Europe, including the Baltic States.

We should not formally agree to the existing order. We should attempt to renegotiate the old Potsdam and other agreements to achieve our aims and pledges.

We should have done this as a countermeasure when Russia precipitated the present Berlin crisis by demanding new terms in Berlin. This was a positive step toward a constructive foreign policy that we could have taken. We would have had to make some offer of withdrawal elsewhere, but Russia would then have been forced to withdraw, or to refuse our offer and be judged before the bar of world opinion.

We should constantly press for the achievement of a solution which will include the self-determination of the peoples of eastern and central Europe. I believe this is a proper occasion to rededicate ourselves to this cause.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the gentleman

from Illinois, my very distinguished friend, in paying tribute to the Polish people on the occasion of the observance of Polish Constitution Day. This occasion is important, Mr. Speaker, because it underlines again the very close relationship that exists between this country and the people of Poland in their fight for liberty and freedom. Not only was the Polish Constitution in part an outgrowth of the participation of such great Polish patriots as Pulaski and Kosciuszko in the war for freedom which we underwent in 1776 and which led to the development of our own Constitution, but it also symbolizes the extent to which we in America are under obligation to the Polish people for the part which they played in our own battle for independence.

Adopted by Poland just 19 years after the first partition of Poland occurred by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, this constitution came at a critical time in Poland's history when she was still threatened by foreign aggressors whose appetites could not be satisfied with less than the entire country. But the brave Polish people would not be intimidated. In May of 1791 they announced that all men are free and in this way hurled their blow at dictatorship.

Written by Ignatius Potocki and supported by King Stanislaw Augustus, the great Polish Constitution served to inspire and sustain the will of the Polish people. It proclaimed for all the world the Polish faith in the liberal doctrines they saw at work in the new United States and stated its simple faith that "all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." It restored man's faith in himself for it laid the blueprint for the most challenging form of government in the history of civilized man—democracy. It provided for the election of a two-chamber legislature and established three branches of government like our own. It granted religious freedom to all, full protection under the law to commoners and restricted the rights of the king.

In spite of the long, tragic history of oppression which the Polish people have continued to suffer, in spite of the development of this great constitution of theirs back in 1791, this same clear understanding of the principles of liberty and this same burning passion to achieve independence are still today clearly alive in the hearts of the people of Poland themselves, as well as in the hearts and minds of all Americans of Polish extraction.

I agree with my colleague, that we have a deep obligation, Mr. Speaker, to help the people of Poland carry on their fight for eventual freedom. I agree particularly with the remarks made a moment ago by the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. CHURCH] that as long as anyone lives in slavery all of us are in part slaves. We have an obligation today as Americans to continue to work to help the people of Poland regain their freedom.

I came back a month ago, Mr. Speaker, from an opportunity to see both East Berlin and West Berlin. One can readily understand the difference between the

free way of life and the Communist way of life when you compare the brightness of West Berlin with the darkness of East Berlin.

When we realize that the people of Poland are living today under the same kind of dark and sinister oppression that is the fate of the people of East Berlin, then it can only reinforce our determination as Americans to back up the people of Poland in their gallant struggle so that in the very near future they too can achieve full independence.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join those who are commending the gentleman from Illinois for calling the attention of the House of Representatives to this important day in Polish history, Polish Constitution Day.

Mr. Speaker, in my congressional district in Jackson, Mich., there are many Polish Americans. I have had occasion to visit with their fraternal groups on commemorative holidays of interest to the Polish people. I have developed a high regard for the patriotism and the determination and the devotion to principles of democracy of the Polish people.

Today, we commemorate a significant event in the history of the Polish people. On May 3, 1791, Poland enacted one of the first democratic constitutions in Europe. That constitution and our own, adopted only 2 years earlier, are perpetual monuments asserting man's desire to be free, to cherish and respect the dignity of the individual, and to allow him to live in a society where individual freedom of choice and equality of opportunity are paramount.

The free spirit embodied in that document has withstood the political, moral, and economic exploitation by the regime, clearly subservient to Moscow, with the Poznan revolt of 1956 as clear evidence. Following the October rebellion the prospects of freedom in Poland became brighter. Communists were forced to make concessions and to liberalize the Gomulka regime, for to do otherwise would have necessitated more brutal repressions similar to those in Hungary and such a pattern may have led to disastrous consequences to the campaign of the Russian imperialists.

Religious teaching in schools was permitted. The collective farm system, detested by the peasants, was eliminated. Greater freedom of the press was permitted and some of the terrors imposed by the security police ceased. But these hopeful reforms were short lived. Soviet policy has demonstrated once again that it will not tolerate too much liberalism nor a return to democracy. As the Communist Party regained control of the situation the sugar pills were withdrawn and recent developments reveal intensified repression of the people to pre-Poznan conditions.

Today there are some 5 Red army divisions in Poland standing ready to forcefully compel Soviet exploitation.

Ruthless press campaigns have been waged against the church and religious instructions in the state schools again is forbidden. The collective farms are being reinstated and Gomulka himself stated in September of last year that: "The only correct road must in the long run lead to the collectivism of Polish agriculture."

Censorship has been reestablished and all media of communication are again becoming subservient to Soviet tyranny. The quest of the Polish people for freedom and recovery from the disastrous economics forced on them by Soviet exploitation is once again being obliterated.

Soviet Russia should never have been permitted to subjugate the Polish people by a puppet Communist government, approved by American representatives in agreements at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. The Poznan revolt clearly demonstrates that the world's largest army cannot subjugate a people determined to be free and we must answer the call of those Polish patriots who want to be free. We must extend our support to them to help them combat Russian imperialism and keep alive hope in the hearts of people suffering totalitarian tyranny behind the iron curtain. We express our friendship and sympathy to these people of Poland and I think that we can best honor them by reasserting our friendship to them. Through our indifference and laxity a well-organized minority seized the vast powers of government in Poland and they have imposed a disruptive economy on those people which has drained them of their freedom and resources. But Poland must and will be free again and I am confident that the spirit of freedom which kindled in the hearts of the framers of the Polish Constitution still exists and as such the present oppression will not last.

I am proud to join with freedom-loving Polish people everywhere in commemorating this anniversary and it is my fervent hope that the time will soon come when Poland will again be able to celebrate this occasion free from the subjugation of Soviet oppression.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to congratulate my friend, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], in having the House set aside the period of time that it has today for the gentleman to make his very important and effective remarks and to enable other Members to join with him.

Everyone knows of the strong desire and inherent desire that has never been quenched that exists in the minds of the people of Poland for liberty and independence. There is no people in the history of mankind that has been more individualistic, with the possible exception of the Irish, than those of Poland in their desire for liberty and independence, and throughout the generations, their constant fight for liberty and independence. I might say that there is a pronounced similarity between the history of Poland and Ireland historically and from many angles. They are both very individ-

ualistic people. I am not excluding others, of course. The history of their governments has been very much the same throughout the generations. They have shown their devotion, as I have said, for liberty and independence, and today we all know that probably 98 percent of the people of Poland are awaiting for the day of deliverance when they will have a restoration of their independence as a nation and their complete liberty as a people.

Mr. Speaker, I am a little concerned about some broader implications today. We know that there is going to be a foreign ministers meeting shortly, and in my opinion that meeting is going to be one of the most important in the history of time. Out of that meeting will come either strength or weakness in the efforts of people to retain their independence, or those from whom it has been taken, to regain their independence, in the effort of mankind to retain liberty under their own laws. I completely support the position taken by President Eisenhower that before a summit meeting is held there must be evidence of progress being made on a foreign ministers level. In connection with the foreign ministers meeting, it is very interesting to note that General De Gaulle has taken a very firm position and that Chancellor Adenauer has also taken a very strong position and that President Eisenhower has taken a position which, if he adheres to it, will receive the support of the great majority, if not all, of the people of America. I hope that the foreign ministers meeting will show results, because if the foreign ministers meeting is a failure, I am afraid that going into a summit meeting at any price might be dangerous, and from that would lead a journey that might be along the line of weakness and indecision, and weakness and indecision is along the road of appeasement. So, I hope that the foreign ministers meeting will develop results, something that will be a step, at least, in the direction of a world of peace.

I hope that President Eisenhower will adhere to what he has already said, that unless there is evidence of progress on that level he would have hesitancy in going into a summit meeting, because I think that a summit meeting at any price would be fraught with danger.

Furthermore, at any summit meeting I should hope that no agreement will be made that would freeze the status quo of Europe, because if that is done, it will mean that one of our greatest strengths, to which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] and other Members have referred, countless of millions of persons behind the Iron Curtain who hate the Communists and who are waiting for their day of deliverance, would be destroyed, because they would become disappointed and disillusioned. They look to America with hope. They look toward Moscow with despair.

If we enter into any agreements—I do not say that we will—but if by chance at the summit meeting or at the foreign ministers meeting an agreement is made freezing the present European situation, the only construction that could be placed upon that would be that we have sold

down the river 100 million human beings behind the Iron Curtain who want their freedom. That would be a very bad blow to us from every angle, psychological and otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, I am a great believer in firmness. I believe in negotiation, but I believe in negotiating from firmness. There are inherent weaknesses on the part of the West, I am sorry to say, from what I read in the newspapers and from what I have observed in my talks with some people. But I hope those weaknesses will be lessened between now and the foreign ministers meeting.

We have had a man who was compelled because of ill health just recently to retire from his position as Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. In my opinion, he is one of the greatest Americans we have ever had. I am a great admirer of his and have said so openly on all occasions. He is a man of firmness, a man of deep faith, and a man with convictions. It was a sad blow to us and to the free world that he became ill at this time. But succeeding him is a man of great capacity, Christian Herter, whom I know. I hope that Christian Herter will exercise that Yankee tenacity of his and remain firm, that he will not manifest uncertainty or weakness which would bring about a situation where the foreign ministers meeting, if it is a failure, will result in a summit meeting at any price.

So, Mr. Speaker, there are broader implications involved. There is not only Poland, but there is Czechoslovakia, there is Latvia, there is Lithuania, Estonia, and other satellite nations; and right in the Soviet Union there are tens of millions of Soviet Union citizens who, as we know, despise their Communist overlords. In the Ukraine, for example, there are millions who would like to see liberty restored to them, who would like to see freedom and independence given to them.

So we have this great reservoir of strength. I know that there are many complicated questions that cannot all be covered. But one thing is certain so far as the foreign ministers meeting and the summit meeting are concerned. I hope that progress will be made, but under any conditions, I hope that no agreement will be made which would provide officially for the status quo in Europe. Because if that were done, in my opinion, it would represent a great defeat for the Western World.

Mr. Speaker, in the last decades of the 18th century unhappy Poles were having internal and international difficulties. Their governmental machinery was autocratic and unwieldy, and the country was surrounded by three powerful neighbors—Austria, Prussia, and Russia. These three ambitious powers had already grabbed part of Poland, and it seemed that they were preparing to partition Poland once more. Poles were fully aware of such dangers and evil designs. They felt that if their governmental machinery could be reformed, and old obstructive methods could be abandoned, then internally the country would become stronger, and thus better prepared to face external dangers. With

that clear purpose in mind they began the reforming and reconstructing move in 1788, which culminated in the Constitution of 1791.

This Constitution forms a true landmark both in Poland's history and also in the history of liberal, constitutional government in all Europe. It was one of the earliest efforts, put forth without resorting to revolutionary methods, in which the unlimited and autocratic authority of the monarch was reduced and definitely restrained. Responsible cabinet form of government was established, and the popularly elected legislature took on real importance. Townsmen were given certain political rights, and the peasantry was brought under the protection of the law. Religious freedom was guaranteed and freedom of speech was tolerated. For all these liberal and progressive provisions the Constitution was hailed as a real charter for the liberties of the underprivileged. It is true that the unfortunate turn of international events prevented the carrying out of the provisions of the Constitution, but the fine ideas embodied in that historic document became the political creed of all freedom-loving Poles, and to this day they cherish those ideas as fervently as did their forefathers 168 years ago when the Constitution of 1791 was promulgated.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished majority leader for his courageous remarks. The name JOHN McCORMACK is well known today not only among the people of Poland, but among the people of Polish descent in this country who know of his distinguished record over the years, of never yielding in the struggle for the rights of those individuals, and in their great struggle for freedom.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a letter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to add my congratulations to the distinguished gentleman; and not only congratulations but my thanks, because I am sure that the work that he has done, and others like him, has given encouragement to the people of the world.

I think we might well say that democracy not only in this country but worldwide is dependent on how we encourage those who subscribe to our philosophy worldwide, and encourage them to stand with us.

Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] referring to the Irish. Under the circumstances, I should like to add a word for the Danes.

For many years it was my privilege to represent McLeod County in the affairs of government. This prosperous rural community was made up of immigrants from many countries, including a fine,

honest, and dedicated group of Polish people.

Our whole Nation is made up of loyal nationality minorities who have banded together to make a new nation. Back home the Poles join with my Danish minority to celebrate our important festivals, and we join with the Poles in celebrating a day like May 3, Polish Constitution Day.

We have enjoyed a fine friendship over the years.

Today it is my privilege to bring a message from the Poles of the Minnesota Second District, adding their voice to the celebration of this day throughout the world. Knowing these fine folks as I do, I can assure you that this message comes from the heart.

CHURCH OF ST. ADALBERT,
Silver Lake, Minn., April 23, 1959.

HON. ANCHER NELSEN,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. NELSEN: May 3 of this year will mark the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution. People of Polish descent in this community join in extending a message of congratulations on this occasion.

It is with mingled feelings of pride and sadness that their thoughts turn to their motherland. Pride in the heritage of indomitable courage and love of freedom that keeps Poland's faith burning, and sadness for the suffering under oppression which strives to destroy religion, freedom, and human dignity.

It is our wish, as a group representative of Polish-Americans, that in sending you this message it may help those who fight to know that they are not forgotten in prayers, deeds, and thoughts.

Thank you for this opportunity and for your consideration. With best personal wishes, we remain,

Sincerely yours,

THE USHERS CLUB OF CHURCH OF
ST. ADALBERT, SILVER LAKE, MINN.
Rev. S. JULKOWSKI, Pastor.

(Signed by the following members and wives: Louis Wawrzyniak, Mrs. Louis Wawrzyniak, Leo Metkowski, Mrs. Leo Metkowski, Clarence Junczewski, Mrs. Clarence Junczewski, Cosimer Rozeski, Mrs. Cosimer Rozeski, Sylvester Pokornowski, Mrs. Sylvester Pokornowski, Francis Pokornowski, Mrs. Francis Pokornowski, Ernest Kuras, Mrs. Ernest Kuras, Edward Nowak, Mrs. Edward Nowak, Mrs. Virgil Flecke, Virgil Flecke, Mrs. Delbert Merrill, Delbert Merrill, Joseph Benz, Mrs. Joseph Benz, Mrs. Arthur Nowak, Arthur Nowak, Clifford Pilorski, Mrs. Clifford Pilorski, Simon Shimanski, Mrs. Simon Shimanski.)

I offer my congratulations to the gentleman from Illinois, and hope he keeps up his good work, because I am sure somehow a message will reach the people of his country and encourage them to continue their efforts in behalf of democracy and a free world. They will be helping themselves and us along with it.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I should like very much to associate myself with the statement of the very distinguished gentleman from Minnesota. I concur in all he has said. It happens of course that I am of Danish ancestry, people who were born and raised in Denmark, as

were his parents. We have another colleague in this House whose parents were born in Denmark, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN].

I know some Polish people in my district, and I hold them in the highest regard. They are good people; they are liberty loving people.

I congratulate the gentleman who has the floor on this dedication he is carrying on for the Polish people on their Constitution Day. I hope and pray that it will not be long until those peace-loving people of Poland will be free. I am sure that God is on their side and that in God's good time they will be free.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota and the gentleman from Iowa for reminding us of the great spirit of the Danes. This is what makes America. This is the vigor, this is what has given us our great strength, that we have taken from all nationalities and brought into this country the best their cultures have had to offer. Today, working as Americans, we have done tremendously great things simply because in this country we have permitted all of our people, of all nationalities, to work together as Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this is a week of deep significance to every person who is a friend of freedom. Yesterday—May 3—marked the 168th anniversary of the putting into effect of the Polish Constitution.

This anniversary commemorates the long struggle of the people of Poland for political liberty and self-determination.

The battle of the people of Poland for freedom has been a lengthy and a frustrating one. Hemmed in by powerful neighbors, Poland has been subjected to wave after wave of invasion and foreign domination. Again and again, the Polish people have had to expend their energies in the defense of their rights. Not since the end of the 18th century have the Poles enjoyed the peace and economic stability essential to the development of political liberty.

The constitution of May 3, 1791, was put into effect with the full support of the people and the Polish King. At that hour of history and in that place, the constitution of May 3 was considered revolutionary because of its liberalism. Autocracy was replaced by constitutional monarchy, the responsibility of cabinet ministers was established and the rights of the peasants were greatly increased.

Indeed, Catherine the Great of Russia recognized the constitution as a symbol of a potential threat to liberty, and, in concert with Prussia and Austria, Russia attacked Poland and overran the country.

With the exception of the brief span between World Wars I and II, Poland has not known the blessings of liberty. Even today, improved though the situation may be over the immediate postwar years, the people of Poland do not live in a free land. Their future is darkened by the long shadow of the armed might of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the United States this week, many will rise to speak

in commemoration of Polish Constitution Day. For in our own country are many fine Americans of Polish ancestry whose hearts are understandably heavy when they think of their friends and relatives who still stand in the Communist shadow that beclouds the lives of those behind the Iron Curtain.

In South Bend and Mishawaka, Ind.—two cities in the congressional district I represent—it has been my privilege to give some time and effort to encouraging the CARE for Poland program to send assistance to the brave people of this great country. Indeed, I am proud of the many contributions to the civic, cultural, and economic life of Indiana made by our many citizens of Polish ancestry.

I speak therefore with personal knowledge and understanding of the feelings of so many citizens whom I have the honor to represent.

All America sympathizes with the plight of the people of Poland, and we pray that the day may soon come when they may in the 20th century have the freedom envisaged in the constitution of the 18th century.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from Indiana. I am well aware of the magnificent work he has done in his own district helping to send CARE packages to Poland. I am sure he has merited and earned the eternal thanks of the people of that country for his efforts in getting the food packages to Poland—food packages to help these people to continue their spirit of resistance.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I, too, congratulate the gentlemen of Polish descent so much for taking this time today in order that we might join in the praise of the people of Polish nationality everywhere and express our deep appreciation for the gallantry and patriotism of the brave people of Poland. Many nationalities are represented in the great citizenry of America, and all of them have made a distinguished contribution, and certainly among them are the loyal, able, patriotic American citizens of Polish descent. Many are residents of my district and my home city of Lowell.

The Polish people are courageous and brave. Their history is glorious. Today Poland stands boldly and strongly, surrounded by communism, but, even so, like a great block of granite, solid and pure, defiant and unbreakable. Everyone here surely would be proud to possess some of this stubborn, resolute Polish blood in their veins. There always will be a Poland.

The Polish people possess another wonderful quality that endears them to others. They are gentle and kind. I was in Poland for a visit one time when there was illness in my family. I have never forgotten the gentleness and kindness extended to me. Every effort, every sacrifice was made to provide the best in care and comfort.

Recently a great golden jubilee, a beautiful pageant occurred in my home city, celebrating the coming to Lowell and

to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the first of the Polish people. Here was a sight, Mr. Speaker, that I shall never forget. There was column after column of marching Polish soldiers together with those of other nationalities, and I have them all, I am sure, in my district. Marching with the soldiers were the merchants, the lawyers and the doctors and everybody who has contributed so much to my own fine city of Lowell. Everyone from Lowell and the surrounding towns came and joined in this celebration and in this march. Also included were the little children with their lovely Polish costumes.

I never saw a more beautiful or a more magnificent day, Mr. Speaker, and one thing I want to mention particularly is the applause which burst out so spontaneously in appreciation and admiration along the line of march. Except after a great victory in the war, Mr. Speaker, I never heard such genuine applause in the streets of Lowell. This applause was for the Polish people. People were applauding the Polish fighting spirit, Mr. Speaker. They were applauding the tremendously gallant fight Poland is making against communism.

Truly, I thank God for the Americans of Polish descent and their great contributions to our country. I am grateful for the courage and stamina possessed by the Polish people in Poland in their admirable stand against allowing communism to absorb and destroy their noble national life. Great respect I have for the Polish people everywhere. It is an honor to be included in the warmth of their friendship.

On the 350th anniversary of the landing of the first Polish settlers at Jamestown I salute the Polish people. They are proven patriots of liberty and freedom. They are fighters for the free way of life. Again I commend the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, it must be a source of sorrow and regret for all Americans to reflect today that the constitutional Government, established by the people of Poland only 4 years after the adoption of our own Constitution, must be memorialized, on this 168th anniversary of Constitution Day, by a people held in virtual slavery and denied the basic rights of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and all of the guarantees of the essential dignity of man which we take so much for granted.

What consolation can we offer our Polish friends? First, our promise to hold inviolate this bastion of freedom as a hope to the world; second, to promise to continue to work to the best of our ability, in the light of the dangers which beset us all, for the fundamental right of the governed to a free voice in their government, and third, perhaps, the promise which has through all recorded history demonstrated its truth—that right does triumph, however long and dark the road.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that this Congress should for a moment lay aside the tasks at hand and pay tribute to the courage, patriotism, and genius of the Polish people. On May 3, 168 years ago, the Polish Constitution was adopted. This instrument is a monument to their love of liberty and their devotion to freedom. Poland since the late 18th century has been dismembered no less than 4 times. She has valiantly faced aggressors from the east and the west throughout her history.

We, in this Congress, are living witnesses to the aggression against Poland and atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during World War II. We are all aware of the occupation and the oppression of the Polish people by the Soviet Union in more recent years. We are living witnesses to the undying courage and determination of the Polish people to preserve their nation and to regain their freedom.

Fresh in our memory are the pictures of the Poznan riots and the efforts of the Polish people in what is now referred to as the October Revolution. The Polish people, against overwhelming odds, demonstrated their determination to preserve their basic human rights. While they were not able to throw off the yoke of Soviet oppression, their efforts brought substantial gains. Unfortunately most of the gains of the October Revolution have now been lost. The security police are again raiding monasteries, the administrator of education is doing all that he can to destroy religious education in Poland. The Communists have indicated their plans to pursue their ruthless program of collectivization for Polish agriculture. Freedom of speech and of the press are again being restricted with typical Communist ruthlessness. One important gain remains, however, Poland is still permitted to maintain contacts with the West.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that we will be able to maintain our link with Poland. I hope our Government will continue to encourage mutual contacts between our two countries. I hope as a nation we will continue to give economic aid to Poland, and to do all that we can to relieve the burden that has been placed upon those magnificent people.

On this anniversary of the Constitution of 1791 let us reaffirm our faith in Poland and in the Polish people. Let us continue to hope and pray that they will once again be able to turn back the forces of tyranny and enjoy a free and bountiful life.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, Poland's continued struggle for freedom has the gratitude and the admiration of every American. On May 3, 1791, Poland adopted a constitution, which we pay tribute today on its 168th anniversary, inspired by the American Declaration of

Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Since that date the people of Poland have been in a constant struggle for the preservation of their rights and freedoms. Being in close proximity with her Russian neighbor, she has always been and is at the present time threatened and attacked by this suppressor of human rights and freedoms. Poland finally became free in 1918 only to face an enormous task, that of rebuilding what had been destroyed by World War I and of restoring to the people their rights and freedoms that had been down-trodden by the 123 years of domination by foreign powers. The American people showed concern over the fate of the Polish people and in the Versailles Treaty called for a free and independent Poland.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Poland again fell under the boot of the oppressor, this time in the form of the Germans. Finally, near July's end of 1944 some relief was in sight. The Red army was near Warsaw and was pressing for a victory over the German troops. Pleas went out to the Polish underground for assistance. Poland, seizing the opportunity to liberate herself from the Germans, revolted and on August 3, 1944, the city again was free. But the Russians had ideas of their own and instead of coming to the aid of the Polish people, they completely blockaded the city from any supplies or aid. The Poles held out for 63 days but finally fell. The Russians had seized the opportunity to destroy the then last free Polish Government. With the termination of the Yalta Agreement the Communists took control of the Polish Government and since that time the Polish people have been under the heel of the Communist dictatorship.

The people of Poland have not, however, stopped their struggle for freedom. They have fought both forcibly and cunningly to free themselves from this totalitarian regime which enslaves not only their bodies but also tries to enslave their minds. On October 19, 1957, the strength of the Polish people lessened the embrace of the Russian regime. Poland succeeded in doing what other satellites had been trying by force. She had won a moral victory and relative freedom for the Polish people. Mr. Gomulka won for the people increased commercial activity, more private initiative, the creation of a higher standard of living, a breakdown of rigid state controls, elastic economic policies and the freedom of religion under the leadership of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski.

The U.S. Government, realizing the significance of this move, sent economic aid to Poland in the form of farm commodities, mainly cotton and wheat, plus mining and agricultural machinery to help Poland support herself. When Poland needed assistance she turned to the West; and the United States, admitting the risk, met the Polish people halfway by granting this aid and helped Poland strengthen her people's will to resist and drive a still further wedge between the Polish Government and the Kremlin. This could lead to a chain reaction and

accomplish from within what the free world cannot do from without.

Poland's freedom was short lived, however, and again the Communists are beginning to grind the heel of oppression down upon the people of Poland. Poland's people love and want their freedom and will never give up to the Communist threat. Many of the Polish people seek to live in the free world and many desire homes in the United States. Many have received help from the United States, and I am certain that all Americans would want the needs of the people of all suppressed nations to receive consideration from the free world.

Many of those who have settled within the boundaries of the United States have become outstanding citizens within their respective communities. Here I wish to pay tribute to my many Polish friends who have contributed so much to America. May I mention two, both of whom reside in Kansas City, Kans. First is Joseph Ksiazek who is the President of the Polish-American Club and has been for a quarter of a century. The other is Frank A. Koska who is clerk of the city court and conducts an important office in our county government. These men are good examples of the great Polish contribution to the United States of America.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere desire to congratulate the people of Poland for the struggle that they are waging against communism within their own country and to wish for them full and lasting freedom.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to commend the gentleman for taking the time on this very significant day to pay tribute to a great people; a people who today need encouragement probably more than any other people in the world, because I think the Polish people have a sincere desire to be free and to adhere to the great principles we know and foster in this country of ours.

I am glad to take this opportunity to join with my colleagues, who have spoken so appropriately on this question, and I find it hard to make any new or additional contributions. Today, however, I do think it is important to note that a very significant contribution was made by the people of Poland through their leaders to our country in the early history of our country. I recall that in Lafayette Square, north of the White House, seeing a monument built to a great Polish soldier, Kosciuszko, who came here during the Revolutionary War to support a foreign program in which our country was beneficiary.

He, with the great Pulaski, made a contribution in that very significant war in the history of the world. It is not hard for me to imagine, as I read the history of that time, that had it not been for these two gentlemen there would not be the great United States of America as we know it. I think it is worthy of note as we think on matters of foreign aid for other nations that we at one time were the beneficiaries of a foreign aid pro-

gram, and the type that was extended was a very important one.

I want to mention to my colleagues here a project that Mrs. Schwengel and I had the privilege of participating in some 11 years ago. Through a combination of fortunate circumstances, we were called upon and invited to participate in a displaced persons program. Before our share of the program was completed, we were responsible for 11 Polish people who were brought to this country. I want to say that has been a great experience for both of us. We feel as if we have had a part in making American citizens out of these fine people. I have never noted as great an appreciation as these people have expressed for the opportunity—not only of what we were able to do for them personally—but for the opportunity to come to this great country to enjoy the freedoms and liberties that we enjoy here. It is a source of great strength to them. This has caused them to launch out on a type of foreign aid of their own. One family gives over 30 percent of its income each month to send back home to their people in order to make life a little easier there. It is their way of telling the story of this great country of ours.

I want to commend the gentleman and join with all of those who have paid tribute to these very fine people and this great nation, in the hope and prayer that they may some day soon begin to enjoy the freedom and liberties that we enjoy in this great country of ours.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman for his very kind remarks.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I thank the gentleman, too, for the very fine remarks he has made on this day and for the cause that he has given us to pause and reflect upon the very great importance of constitutional government in this world. Since our majority leader has reflected upon the country of his national origin and praised it, and the gentleman from Minnesota has praised the country of his national origin, and the gentleman from Indiana has done likewise, I would like to praise the countries of my national origin. That is, almost all of the countries of the world, because I am a "Duke's mixture." I do this because I think that this is a way of saying that the people in all countries want peace and they want what we have in the United States, but, for one reason or another, many have become subjugated to governments or rulers that exercise authority by the armed forces of their government so that the citizens cannot enjoy the liberties that we enjoy in this country. It would be good for the people of the United States to stop and reflect upon the necessity, the very dire necessity, of making the Government in this country work and making democracy work so that our people will not become subjugated through circumstances such as people in other countries have and which have eventually caused them to lose their freedom. We must work together to make our Government a good example.

I thank the gentleman for his very fine statement.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, on May 3 freedom-loving people of Polish ancestry in every part of the world observed the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution which was adopted on May 3, 1791, just 2 years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

Poland's history has been the history of a people's determined struggle to gain and maintain political freedom from tyranny.

It is tragic that Poland has enjoyed only brief periods of liberty as a nation since the adoption of its constitution. But in spite of the crushing weight of oppression which the Polish people have been forced to endure, they have never relented in their valiant struggle to regain national independence for Poland.

With the dedication to principle of the Polish people and their indomitable will to regain Poland's former position as a free nation, they must eventually triumph over the evil forces of Communist oppression.

The people of the United States join with the people of Poland and those of Polish ancestry in the observance of the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, and in a sincere and devout prayer for the reestablishment of Poland as a free and independent nation.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, to liberty-loving and independent Poles their Constitution of 1791 is almost as important as their political independence. They have always attached extraordinary significance to this historic document because they felt, and still feel, that by the implementation of its liberal, novel, and sweeping provisions they were to be freed from the shackles and obstructive intricacies of their old, unwieldy and inefficient regime. With that worthy goal in mind their leaders framed, adopted and promulgated that Constitution, which, by its democratic and progressive provisions, was considered a moderate, modest, and model charter for the Poles.

The Constitution drastically limited the powers of the king and made Poland a constitutional monarchy. Responsible cabinet form of government was established; the old system of class distinctions was eliminated. The upper legislative chamber lost some of its powers, and the second chamber was vested with genuine legislative authority. Economic barriers existing between the nobility and the bourgeoisie were practically obliterated, and the peasantry was taken under the protection of the law. In many ways the Constitution abolished the worst abuses from which Poland had been suffering for centuries. Its promulgation was hailed not only by the Poles, but it was also acclaimed by liberals in other countries. Unfortunately the Poles were not given the chance to test the efficacy of this Constitution. Soon after its promulgation the country was overrun by its inveterate enemies; it was partitioned, and Poland's independence was no more. But the spirit of the Constitution of 1791 lived in their hearts, and today they celebrate the 168th anni-

versary of its promulgation. I am glad to join them in this anniversary celebration.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, this 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution Day is an appropriate occasion for all Americans to express appreciation to our Polish-Americans for their contributions in the defense and development of our great country. It is also an opportune time to assure Americans of Polish descent that we join in their prayers for their enslaved relatives and friends in Poland.

The historical ties between Americans and Poles, based on a common devotion to freedom and national independence, cannot be severed. Today we renew this mutual faith and our strong bonds of friendship and proclaim that we shall never be reconciled to the bondage of the Polish people.

It is therefore the more fitting that we in this body pause to reaffirm our concern and our friendship for the people of Poland, and to express our confidence that the indomitable Polish spirit that has triumphed against all difficulties in the past will yet triumph again.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, America has been often referred to as the melting pot of racial and religious groups. But this statement is true only in a certain sense. Immigrants from every corner of this distracted world have been welcomed here; they have enjoyed equal opportunities under equal justice, and they all have availed themselves of the privilege of becoming industrious, law-abiding, and patriotic citizens of this great Republic. They all have helped in making America great, and have vowed to defend its institutions and the democratic way of life. In that sense America is a great melting pot.

At the same time all ethnic and religious groups here have retained many of their ethnic traditions and have held firm to their religious beliefs. In this sense, America is far from being a melting pot of radical and religious groups. It is perhaps better to say America is a country in which we seek unity and strength in diversity and in individuality. So we have today, as we have had in the past, our nationality groups in all parts of the country, each possessing its peculiar characteristics, and all of them patriotic citizens of the country.

Poles numbering many millions, are among the larger of our nationality groups, and they have played a large role in making America great. We have known them here as sturdy, hard-working, law-abiding, and brave citizens. In and out of their historic homeland they are known as indefatigable workers in the building of democratic institutions, and stouthearted defenders of democratic principles. Ideas such as political equality, justice, freedom, and independence, have always been dear to them. They have cherished such ideas in their misery and misfortune, and they have clung to them most fervently and resolutely. When they were enjoying freedom and independence, they have tried to retain their independence; and when they had the misfortune to lose it, then they have worked with all their might to

regain it. The Constitution of 1791 is a case in point.

As the result of the first partition of Poland in 1772 the Poles had lost more than half of their country, and their independence seemed to be in jeopardy. At the time it was thought that one way to forestall future dangers was to reform the governing institutions. The Great Diet, or the Assembly, was very much taken up with this idea in 1788, and a group called patriots was the spearhead of the movement. Finally a document was drawn up and adopted on May 3 of 1791, which came to be known as the Constitution of 1791.

That memorable document embodied many liberal and progressive ideas, and represented a decisive advance over anything of the same kind yet attempted in any country in central and Eastern Europe. By this Constitution Poland became a limited, constitutional monarchy. Ministerial responsibility was introduced; the intricate and obstructive features of the old system were abolished, and many class distinctions were eliminated. Personal privileges formerly enjoyed by the gentry alone were made available to all townsmen, and the peasantry was placed under the protection of the law. Provisions were also made whereby periodic reforms could be introduced and other alterations enacted. In short it was a model constitution. Poles were anxious to see it work, but before they had any chance to put it to work, the international situation played a tragic trick upon them.

Soon after the promulgation of the Constitution Poland's inveterate enemies—Hapsburg, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—invaded the country, overran it, and partitioned it once more, which eventually led to the loss of Poland's independence. In this tragedy the Constitution of 1791 was also sacrificed, but not the ideas and ideals embodied in them. The great democratic principles lived in the hearts and minds of liberty-loving Poles. Today, under Communist totalitarianism, they still cling to those principles as did their forefathers. And in free countries of the West they annually observe the anniversary of the promulgation of that Constitution. I gladly join Americans of Polish descent in the celebration of that anniversary, the 168th Polish Constitution Day.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, May 3, is Polish Constitution Day. This day has been celebrated for 168 years by the people of Poland and throughout the Polish communities in the world as a glorious occasion commemorating the Constitution of 1791 whereby Poland moved from an unlimited autocracy to a limited monarchy without bloodshed—the most advanced governmental reform in central and Eastern Europe of the time.

It is a sad commentary on our times that today more than 25 million Poles are not even permitted to celebrate this Constitution Day, due to the political and moral oppression of a regime clearly subservient to Moscow.

After the Poznan revolt of June, 1956, some gains were made by the Polish people toward the restoration of their basic

human rights—rights we have so long taken for granted. But these gains have been short lived. A retreat from the gains of the Polish October is particularly evident with regard to the freedom of intellectuals, to workers' rights, Church-State relations, and freedom of opinion and the press.

Increasingly, the regime in power in Poland is resuming the traditional Communist pattern of violating and denying the basic human rights and freedoms. The people of Poland have always had a strong attachment to the Western World. Their fortitude and love of freedom have long been a source of inspiration to all freedom-loving people everywhere.

It is important that these people know that they have our support as long as it is needed to regain the rights and freedoms that are so well known to us all.

May the prayers of this Nation be with these people on Sunday, May 3.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join my colleagues in Congress in paying tribute to the Polish race on the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution adopted in 1791.

The Polish people are recognized throughout the world and especially in America as sturdy, hardworking, and stouthearted citizens. They are equally well known for their devotion to the principles of liberty and freedom. In this connection, many American patriots of Polish descent have fought in every war in which this great Republic has been engaged.

Like many other freedom-loving nations now behind the Iron Curtain, political equality, justice, freedom, and independence have always been basic principles in the national life of Poland. These national characteristics which are possessed in such abundance by liberty-loving Poles command our Nation's highest admiration.

Because of their sincere devotion to the lofty principles of honesty, justice, and freedom, the Polish people in America whether they are naturalized citizens of this great Nation or native-born Americans of Polish descent are daily offering their prayers for the delivery from bondage of those in their homeland who are sufferers under a most despicable regime that has robbed them of every vestige of freedom and independence.

In the great State of Pennsylvania and especially in my congressional district comprising Blair, Centre, and Clearfield Counties, we have many families of Polish descent who have contributed greatly to the material and spiritual growth of the Keystone State. These God-fearing American citizens are mindful of the precious heritage of all Americans and as a result they have played and are playing an important part in the daily life of every community where they are respected and esteemed for their many fine qualities and high type of citizenship.

It is a pleasure on this 168th anniversary of the promulgation of the Polish Constitution of 1791 to join the Polish people everywhere in observing such a memorable event and to once more unite my prayers with their supplications that God will look kindly on the Polish nation and answer the pleas that freedom and

liberty be restored to that valiant nation now reduced to virtual slavery under the cruel heel of its Russian oppressors.

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, just as July 4 is enshrined in the hearts of all Americans as the anniversary date of the independence of the United States, so is May 3 enshrined in the hearts of the Polish people as its own date of independence.

It is with great pride and pleasure that I join freedom-loving peoples everywhere in paying tribute on this solemn occasion to the Polish people. Those of us who share a background of Polish heritage and ancestry are both proud and humble as we recall the glorious but tragic history of the Poles.

One hundred sixty-eight years ago Poland produced a memorable constitutional document which held out to the Poles and to the world a great promise for the future. The constitution of May 3, 1791, made one of the greatest contributions toward the ideals of human freedom, expressed in this significant statement that all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people. Our American Declaration of Independence contains almost the same words—at least the thought of the words—that governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from consent of the governed, which, in both instances, resolves itself to but one idea and principle, that all men are created equal.

Today we pay tribute to the Polish constitution of 1791, to a great nation, and to a brave people.

Peace, liberty, security, and progress are fundamental objectives sought by nations everywhere. Such goals are seldom completely achieved; but some lands are more fortunate than others. Throughout her history Poland has been one of the most unfortunate of nations in her quest for these ideals.

Since the first partition of Poland in 1772, with the exception of a brief period between World Wars I and II, the Poles have known only oppression and strife. Within the Polish annals of glorious deeds and sad tragedies, the Constitution of May 3, 1791, stands out as a magnificent chapter in Polish history. In the past, Poland has fallen under aggression and dismemberment four times by her stronger and greedy neighbors. In 1772, her lands were divided between Austria, Prussia, and Russia; 1792 between Russia and Prussia; in 1795 between Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and in 1939, between Germany and the Soviet Union. Each time Poland has risen from apparent death to re-create a new state for her people.

Late in the 18th century, after Poland suffered her first partition, her wise leaders, realizing that Poland was not strong enough to prevent such external threats, decided that the country's governmental machinery must be improved and strengthened by the solid support of the populace, thereby strengthening their country internally and enhancing Poland's prestige externally. With that purpose in mind, the Poles revamped their government by drawing up what

has come to be known as the Constitution of May 1791.

To the people of Poland, it meant the promise of a better life. The peasantry was brought under the jurisdiction of the law. Towns were given administrative and judicial autonomy, and were entitled to a certain measure of parliamentary representation. Freedom of conscience was guaranteed and absolute religious toleration was established. Certainly all these measures represented genuinely democratic forward steps.

The opportunity to fulfill the promise of the new-found freedom was not fully attained by the Poles. Their day of liberty was glorious, but brief. The darkness of aggression and tyranny fell upon Poland almost immediately after the adoption of her liberal document. Poland's enemies feared that the birth of liberal ideas in Poland might spread to their lands. They would not tolerate the blossoming flower of human spirit, not permit human dignity and freedom, to flourish so close to their borders. Furthermore, the Polish document contained elements which promised to create a strong Poland.

Even before the constitution was put into force, Poland found herself under attack. She could not long resist such superior forces. Thus Polish hopes for the future were soon crushed. The second partition followed in 1793. Poland's Constitution became a dead, defunct document; Poland herself ceased to exist as a nation in 1795, as she was parceled out among her three powerful neighbors.

For more than a hundred years Poland lived only in the hearts and minds of suffering Poles. But never did they give up hope of regaining their national independence and reviving the spirit of their Constitution. The freedom, so desired by the Poles, was not regained until after World War I, when a great American President, Woodrow Wilson, resurrected it by proclaiming a great American doctrine that all people had the inherent God-given right to determine its own destiny.

Poland once again began to live up to the status of a great nation, its people bringing forth the best that could be had in the realm of agriculture, industrial progress, shipping, mining, and general development of the resources of its country. No less effort was spared to develop their educational standards and artistic culture.

In September 1939, however, Poland was again despoiled by her powerful neighbors, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Then, at the close of World War II, when all the free world believed that peace, freedom, security, and progress would again exist in the world, Poland was seized once more and brought forcibly into the Communist empire. Although the Polish state and Constitution exist today, for all practical purposes the Communist seizure of Poland has meant the destruction of the Polish state—again by Russia.

Poland today has been reduced to the level of a Soviet satellite. The present Polish Government will not accept the principle of the Polish Constitution of May 1791 and does not permit the Polish

people to celebrate and honor the date of the birth of Poland. We, here in America, are aware of that fact and so are all the freedom-loving nations of the world. We must speak for them because they cannot freely speak for themselves.

We are cognizant of the fact that the Polish people have hated their Russian oppressors and have boldly made threatening noises at their conquerors. In 1956 world attention was focused on the turbulent revolt in Warsaw—a stirring and heart-lifting spectacle of a brave captive people attempting to break loose many of their shackles. The cruel stranglehold of Communist tyranny, however, was too great for the Poles to overthrow. Nevertheless, their oppressors recognized in these people a spirit of freedom which could not be ignored. The suppression of freedom has persisted in Poland, and though the Communist regime continues to dominate the actions and thoughts of these captive Poles, there is always the indication of a continuing resistance against Soviet rule and their aversion to every form of communism.

This 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution is a day of national dedication for all freedom-loving Poles. Many of us proudly share a Polish heritage. Let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of our forefathers—to the cause of constitutional democracy. We must rededicate ourselves for freedom's sake if we expect to inspire the downtrodden and oppressed.

Poland is now a captive of conspirators who plan to destroy freedom throughout the world and substitute their own oppressive despotism. We free Americans of Polish descent have the duty to speak out for our own enslaved brothers. We must support them in their tireless struggle for freedom. The historic ideal of a free and democratic Polish Republic continues to live in Polish hearts. The Constitution of 1791 and the place of honor it has in Polish hearts is proof of that. This spirit cannot be forever enslaved. The promise it held over a century and a half ago still lives in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving Poles throughout the world.

On this day we proudly join Poles everywhere in fervent prayer that the spirit of the 1791 Constitution will soon prevail again in a free and independent Poland.

Although we express hope that Poland and all other enslaved nations will be delivered from the oppressive tyrants now dominating millions of freedom-loving peoples, we must be alert to the fact that we ourselves are not immune to being dominated by despots and their tyrannical governments. It seems that we lack the vision of being under the domination of a despotic regime, for these events are taking place far away from our shores. But we soon would realize the necessity of a firm stand for freedom if one of our glorious States ever fell to despotic rule which could be forced upon its neighbor. Our cry would be to prevent the expansion of this tyrannical rule and restore the freedom to those already oppressed.

Today we think only of Poland, but let us not forget the many other enslaved

nations who suffer under the same yoke of communism and who are also entitled to their free expression regarding their choice of government and leadership.

The gallant people of Poland have not lost hope that they will regain their freedom and we must give them assurance that their hopes are not in vain. It is up to us to show the necessary leadership toward this end.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of freedom-loving people dies hard. Today we commemorate a memorable achievement of such a people: the Polish Constitution of 1791.

The charter drawn up in May of that year was a political instrument in advance of its time. It provided for separation of powers, the abolition of the old and harsh class distinctions, for establishing a bicameral legislature, and an extension of the suffrage. It was a constitution based upon the principles of the freedom and dignity of man. Thus it provided for true religious toleration, and it was designed to establish a government founded on the will of the governed and the rule of the majority. It can be truly said that this noble ideal signified a new beginning for the Polish people.

But the ideal was not permitted to become reality, for soon afterward a Russian army marched into Poland and hopes for a better life were dashed. A few years later, Poland was partitioned, and its people came under the rule of brutally powerful but politically less enlightened neighbors. For the next century and one-half, Poland languished in this manner, without freedom, and without the right to determine its national destiny.

After the end of World War I, however, Poland again became independent—for a longer period of time, to be sure, but only to be crushed once again under the brutal and ignorant tyranny of nazism. The people and land have not been free since, but there is no doubt at all that their love of freedom continues as strong as ever. Many of us hoped, as a result of the workers revolt at Poznan and the October revolution in 1956 that Poland would quickly regain her freedom. Now we see that it cannot come so quickly. But we must continue to strive for Poland's freedom, and to do all we can to loosen the Soviet hold on this great nation.

The Constitution of 1791 should remain an inspiration in that work, for as the leader of the free world we have an obligation to stand as the living ideal for which both our own Constitution and the short-lived Polish Constitution stand. And we have a further obligation not to let Poland down, for over the generations during which the old country was not free many of her most industrious sons and daughters came to our own country. Their labors have enriched the lives of all of us, both our culture and our material development. For that reason, too, we grieve at Poland's bondage today.

I join with all sons of Poland in commemorating this 168th anniversary of one of their most noble achievements: the Constitution of 1791.

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I am most happy to join today with my distinguished colleagues in solemn commemoration of the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution—a sacred anniversary for all lovers of and believers in liberty and freedom.

It should be a day of joyous celebration for the people of Poland and for their relatives and friends throughout the world, for the Polish Constitution is a great landmark in the centuries-old struggle of mankind for liberty and freedom. It is a document that ranks with our own Declaration of Independence and with the Magna Carta.

But because of a cruel oppressor those abiding in Poland must keep their joy within their hearts. The people of Poland must pray silently to the memory of those brave patriots who brought into being the memorable Constitution. They must pray silently for the day when Poland will be free again.

Here in the United States of America in the hallowed Halls of Congress we join these brave people in their prayers and with them we look forward eagerly to the day when Poland once again will take its rightful place among the free nations of the world. We pray that the day soon will come when the people of Poland will be free from the yoke of their communistic oppressors.

It is an oppression that has endured for 20 years, but it has not dimmed the desire and dreams of the Polish people for liberty despite the many indignities visited upon them by the masters of the Kremlin and their cruel stooges. Though the clouds still are dark the light of ultimate victory shines behind them, for the Polish people do not believe in the ungodly philosophy of the Communists.

Poland must and will be free again and stand in its rightful place as one of the great nations of Europe. For more than 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 it was under the heels of the oppressor.

We may ask, why have attempts to wipe out Poland proved unsuccessful? For the answer, we only have to look at our friends and neighbors of Polish origin who live among us to understand the strength and spirit of the Polish people. Law abiding and industrious, Americans of Polish descent have made a real contribution to the American scene and the American way of life.

In my own State of New Jersey, we owe much to those who migrated from Poland to America and to their descendants for the fine traditions which they carried on. They contributed greatly, and are continuing to contribute greatly, to the development of New Jersey.

On this Polish Constitution Day, let us reaffirm the friendship of the American and Polish people. Let us assure our Polish friends that our sympathies are with them as they work for the reestablishment of their nation as an independent force in world affairs through which they may enjoy the liberties and freedoms which they so devotedly cherish.

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, free men throughout the world salute the Polish people on the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the 1791 Constitution of Poland. Wherever freedom rings, tributes will be paid to the heroic people of Poland and to their early constitutional recognition of the great democratic principles of liberty, justice, and equality.

In 1791, Poland guaranteed freedom to all her citizens, when she became the first nation in eastern Europe to have a written constitution proclaiming the principles of human liberty.

The glorious deeds of the Polish people in defending liberty and fighting oppression have seldom been equaled and never surpassed. The Poles fought against invaders from Germany as far back as 983. In the 13th century, they helped save Europe from the barbaric hordes of the Tartars. It was Sobieski and the gallant Poles who battled the ravaging swords of the Moslem fanatics to prevent Europe from being overrun and Christian civilization from being destroyed. The freedom-loving Poles came to the aid of our American colonies in the Revolutionary War. In our time, Poland was the first country to take up arms against Nazi oppression. During World War II, her valiant youth fought courageously not only on the soil of Mother Poland, but also on the battlefields of Norway, France, North Africa, Italy, Normandy, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. Thousands of Polish boys from New Jersey fought communism in Korea.

It is tragic that a nation so consecrated to liberty—not only by work, but by centuries of dedicated and heroic action—should have its freedom overwhelmed by the heavy hammer of Communist tyranny.

The document whose birth we honor today was an important landmark in the development of modern constitutional government. The Polish Constitution of 1791 affirmed the principle of popular sovereignty, stating that "All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." This great document gave commoners the right to own land, to hold commissions in the army, and to be employed in the civil service. The rights of peasants under law were afforded more effective guarantees. Religious freedom was established for all citizens. This constitution embodied the principle of separation of power among the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

The oppressed people of Poland continue to draw inspiration from the great principles embodied in the Constitution of 1791. The brave resistance of the Poles to tyranny has forced the Communists to moderate some of their extreme policies aimed at the destruction of traditional Polish society. As a result, since 1956 the program for collectivizing agriculture has been virtually suspended, the church enjoys more freedom and is subject to less abuse, the universities are permitted more independence from party control, and some limitations have been imposed on the dreaded secret police.

Recent events, however, are not encouraging. Cooperation between Moscow and Warsaw has become closer. Poland's relations with the outside world are rigidly coordinated with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The faction led by Wladyslaw Gomulka is rebuilding the Polish Communist Party into a more monolithic and stronger instrument of totalitarian rule.

The Communists may suppress the celebration of the adoption of the great Constitution of 1791. But they will never extinguish the fires of freedom which blaze in the history of the Polish nation and continue to warm the aspirations of the subjugated Poles for liberty, justice, and national independence.

America looks forward to the time when the people of Poland will be free and able to join with us in celebrating this great historic event in mankind's struggle for freedom and dignity.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, today Americans of all national backgrounds join especially with their friends and neighbors of Polish descent in a tribute to all sons of Poland. But their homeland is not a free nation today, and for that reason it is doubly important that we mark with honor this 168th anniversary of Poland's Constitution of 1791.

Among the charters of political liberty to which men look for instruction and inspiration, the Constitution of 1791 holds a place of great importance. For its time, it was truly unique; and even today it bespeaks principles which are basic to the freedom and dignity of man. For in May 1791 that charter established a bicameral legislature, and true religious toleration. The old class distinctions that helped make life so difficult for the peasants were abolished. The Constitution of 1791 provided for separation of powers, an extension of the suffrage, and respect for property rights.

Certainly these developments made it seem that a new era was dawning for the Polish people, and if they had been allowed to come to full fruition Poland would have been in the van of the world's free nations. But it might be said almost literally that no sooner was the ink dry on the Constitution of 1791 that this spark of enlightenment was extinguished. The armies of the tsars marched into Poland and smothered these new freedoms.

In 1795 Poland was partitioned by her more powerful and less politically advanced neighbors. As a sovereign nation Poland ceased to exist, and it was not until the end of World War I that independence was regained. But we may be certain that the spirit of freedom did not die during those long years. It survived even the tyranny of the Nazis, and as all the world saw in 1956, the indomitable spirit of the magnificent people of Poland cannot be crushed even by the cruelest—because it is the most efficient tyranny of all—Russian communism. Poland will be free again—the hearts of all Americans are with her in that cherished hope.

Mr. FARBSTEN. Mr. Speaker, 168 years ago today, leading Polish notables declared their adherence to a constitution remarkable for its liberal and mod-

ern quality. Poland's plight at that time was desperate. Prussia, Austria and Russia, Poland's three powerful neighbors, each feared the other would grow stronger by annexing Polish territory. In 1772 they agreed to snatch parts of Poland all at the same time, leaving a much reduced and very vulnerable state.

This outrage aroused Polish spirits and led to a series of reforms. One of the most memorable was the constitution, far in advance of those of its neighbors. Reflecting the spirit of the enlightenment in western Europe and the English political philosophers who contributed so much to our own development, the constitution provided for a regular elected legislature, and might have foreshadowed a responsible cabinet form of government. The monarch accepted limits surrounding his whim and absolute rule. The government service was opened to young men who were not of noble birth; commoners obtained the right to own land when hitherto only the nobility had had that right. The protections of the law were extended even to the peasantry.

Unhappily, shortly thereafter, Russian forces entered the remaining Polish lands and together Poland's three large neighbors extinguished Poland's independence.

After World War I, Poland again emerged as an independent country out of the destruction of the Prussian, Tsarist, and Habsburg Austrian Empires. Then, at the outset of World War II, Poland was once more overrun. And, today, its people remain under the shadow of Soviet domination through the Polish Communist Party and the continued presence of the Red army.

Ironically, after more than 150 years, the Polish people have not yet been able to achieve in their homeland the liberties which they set for themselves so many years ago. Indeed, it was the unfulfilled longing for freedoms and for opportunity that inspired so many of Poland's sons and daughters to come to this country.

Poland's loss was America's gain. Outstanding Poles helped us to gain our own independence. The name of General Pulaski is known to all Americans. Countless Americans of Polish descent have served in every conflict the United States has ever been engaged in.

Polish immigrants came to our shores determined to work hard and make their way. Indirectly they helped to enrich this Nation by their industry. Immigrants from Poland broke and conquered the prairie; they helped to build the railroads and the roads that now bind our Nation together. They helped dig out the coal and other minerals that have made our industrial power great. It is appropriate on this day that we should acknowledge our debt to the descendants of the Polish people who have contributed so much to our country.

And it is equally appropriate that we should turn our thoughts today to those Poles in the homeland who are still without these freedoms for which they have so often striven. We should make it clear that we will assiduously work for those conditions in the world which will

once again give them the opportunity to choose their rulers for themselves, a government restrained by the rule of law and ready to recognize the freedoms all men deserve.

It is our pleasure and duty to pay tribute to these people who, throughout history, have fought to preserve their national integrity. The heroic struggle waged by the peoples of Poland, on behalf of liberty, freedom, and independence must of its nature gain the undying admiration of all freedom-loving people. We are glad to know that that same spirit is alive in Poland today in its struggle to thwart the Soviet oppressive system that subjects it; a struggle which serves to make these among the more glorious hours of that nation's history.

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, overwhelmingly fine tributes are being paid to Poland today. We all know the valor, perseverance, and honor with which she sustains her long, hard fight against the Communist intruder. We cannot but admire the courage of her endurance throughout the years. Those of us who treasure those blessed privileges guaranteed by our Constitution can only hope, and pray, that soon, very soon, Poland will join that union of free peoples throughout the world. My best wishes go to Poland and to her people in the United States on this 168th anniversary of her Constitution Day.

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, we in this country always join hands with the Poles in celebrating their national holidays, and in the observance of memorable anniversaries. We rejoice in their successes and achievements, and are sometime aggrieved when some misfortune overtakes them. We do this gladly not only because of the high esteem in which we hold our loyal, patriotic, hard-working and devout citizens of Polish descent, but also because we have always had a profound sympathy for the Poles suffering in their homeland under the oppressive yoke of alien rulers. For these and other reasons there has been created a bond of mutual friendship and spiritual alliance between the people of this great Republic and the sturdy Poles of unfree Poland. Misery and misfortune have been their unfortunate lot for hundreds of years, as it is today under totalitarian dictatorship, but stout-hearted and liberty-loving Poles, even under the most cruel of regimes and most heartless of oppressors, cling to the fine and noble ideals embodied in their great Constitution of 1791.

That Constitution has been rightly regarded, by Poles as well as by liberals everywhere, as a model instrument for the just administration of the affairs of a people who have always had as their goal freedom and justice. It was the work of a band of great patriots who framed it after years of calm and calculated deliberation, and promulgated it on May 3, 168 years ago. But the truly great ideas and ideals embodied in it still stand on their own merits, and the Poles still cling to them as fervently as ever, and wherever they may be, they observe the anniversary of the promulgation of that Constitution with due solemnity.

I gladly join them on this memorable anniversary.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, 168 years ago today, on May 3, 1791, a bold new constitution was unanimously adopted in Poland. Establishing a hereditary monarchy with ministerial responsibility, designating the period of work for the national parliament, and extending civic rights, the Constitution placed Poland in the vanguard of the movement in central Europe for more democratic government. Within a few years, however, despite the valiant efforts of the Polish people, the vulnerable geographic location of Poland resulted in the partition of Poland between Russia and other states. Since that time the history of Poland has been a perpetual battle to regain or maintain freedom.

The nation of Poland is once again under the domination of Russia, but as we know even the Communists cannot suppress the Polish determination to constantly move toward greater freedom. Today Poland has a unique position behind the Iron Curtain with a greater measure of freedom, for example, freedom of speech, than exists in the other countries which have been pulled into the Soviet orbit. In their attempt to walk the delicate tightrope to greater liberty with the breath of Soviet soldiers upon their necks, the Polish people have our admiration, our heartfelt support, and our sincere hopes for success.

In this country, the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791 serves as a rallying point for the 6 million Americans of Polish extraction. It is a day to pause in their role of American citizens and remember their Polish heritage. It is a day to be thankful for freedom here and pray that freedom will come again to Poland and to all the countries under foreign subjugation. It is a day to take pride in the men and women who have made Poland's contributions to the world unforgettable, men like Chopin, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and Paderewski.

For all Americans Polish Constitution Day is a day to pause and reflect on the blessings of liberty. Let us take this opportunity to honor Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and the hundreds of other Polish patriots who fought with the Continental Army and helped us to obtain our freedom. Let us express our gratitude to the many more thousands of Americans of Polish descent who fought in the First and Second World War. Above all, let us pledge ourselves to carry on the never-ending fight for freedom in renewed unity and strength.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in marking the 168th anniversary of Polish Constitution Day, May 3, 1959—a memorable date in the history of Poland, when the Polish people demonstrated profound belief in the principles of freedom and individual liberty. These principles and ideals, which we in the United States hold dear, continue to be the guides by which the Polish people mark their past and frame their future.

The history of the world proves conclusively that no tyranny nor tyrant can

long endure. The activities of the people of Poland bear out this unassailable truth. True, freedom comes hard and slow, but the values placed upon these very small victories portend the liberation of Poland. One need not be a prophet to foresee this.

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to join in the observance of Polish Constitution Day.

America is fortunate that so many sons of Poland have come to our country and contributed much to its cultural, spiritual and economic growth. Their freedoms and their rights are protected by the Constitution of the United States.

The Polish Constitution of 1791, adopted at nearly the same time as ours, granted similar rights and freedoms, but due to the might of oppressors those freedoms are no longer enjoyed by the people of Poland.

We share the sadness of our Polish friends over the present plight of Poland under Communist bondage, and look to the day when the people of Poland will again be free and enjoy the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, in these days of chronic crisis, it is fitting that freedom-loving people of every national descent pause to pay homage to a great event in the history of man's uphill fight toward liberty. May 3 marked the anniversary of the signing of the Polish Constitution of 1791. One hundred and sixty-eight years ago Poland joined France and the young Republic of the United States in adopting a constitution providing for widespread reforms. Sweeping aside centuries-old traditions, the Polish Constitution boldly rested the sovereignty of the nation in the people. The Constitution incorporated principles of parliamentary government, reduced the powers of the nobility, and established basic religious freedom. As astonishing and gratifying as the reforms themselves, was the bloodless manner in which they were brought about.

But the Constitution of 1791 was to be short lived. The absolute monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria could not tolerate the growth of the democratic spirit in such close proximity to their territory. Catherine of Russia sent troops into Poland, and although the Poles rose in gallant defense of their freedom, the Russians conquered Poland and abolished the Constitution. But the conquest of Poland and the renewal of tyrannical rule could not quench Polish thirst for freedom and independence.

We have had repeated proof of Polish devotion to the principles of human dignity and freedom. As nation after nation trembled before Nazi demands, the Polish people rose to defend their freedom in a valiant, but hopeless, stand in 1939. After the Nazis had enslaved their homeland, large numbers of Poles fled to the West to continue their struggle against tyranny. The heroism of the Polish Legions in World War II won the unstinted admiration of the troops of the armies in which they fought.

It is tragic and ironical that the end of the war brought Poland, not victory and its cherished independence, but a

new enslavement. The cruel yoke imposed by the Soviet Union is a mockery of the sacrifices of the brave men who fought and died that Poland might achieve its longed-for freedom. But, as so dramatically demonstrated by the Poznan revolt of 1956, the flame of liberty has not been extinguished in the hearts of the Polish people. We know that their belief in the principles incorporated in the great Constitution of 1791 continues as strong as ever. May the unquenchable patriotism and unconquerable democratic spirit of the Poles live on until Poland once again takes its rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, the history of the Poles has been marked by heights of glory and fraught with years of tragedy. May 3, the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution, calls attention to the sad plight of the Poles who are today under the Communists' rule.

I am happy to have the opportunity to join with the friends of Poland in commemorating the day when the people of Poland first tasted real freedom; when Poland advanced from an unlimited autocracy to a limited monarchy; when townsmen were given new privileges; when some freedom of religion was in sight; when it achieved the most advanced governmental reform in central and eastern Europe. However, Poland's imperialistic neighboring powers, fearful of the birth of liberal ideas in Poland, attacked her, and she, in suffering defeat, was a nation no longer, but was partitioned and parceled out among Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

Although Poland now exists only in the hearts of her countrymen, her people have kept alive their spirit of freedom and their hope of regaining their independence as a nation. The Polish Government is now Communist, but the Polish people are not.

The Poznan revolt of June 1956 forced the Communists to make certain concessions; there was relaxation of censorship, religious teaching was permitted; there was greater freedom of the press and some relief from the terrors inflicted by the security police. These achievements brought some encouragement to the people, but we know now that the gains of that October are fast disappearing and the Poles face even greater hardships and violations of their basic human rights and freedoms.

The people of Poland, by adoption of their Constitution, proved their desire for the democratic way of life. We must do all in our power to let them know of our understanding, our hopes for them, and our moral support in these tragic years.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Poles are known for their bravery and daring, and are particularly noted as gifted and great masters of the arts and sciences. They have also made considerable contribution to statesmanship and statecraft, in the art of government. This was brought out quite clearly late in the 18th century by their liberal and democratic Constitution, adopted after calm and quiet deliberation and promulgated on May 2, 1791.

That Constitution is a veritable landmark in the progressive process of evolving a constitutional form of government, in an orderly and democratic way, in Poland as well as in all countries of east central Europe. By that historic document Poland accomplished peacefully what many other countries had hoped to accomplish only by revolution and bloodshed. The king's autocratic and unlimited powers were sharply reduced, and a constitutional government was established with a responsible cabinet. The upper chamber lost some of its powers, while the lower and popularly elected chamber gained considerable legislative power. Religious liberty was guaranteed, and the peasants were taken under the protection of the law. Townsmen recovered their judicial autonomy, and received a number of political rights. For all these and other liberal, progressive features the Constitution was hailed as a great advance step. Unfortunately, patriotic Poles who framed and enacted the Constitution into law, were not given the chance to see it work. Soon after its promulgation, Poland was attacked and overrun, and finally partitioned among its three greedy neighbors.

But the spirit of freedom and progress embodied in that Constitution did not die; the Poles of today still cling to the fine ideas of the Constitution in 1791.

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, May 3, men and women of every nationality with faith in democratic principles joined with those of Polish ancestry in commemorating the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, which forms a true landmark in Polish history, and began an important period in modern European history. That document, with its progressive, liberal, and democratic provisions, marks a turning point in Poland's history. By this Constitution Poles hoped to bring about sufficient important changes in the governmental structure of their country so that it could cope with their acute national internal and external problems.

The Constitution, as adopted and promulgated 168 years ago, provided for the curtailment of king's authority, and the establishment of a responsible cabinet form of government. The lower chamber of the Diet, the popularly elected legislative body, was empowered with more authority, and the upper chamber lost some of its powers. Religious freedom was guaranteed, and freedom of opinion was tolerated. The peasantry was brought under the protection of the law, and provisions were made for the periodic revision of the Constitution.

This model document, designed to remedy some of the defects of Poland's governing institutions, never had a chance to prove its usefulness and efficacy. Soon after its promulgation Poland was overrun by its enemies and once more divided among the three autocrats of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Of course, the Constitution became a dead letter, but not the spirit embodied in it. Since then all Poles have cherished the liberal and democratic ideas of that Constitution, and they still cling to those fine ideas and ideals.

I gladly join Americans of Polish descent on the 168th anniversary celebration of that epoch-making document, the Polish Constitution of 1791.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, as we enjoy, from year to year, the privileges, joys, and responsibilities of continuing freedom, it is fitting that we reflect from time to time on the plight of those peoples of the world whose heritages of liberty have been snatched from them by totalitarian oppressors.

Because our ties with the Polish people date from the birth throes of our own Nation, we welcome the opportunity to join them in memorializing the adoption of the Polish Constitution 168 years ago. In recent years, this has not been a joyous anniversary. There is in being a Polish nation and a Polish Government, but the one is not completely the historic homeland of the Poles and the other is far from the traditional concept of a Polish republic.

In 1956, the free world was given dramatic evidence that the Poland it once knew and called friend was not dead but remained vital and courageous behind the Communist cloud. The Poznan revolt, while failing to win freedom for Poland, did give the Kremlin pause and prompt concessions which, in the granting, provided proof that a militant spirit of freedom still had the strength to go on march in the land of the Poles.

There was an easing of the repression of the church, and religious teaching again was permitted in the schools. It appeared that the collective farm idea, whereby the land-loving Polish peasants were deprived of their ancestral holdings, was to be put on the shelf. The cruel security police were ordered to take it easy, and the press was allowed to raise its voice slightly above a whisper.

Now, it is 1959, and it is important that we note what has happened to these small but significant gains in the struggle of the Poles to come back to the light and clear air of liberty. Religious instruction in the state schools again has been repressed. The controlled press has inveighed against the church. Communist Party leaders have made plain that the drive for collectivizing Polish agriculture is being resumed. Intellectual freedom has been the object of intensified official contempt and harassment, to the extent that even the publication for young Communist thinkers has been banned. Once again, the press must mumble the party line, and that alone.

Let there be no mistake—as we recall the declaration of freedom made by the Poles 168 years ago, our felicitations do not go forth to Gomulka and company, the complaisant minions of the Kremlin. We are thinking of, and praying for, the great body of the Polish people, from which has come, over the years, as from many other peoples, recurring infusions of new vigor for our own national strength. Through their prayers, and those of all who cherish freedom throughout the world, and pursuant to the destiny of the resilient human spirit everywhere, we express today renewed confidence that the principles of the

Polish Constitution again will be the valid charter of the Poles.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, today in the free world we again celebrate the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, which embodies the following sentence:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of all 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.

Although these truly magnificent words express the desire of any civil and democratic society, the Polish puppets in Warsaw, who consistently claimed tolerance toward the masses, would not dare to publish or to advocate them today. These are pointed phrases. Are any words too strong to remind the discontented masses in Poland of their wretched life? The government in Warsaw—elected by the central committee of the only party existing at present in Poland—is desperately attempting to convince the world of its democratic character and makeup. Unfortunately there still are some people who believe in the slogans broadcast daily from Warsaw and published in the Polish press. They are the same individuals who claim that since the coming to power of Gomulka things in Poland have changed considerably and that concessions have been made.

It must be conceded that some minor changes have taken place in Poland, and we know also there are other countries behind the Iron Curtain which suffer a great deal more than Poland. However, one can never forget that the answer to this question lies within the heart of the Polish people themselves. It is the spirit and faith of these unsuppressible people that has enabled them to keep their heads high throughout their struggle against the Communist tyranny.

On the 2 days preceding Easter and on Easter Sunday, churches all over Poland were crowded. The New York Times correspondent told us that on those days before the holiday the greatest paradox of Poland was on casual display in the streets of Warsaw. The only real life of this city has been in its churches, nothing else—work, politics, play, or officialdom seems meaningless living in the city.

Yes, Mr. Gomulka and Mr. Zawadzki and General Spychalski, you can deprive the Polish people of many things, but you cannot take away from them their religion and faith.

Much has been said about concessions on the part of Gomulka's regime. Granted, that the infamous UB—secret police—officially has been abandoned, the files of the hundreds of thousands innocently denounced have been turned over to the central committee of the Communist Party, whose members are the elite of Poland today.

Only a month ago the Polish Communists boasted about another achievement—the arrival of the last trainload of 250,000 Polish repatriates from the Soviet paradise. This concluded the Polish-Soviet agreement of November 1956. However, not a single publication

in Poland asked what happened to well over 1 million Poles deported in 1939 and again after the so-called liberation of Poland in 1945. Of course, we do know that large numbers of them perished in the land of the liberators.

Many of them starved to death and countless numbers died of malnutrition and exhaustion in the slave labor camps of the Urals and Siberia. Twelve thousand of them were annihilated in the Katyn Forest massacre, when the Soviet-Nazi relations were at the peak.

If you walk through the streets of Polish cities today you will observe the people standing in lines patiently waiting to enter stores and shops. No matter what you desire to buy, you must take your place in the waiting line. The stores which are state owned have a waiting line before you gain admittance to make purchases. This situation exists with respect to busses and other transportation, with office buildings, to mail a letter, and for practically everything one requires. These lines have become a part of the life of the Polish citizen, who has been told for the past 19 years, "It's for a better future, Comrade."

Poland, once Europe's chief source of coal, was freezing last winter. Most of the fuel was shipped to Russia for prices far below what Poland could have received from any other importer. People had to buy wood at exorbitant prices, instead of coal, to try and keep warm. To give you just one example of the average market price, a pair of good shoes cost around 1,200 zloties, or the average monthly income of the Polish white collar worker.

On March 1, 1959, the Warsaw illustrated magazine *Swiat* published an article which was taken from a weekly printed in Chicago in 1909. The article was an attempt to poke fun at the clergy, and attempted to leave the impression that the people from Galicia, Central Poland, were peasants who worked as much as 10 and 12 hours a day in factories, mines, and on road construction.

I would like to remind the Polish Communist publication *Swiat*, and its masters in Warsaw, that there is nothing new in the fact that 95 percent of Polonia was made up of peasants and workers who fled political oppression in Poland at the turn of the century, just as they have been fleeing from that country since 1945. It was this free country, its Constitution, and its democratic character that permitted the people to assemble and to express their thoughts openly. They were permitted to work wherever they pleased, and they needed no permission, as is the case in Poland today. They were free to travel and to select the kind of work that suited them best. They organized themselves without Moscow's blueprints and when they became displeased with their employers, they had the foresight to form labor organizations for their protection. They certainly did not look for orders from Moscow or from any foreign state. Whatever our Polish forefathers did here, they did so of their own free convictions and conscience. And that is why today we can proudly say

that Polonia which counts close to 7 million Americans of Polish descent, are sons, daughters and grandchildren of those peasants and workers who came here to remain in this free society, where they are free to speak, free to write, free to assemble and organize. There is no need to talk about the results. The people in Poland know that. They have seen the hundreds of thousands of air packages and the millions in dollars that have poured into Poland from their relatives in the United States.

I am proud that I also am one member of this large Polish-American community, still able to quote the lines written by my ancestors 168 years ago on this date which are:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people.

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the sadness of this day is reflected by the domination of the freedom loving Polish people by their Soviet masters. No one realizes more than a patriotic American the human miseries that are suffered by a captive people; their every word and action are under the close scrutiny of Godless leaders, who have by stealth taken the very earth of their homeland; and seek to captivate the soul and quench the firey flame of its ambitious spirit for freedom.

The love of liberty permeates the soul of man and forges the iron will of his destiny to seek again through leadership the realization of the sacred possession of men—liberty.

The history of Poland and its leadership, as memorialized in the drawing of its historical document, patterned after our Constitution, is locked in the hearts of its people. It only awaits reawakening through the realization that in the future by the will of God and the positive action of other liberty loving nations; then the Iron Curtain will be thrust aside.

Love of religion and the belief in God alone makes a people strong and certainly Poland has demonstrated to the world the great moral and spiritual strength that sustains its people—even in servitude. Poland has lost its identity as a nation but has demonstrated a great power to follow its religious life. This has only been possible because of a great fortitude inherent in each individual to suffer and sacrifice while building up a great moral courage that in its strength will rise up and destroy the enemy.

For belief in God and country are the sacred words that keep the souls of men free.

The millions of Polish citizens in America, together with the men and women of Poland, cannot fail to instill in liberty loving nations its cause for freedom. We of America should reflect with admiration upon the great accomplishments of the Polish people to withstand aggression and yet hold their heads high, acclaiming their religious independence.

The historical document, the Constitution of Poland, enunciates the great spirit of freedom that has permeated its life through the centuries.

It is for us to redeem ourselves by being ever watchful to effectuate the release of Poland from the iron grip of godless communism and secure the liberty of Poland. God knows that is our trust.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, today the Congress very fittingly sets aside a period to commemorate the 168th anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day. During my service in Congress, I have joined other Members each year in observing this outstanding event which marks a milestone in the long battle which the Polish people have constantly waged for liberty and self-government over past generations.

Our most important duty as representatives of a free nation is to aid the Polish people to again secure independence and self-government. This cannot be attained until the yoke of communism is released from the enslaved Polish people and other satellite nations now under Soviet tyranny.

On April 13 of this year, I addressed the House in a speech entitled "Lest We Forget—Soviet Diplomacy." It might be well at this time to remind the Members of a few statements which I made concerning the coming Summit Conference which if successful, will contribute greatly toward the eventual defeat of communism in Poland and other Iron Curtain nations. I will quote a few paragraphs from my remarks of that date:

Mr. Speaker, the 1959 meeting of Foreign Ministers and the proposed summit conference may decide the destiny of world freedom and self-government for generations to come. The cold war conducted by the Kremlin since World War II will meet success or failure at the coming summit meeting. Appeasement and the granting of concessions to the demands of the Communists will shatter hope for millions behind the Iron Curtain and greatly weaken the confidence of neutral nations in free world leadership.

Our State Department and allied representation attending the conference must not forget the history of Soviet international diplomacy over the last 30 years.

The record of Communist leaders as it pertains to violation of international agreements, treaties, and pacts with other nations should be No. 1 on the summit meeting agenda. Our leaders at the proposed summit meeting would commit a gross injustice to millions of enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain if they did not demand a complete review of the treaty and international agreement violations which the Soviets have committed in the last 30 years. The sanctity of international agreements and the wholesale violations of the same must be placed on the coming summit conference agenda.

Representatives to the summit conference from the free world will, by their silence, be accused of endorsing and ratifying the Soviet international treaty violations and aggression crimes by millions of people now under Communist enslavement.

I also submitted excerpts from the testimony of but a few of the witnesses who testified before the Katyn Forest Massacre Committee in the 82d Congress and the Select Committee Investigating Communist Aggression in the 83d Congress. I am herewith resubmitting excerpts from testimony of 4 Polish leaders made before these two congressional committees:

Gen. T. Bor-Komorowski, of Poland, page 1126, volume 3:

Congressman MADDEN. Now, General, one final question. With all your experience as a soldier and statesman, and dealings with the Communist, do you think that these meetings and conferences that are being held at Geneva, Panmunjon, and Korea, do you think that the free nations are ever going to make any progress or gain anything by conferences with the Communists?

General BOR-KOMOROWSKI. I do not think the free nations will come to any real conclusion with the Communists through conferences. The Soviet aim is to conquer the world. They need conferences only in order to have time for their underground and fifth column preparation to undermine the world.

Congressman MADDEN. In other words, their conferences are part of the strategy to get more time in order to carry out their program to conquer the world.

General BOR-KOMOROWSKI. Yes.

Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, of Poland, pages 1180, 1186, volume 3:

General ANDERS. I understand, but I must explain that I am not a politician. I am a soldier. From my long experience as a soldier, I know that when an army attacks, everything depends on the leaders. If the leaders advance well in front of a company, all the men will follow them, but if the leaders stop and waiver, the whole company is sunk. The situation today is similar. If the United States leads with determination and strength, all other people will go with them. But if the United States were to stop at words without facts and action to confirm them, such weakness would spread to other people. But I think the U.S. military leaders do not realize that today the leadership is theirs. It is necessary to understand that today it is the United States that leads the free world against its greatest enemy—Soviet Russia.

General ANDERS. Yes; that is right. Molotov said that it was very fortunate. You must remember that Poland had a nonaggression pact with Russia at that time, which Russia broke on the 17th of September, 1939 by invading Poland. But I ask you what agreement has not been broken by Russia? Only one, that was with Hitler from 1939 to 1941 because Hitler was strong.

General ANDERS. I think you are absolutely right. Conferences are regarded necessary by Bolsheviks only for two reasons: One is to spread their propaganda across the world, the other to gain time. Ever since Lenin and Stalin, the Bolsheviks have said the same thing: Their aim is to dominate the world. If necessary, they will use blackmail. If necessary, they will momentarily retreat—if such is the decision of the Communist hierarchy, they will go ahead again with double force.

Mr. Charles Rozmarek, president, Polish National Alliance and Polish American Congress, page 703, volume 3:

Mr. ROZMAREK. I think history has demonstrated since 1939 that you cannot do business with Soviet Russia, and in view of the fact that you cannot do business with them as a civilized nation, I think it certainly is time to put them outside the pale of the families of civilized nations.

Joseph Lipski, former Polish Ambassador to Germany, page 802, volume 3:

Congressman HILLINGS. Then would you say this is correct that every effort that has been made in the past to work out some sort of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet has not been successful?

Mr. LIPSKI. Yes. I am quite definite on that because I firmly believe that guiding principles of a moral nature are decisive principles in the international life of nations. If these principles are lacking, my experience has shown me that there are no good results with all these agreements if they are not based on international ethics and morals. The same happened with Hitler. I had quite a good insight for 6 years, being Ambassador in Berlin and I followed up the whole thing. I am speaking here as somebody who worked on these matters very thoroughly.

If the free world representatives at the summit conference follow the advice of these Polish leaders, Communist aggression will be curtailed, eventual freedom for Poland and other subjugated nations will be restored, and the world released from the threat of communistic tyranny.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, this day marks the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the May Constitution by the Polish Diet. In the spring of 1791 this now revered document held forth the promise of new liberties and justice for all the Polish people. In the Polish Constitution we find these words:

All power in civil society is derived from the will of the people.

This shattered many of the old class barriers to social justice. Commoners gained the right to own land, to become commissioned army officers, and to be employed in the formerly aristocrat-dominated civil service. No longer was it true that being a peasant meant being denied the full protection of the law. Moreover, religious freedom was guaranteed to all Polish citizens. But the constitution went even beyond extending these rights and privileges to the Polish people. It sought to guarantee their future protection by providing for the separation of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

The Constitution of 1791 is remembered not only because it marked such a high point in the struggle for personal liberty in Poland, but it is remembered also because it provides an inspiration to the Polish people today who live under a foreign dominated Communist government.

Soon after the adoption of the May Constitution, Poland was conquered by the armies of three great powers—Russia, Prussia, and Austria. This began the long night of foreign domination from which Poland did not emerge as an independent state until the end of World War I. This new found Polish independence was short lived. On the 1st of September, 1939, the armies of Nazi Germany marched into Poland and thus began a new night of foreign domination. This is not yet over, for Soviet Russia still tyrannizes the Polish nation.

Since the 1956 insurrection, Wladyslaw Gomulka has been at the head of the Polish Government. The world is watching to see what Gomulka's brand of "national communism" will mean for Polish freedom. In the last 2 years we have seen many of the new found freedoms of 1956 whittled away. Polish-Soviet cooperation has increased and Gomulka is establishing rigid control over the

Polish Communist Party and eliminating all opposition. Still there is no reign of terror in Poland and religious freedom does survive. The Polish people have some freedom of movement and Poland is maintaining some contact with the United States and Western Europe.

It would be a rash prophet who would venture to say what will be the fate of Polish freedom under Gomulka. Certainly it is out of the question that the Communist boss Gomulka will provide the freedoms celebrated in the Polish Constitution of 1791. The May Constitution remains an inspiration to the Polish people and to those everywhere who will rejoice on the day when Poland does achieve this true freedom and independence.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege to join my colleagues in this recognition of the 168th anniversary of the enactment of the Polish Constitution on May 3, 1791. Coming from a district which is proud of its large number of Poles, I know the value of this recognition of Poland's most important anniversary. All possible encouragement to Poland is imperative. For a brief space of time the invincible spirit of the Poles seemed to be forcing back, to some degree, the imperialistic forces holding them in bondage. A few improvements were made, as in the case of the farmers who seemed to have defeated the hated collectivization movement. But now we know that heavier and heavier controls are being applied. The Poles are living in such crushing poverty that we can scarcely comprehend the full meaning of their condition. This poverty is not only economic, debilitating as that is, but even more serious—it reaches into intellectual and spiritual realms. Only a nation of consummate courage could resist complete capitulation in the face of this brutal domination.

The fate of the Poles holds an important lesson for us. With a history of democracy as old as our own, and with a tradition of bravery famous back into the Middle Ages, this was a difficult nation to conquer. The Poles were well aware of the true situation and well equipped to resist these forces. Knowing this, we cannot look at these people and feel any complicity about the odds we may face ourselves in the future, whether we find ourselves forced into a hot or cold war, limited or unlimited, bacteriological or atomic.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, the Polish Constitution of 1791 was a great liberal document containing many democratic and progressive principles. It was the work of a band of zealous and liberty-loving patriots who, sensing the deficiencies of their antiquated governmental institutions, and the need for urgent reforms, wanted to recast and reconstruct Poland's governmental machinery. With these lofty ideas in mind, they framed a progressive and model constitution, one that was deemed sufficiently advanced and eminently liberal in those days.

Many fine ideas and ideals were embodied in that Constitution. Much of what we today regard as basic human rights were included in it. The king's

authority was drastically curbed, and that of the elected legislative chamber greatly enhanced. The wealthy lost some of their privileges, and the peasantry was brought under the protection of the law. In general, it was an instrument which restrained the powerful, and guaranteed the rights of the weak. At the same time, it aimed to strengthen the national government of Poland. Unfortunately, the Poles never had the chance to put the Constitution to work. Soon after its promulgation, Poland was overrun by its neighbors, partitioned once more, and soon lost its political independence. Thus the Constitution remained on paper, but the ideas and ideals embodied in it have become the political creed for all Poles. That is the reason why the date of its promulgation, May 3, is celebrated annually by Poles everywhere.

I am glad to join all loyal Americans of Polish descent on the observance of this anniversary, the Polish Constitution Day.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, May 3 is a memorable day in the annals of Polish history, for on this day, 168 years ago, the Polish Constitution was adopted. This document expresses to the world the devotion the Polish people attach to freedom and liberty.

The history of Poland consists of one continuous struggle to preserve these principles and to maintain Poland's national independence. Even now the peoples of Poland are waging that struggle, and the Soviet menace which confronts them is undoubtedly the most serious threat to their national integrity to date.

Yet, in spite of this, it is my firm conviction and my deepest hope that once again the Polish people will successfully reassert their right to national existence.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1791, the people of central Europe saw a ray of hope for freedom break through the dark clouds of tyranny and aggression. On that day, Poland adopted a constitution which closely follows our own form of representative Government as initiated by our Founding Fathers.

This year marks the 168th anniversary of the struggle by the courageous people of Poland to rekindle their torch of freedom. During the course of these 168 years the Polish people have been the target of tyrants and dictators, who know that when the seeds of freedom are planted a strong and powerful nation which will defeat their sadistic ideas will grow.

Today the people of Poland do not enjoy the liberties set forth in their precious document. A new and more dangerous foe of freedom, the Soviet Union, has thrown an Iron Curtain over their land. These are the darkest days the Polish people have ever faced. This cancerous growth called communism has sought to enslave not only the bodies but the minds and hearts of Polish and other subject peoples.

In spite of the untruths and malicious propaganda that circulates throughout their land, the desire for liberty and justice is strongly embedded in the hearts and souls of these fine people. This is

the type of courage that will one day conquer all forms of enslavement of people. This is characteristic of the Polish people and as a nation they are proud of their great deeds and accomplishments, and they are fully justified in that pride. They have proven themselves as diligent and skillful workers and they are also well known as accomplished masters in the arts and the sciences. In leafing through the pages of history, you will find the names of all the Poles who have given their lives for freedom. These names would be too numerous to mention. Two of the more outstanding names, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Gen. Casimir Pulaski, are best known to the people of our country because of their heroic action in helping us gain our independence. Never have the Poles sought to be aggressors; never have they wished to dominate.

We, as a nation, have a moral obligation to fulfill to the Polish people and the other nations in Europe who wish to be unshackled from the chains of communism. We are the symbol of hope for all enslaved nations because of our desire to keep the liberties written in our own Constitution. Let us tell these people by every means possible that we stand behind their cause for freedom. Let us encourage their spirit and let us stoke the fire of freedom that burns in their hearts. The moral and economic support, that we can provide to the Polish nation and other enslaved nations in the most difficult days they now endure, will carry them through until they can again lift their heads high and breathe the fresh clean air of a free nation.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I join with the people of Polish descent everywhere in honoring the heroic, freedom-loving men and women of Poland who have given their lives in the fight for freedom in their own homeland and abroad in the 168 years since adoption of the Polish Constitution. We honor those immortal Polish heroes, Count Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who came to the aid of our struggling forefathers in their quest for independence in the Revolutionary War. We cannot forget the heroic exploits of the Polish Allied contingent in Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and North Africa during World War II.

There are almost no peoples on the face of the earth who have fought more consistently for independence and democracy and who have enjoyed less of it than have the Poles. I salute that indomitable spirit which is the inheritance of the Polish people and which will not let them accept with acquiescence subjugation by any foreign oppressor.

I was in Poland in 1957, on the first anniversary of the Poznan riots. It was a depressing sight to see the military police in Warsaw moving through the celebrants with machineguns, and yet it was an encouraging sight to see these people, in whose countenances burned the yearning for freedom and glowed the determination to achieve it one day. In 1957 hope was buoyant because it appeared that some permanent gains had been achieved by the Poznan riots: the Communist regime had again permitted

religious teaching in schools, there was in progress the liquidation of the collective farms so despised by the peasants, greater freedom of the press was being permitted, and the security police had let up on its reign of terror.

We all know now that this renewed enjoyment of human rights by the Polish people was not to be a permanent achievement. Information reaching us in recent times indicates that there is an intensified repression of the people, and that conditions seems to be reverting toward those prevailing prior to the Poznan riots.

We all know, also, that although the present Polish Government is Communist the Polish people are not. Because of their love of freedom and their fortitude, they remain an inspiration to oppressed people throughout the world.

Let us join with Americans of Polish descent and friends of Poland everywhere in the prayer that the Polish people will soon regain their rightful heritage of freedom.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, May 3 of this year marks the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, and on this anniversary the minds of Congressmen and people throughout the world turn to the enslaved Polish people suffering under Communist domination.

As we in the Congress express our feelings and our hopes for Poland's early liberation, we again underscore our warm friendship for the Polish people. Throughout the years before I had entered the world of government and politics I lived close to many friends, some who were born in Poland and others who could trace their ancestry to that country. We worked together, we played together, and as I think back I can remember the qualities in my many Polish friends that, had they been in Poland, I am sure they would have been part of the Poznan revolt in 1956. To these people I want to offer these remarks.

The relationship of our two peoples is traditional and historical and no matter how hard the Communists may try they cannot erase it. The people of Poland have always manifested a strong attachment to the Western World, particularly to America, because our free way of life is also their way.

The American people have always supported the struggle for a free and independent Polish nation and we will continue to do so in the future. For a time, during and after the Poznan revolution, we had hoped that a new and promising era would ensue and that Poland would somehow succeed in breaking away from the grip of Soviet oppression. The promising new era was short lived. Consequently, freedom of religion is again being suppressed, the collective farms are back again, there is a marked absence of freedom of speech and thought. The tyranny over the mind of man is in full bloom.

There has been no genuine freedom of opinion in Poland since the loss of independence, and even the freedom of criticism which Gomulka announced at the eighth Plenum in 1956 lasted less than a year. Censorship has been re-

established. Many newspapers have been banned, including the outspoken organ of the Young Communist intellectuals, *Po Prostu*, party control was increased over newspapers and the planned weekly *Europa* was not allowed to appear at all.

Although the Poznan revolt was quelled, there were gains that were won by the Polish people, such as the regime's new policy toward the church, which again permitted religious teaching in schools, and other concessions which led to the liquidation of the collective farms so detested by the peasants, the relaxation of censorship, but increasingly, the regime in power is resuming the traditional Communist pattern of violating and denying the basic human rights and freedoms.

The people of Poland have always manifested strong attachment for the United States and their desire for the democratic way of life which we enjoy. That is why, Mr. Speaker, that it is important that this flame in the hearts of freedom-loving Polish people be not permitted to be extinguished.

Here, today, we should all give voice to the courage of the enslaved people of Poland. Someday they will join us in our free way of life, and I predict that it will take on greater proportions than the Poznan incident. To that end we wish them God's speed.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, May 3, marked the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution and at this time, I desire to extend my warmest felicitations to all people of Polish extraction and particularly to those Poles still under communistic domination in the old country. I urge that they keep up their faith and spirit in their brave effort to regain their freedom.

The people of Poland at all times exhibited strong attachment to the Western World and their desire for our democratic way of life.

It is important that this burning desire for freedom for Poland be not permitted to be extinguished.

There has been no genuine freedom of opinion in Poland since the loss of independence. Censorship has been reestablished. Many papers have been banned and today the press and other media of information are again becoming as subservient to the Communist regime as before October 1956.

The Poznan revolt in June 1956 forced the Moscovites to make concessions and to liberalize the regime headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka but developments since then have progressively reverted to a point where living conditions are again becoming intolerable.

In extending the hand of friendship to the people of Poland on this anniversary, I wish to reassure them of our sincere interest in their fight for freedom and independence.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the May Constitution of Poland, now 168 years old, is a tangible expression of the freedom and democracy which the Polish people covet. Its words, written by their patriot Ignatius Potocki during the period of enlightened liberalism, con-

tinued to nourish Poland's desire for freedom for they express thoughts of social, economic, and religious freedom and the very thing which is unknown in Poland today, a government based on the will of the people. Although the rights established by the Constitution were lost after the partition of Poland in 1791 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the Constitution served to whet Poland's appetite for democracy, an appetite which has proved to be undying.

Of the three countries which partitioned Poland in the 18th century, Hapsburg Austria and Prussia have long since declined in power and left the scene. But Russia remains as a parasite interfering in Polish affairs and holding Poland as a captive state. Polish discontent has been manifested on many occasions. These spirited people overlook the awesome military might of Russia and dare to rebel as they did in the Poznan Revolt of 1956. It is true that the Communist regime at that time granted some freedoms, but these freedoms were quickly and quietly revoked when the world's attention had been withdrawn from the scene. Today the Communists are tightening their controls on the press, the church and commerce.

Throughout Poland's history of oppression, Poles have looked to America for hope, as they do today. Many immigrated here at the beginning of the century and refugees continue to seek entry. The Polish element in America has been a strengthening agent. In my own State of Connecticut, the Polish residents have served the community industriously and loyally. The Americans of Polish extraction give empiric proof that Poland could be a great and powerful ally if only her potential and desire for freedom were not being suppressed by Communist interference.

On this day our thoughts and prayers are directed towards Poland and her plight, in hopes that soon she will be free to take her place among the free nations of the world.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, today, May 3, 1959, is the 168th anniversary of Poland's Constitution. It is my pleasure to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the freedom-loving peoples of Poland, and their undying struggle to attain the most cherished dream of mankind, individual liberty.

The Polish Constitution of 1791 provides ample evidence of Poland's dedication to the principles of independence and liberty which Poland's sons have, throughout history, fought to preserve.

The strategic location of Poland, situated in the midst of mighty nations, has required that the Polish people maintain an ever watchful eye on their national integrity. Today Poland continues to wage that struggle, and yet, in the face of adversity, that nation's patriots have proven worthy of undying fame in the annals of democracy.

Indeed, though Poland is subject to the ruthless oppression of Soviet tyranny, the flame of liberty continues to burn within their hearts. And of greater importance is the fact that the Polish people who have left Poland, and their sons and daughters as well, have not forgotten

the old country. Indeed, we are glad that the traditions and ancestral heritage of the noble land continue to find expression in the lives of Polish-Americans. For as long as this continues to be the case then Poland continues to exist as a nation; and the ideals contained within their Constitution of 168 years ago continue to be a reality.

Indeed, it is our fervent hope and wish this day that the abnormal condition which cloaks present day Poland will soon be removed. It is our fervent desire that the peace-loving peoples of Poland once again will be masters of their own destiny; and that they shall know the liberty and independence which constitute such a prominent feature of their national character.

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, on the anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791, I wish to comment briefly on the importance of doing all we can to keep the spirit of freedom alive in Poland. Inasmuch as May 3, the date on which Americans of Polish descent are celebrating constitution day, falls on Sunday when the Congress is not in session, this is an appropriate time for these remarks.

We have close ties to Poland. The Poles have been passionately devoted to freedom through their entire history, and their age-old struggles against tyranny from whatever quarter undoubtedly provided inspiration to our own Founding Fathers. They gave us substantial help in our own battle for freedom. I will not recite the classic examples of Pulaski and Kosciusko—their stories are known to every schoolboy.

It is worth mentioning that neither of those brilliant officers came over alone. Each brought with him a small entourage of trained subalterns. And in the light of the colonists' shortage of trained professional officers, the Polish contribution was a far more vital one than the numbers of those who came would seem to indicate. We certainly never should forget Pulaski and Kosciusko. But of more importance in encouraging the fight for human freedom today, is recognition of the necessity of doing all in our power to assist Poland, as of now, in its struggle for freedom.

It is no historical novelty for Poland to be struggling under the heel of an invader. Poland has been invaded many times. It never has been conquered. It has not been conquered now. It is only a question of time when, once again, it will emerge a free and independent nation as it has done in the past.

Large numbers of our fellow citizens of Polish background are working toward that end. They ask and expect from the rest of us moral support and such material support as may be effective. And it seems only right and just that they should have it. Love of their ancestral land in no way impairs their loyalty to the United States. If it were possible to obtain accurate figures, I venture to say we would find that more persons of Polish blood served in the American Army in World War II than the Polish nation was able to put in the field in that same war.

I hope that in the distribution of economic aid, our Government will see to it that Poland gets enough to strengthen its people in their determination to shake off the Kremlin yoke. Gomulka, the Communist puppet in Poland, is undoubtedly an obedient Kremlin stooge. But the Polish people are far from bowing supinely to his leadership.

So it would seem that by careful planning and adroit handling of any economic aid given Poland we can make the lot of the Polish people now suffering under Communist forces a bit easier without strengthening the Communist regime. We should do all we can in that direction.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to rise today to speak in observance of Polish Constitution Day.

Even though the proud and long-suffering Polish people are today the unhappy subjects of a despotic and godless government which is an instrument of the Kremlin, nevertheless this pause to remark the anniversary of a day when Poland was free and independent is not without significance.

There are many reasons why we should note this day and date.

First of all, it calls to mind the sad contrast between the bright and prosperous Poland under democratic auspices and the drab and poverty-stricken country that we know today under its Communist overlords. This comparison between our two systems should furnish food for thought for those who ponder the value of membership in the Red satellite system.

Second, it provides us with a tragic, object lesson as to the extent to which the Communist word can be trusted and relied upon since the agreement to permit free elections in Poland was a specific pledge of Stalin at Yalta. The speed with which this promise was broken provided ample proof of the folly of believing that it is possible to deal with the Communists on a fair and equitable basis. This lesson has significance for us today as we approach another summit meeting.

Third, this remembrance of other times brings vividly to our minds the courage and fortitude of the Polish people today as they eke out an existence under the harsh regimen of the police state. And yet theirs has not been a hopeless and abject submission. Even in the face of the tommygun and the tank, they have shown admirably that patriotism and love of liberty cannot be eradicated by the severest privations.

The humor, the cheerfulness, and the forbearance of the Poles under the greatest provocations from their government of turncoats has won the admiration and applause of the free world. And the threat of their anger if pushed too far has even won grudging concessions from their Red overlords.

Foremost among the sustaining and consoling forces for the Poles has been their strong reliance on their religion. Amid persecution and propaganda, they have remained steadfast in the faith of their fathers and one can never forget the pictures of throngs of Polish people packed tightly together in his cathedral

to hear the message of Cardinal Wyszynski, newly restored to them. The light and pride and faith in those uplifted faces was a message of inspiration for the world and was a reminder too that this sort of faith can never be destroyed.

Finally, the observance of this day gives us in free America a chance to send a message of cheer and consolation to our Polish brothers and to reaffirm our resolution that we stand by them in their days of trial.

We must keep the plight of the Polish people ever vivid before the bar of world public opinion. We must encourage their reasonable efforts toward the control of their own national destiny. We must lend them moral support, but we must also be willing to make available to them such material aid as will assist them in their struggle for survival.

The light of freedom which the Polish people have so bravely kept alight must not be extinguished. It must be fed and nurtured so that one day it will again shine unfettered and strong in observance of the new Polish Constitution Day which will surely come.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday marked the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution, and I take this opportunity to express America's feeling toward Poland and to evaluate the situation of the Polish nation under Communist domination.

History is studded with landmarks of the ascendancy of mankind over oppression. The Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, has remained a landmark of the unquenchable determination of man to be free and equal. The anniversary of Poland's Constitution is more than the commemoration of an event. It is living evidence that the same will which brought that Constitution into being still survives. It is an expression of hope and determination that persists not only in Poland but in the hearts of all men who have known, and all men who yearn for freedom and equality.

The Polish Constitution broke with the heritage of feudalism, serfdom, a privileged gentry, extreme discrimination, state centralism, and recognized 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."

While that Constitution remained in effect no longer than 1 year, the lasting foundation has remained in the hearts of the Polish people. Though Poland has been carved into bits by imperial Russia and Prussia—invaded and trampled upon by Nazi Germany—and notwithstanding the present captivity to the dictates of the Soviet Union, the same will which 168 years ago found expression in the Polish Constitution continues to demand a substantive expression.

Free Americans of all nationalities join today with the people of Poland in ardent support of that tenacious will for freedom. So long as this brilliant shaft of light penetrates the shadowy murk which envelops Poland there can be no doubt of the ultimate realization of freedom.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues on this historic day in thinking of the people of Poland. This 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution still finds the people of Poland living under the heel of Soviet tyranny.

So-called freedoms given the people of Poland as a result of the Poznan revolt are disappearing. Concessions by the Communists, as we in the free world should know by now, are given only because it is to the advantage of the Communists.

It was to the advantage of the Moscow-dominated rulers of Poland to announce the end of collective farms, new policies toward the church, and relaxation of newspaper censorship after the new regime which followed the Poznan revolt. Yet slowly these new freedoms have been melting away, because the Communists have decided it is now time to ignore what they promised a short time ago.

So once more the Polish people face the prospect of collective farms, persecution of the church, and a party-controlled press. It is not a pretty picture to view on this anniversary. Is this the showplace of the Communist world, the nation which proves to the free world that people can rule themselves and be free of Moscow domination but still be linked to Russia? If this is what the Soviets mean when they speak of coexistence with small nations bordering the Soviet Union or its satellite neighbors, let it be a warning to the world.

For Poland is just as much a part of the Russian nation today as is Moscow. Freedoms as we in the Western World know them are not found in Poland, even under the new self-rule regime. And the Polish people must wonder if they will ever again know the freedoms that they had under the constitution adopted so many years ago.

Let us assure the people of Poland that we in America share their love of freedom and independence. We mark this historic day in Polish history with renewed pledges of friendship to the people of Poland and with our prayers for their eventual liberation from the oppression of the Soviets.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, there is one thing about the love of freedom which is recognized all over the world and is engraven deeply in the hearts of men and that is that most people are always ready to fight for it. Love of freedom never dies but sometimes because of faint hearts the fight for it is neglected and it is apt to suffer materially or perish. It is the inspiration and the courage and the deep faith of afflicted people like the people of Poland that keep the fires of freedom burning bright.

Crushed by the tyranny of godless communism and beset on every side by oppression, violence, murder and rape, the Poles fight on, firm in the belief that someday theirs will be the victory and peace will take the place of oppression and goodwill the place of hatred. It is a privilege if not a duty for the citizens of the United States to do all we can to encourage this undying faith and fortitude and I join with the people of the free world on this anniversary of

their Constitution Day in admiration for these people and I resolve that I will cooperate in every way possible to aid in the preservation of their honor and to bring about the realization of their hope to reestablish freedom in their country.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on this, the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution, we are reminded that freedom-loving nations must be ever-vigilant in order to safeguard their liberty and independence.

Conditions in Poland during the 18th century were of a desperate nature. Her neighbors, Russia, Austria and Prussia each coveted a portion of Polish territory in order to counterbalance the advantage each would gain by annexation. In 1772 Poland was partitioned. Outraged by this overt act, the peoples of Poland instituted a series of reforms, one of which was the adoption of the Constitution of May 3, 1791. It was a most liberal document, and in fact it reflected the spirit of enlightenment and the ideologies of the English political philosophers then prevalent in Western Europe.

Unfortunately the constitution never became firmly established in peacetime, because again Poland's neighbors invaded her, dissected her, and deprived her of independence. Indeed Poland's history consists of a series of valiant efforts to maintain Poland's national integrity.

Today, Poland is again the victim of her neighbor. The Soviet menace that confronts her is by far the most serious threat to date. Yet, in spite of this, it is our firm conviction that the spirit of freedom, liberty and love of Polish independence is so deeply rooted in the hearts of her patriots, that as in previous situations, they will emerge the victors. When this is done, Poland will enjoy the ideologic principles that are so much a part of its national character; and the theory embodied in the Constitution of 1791 may again become a reality.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the recognition of Poland's Constitution Day which yesterday marked the 168th anniversary of the first democratic constitution in Poland.

It is one of history's ironies that two nations whose peoples had such similar loves of human liberties should have been destined for such dissimilar paths as the United States and Poland during those 168 years.

The United States, in 1791 a struggling young nation whose own Constitution was only 4 years old, whose independence had been recently won with the aid of Polish patriots, has not since known the tyrant's heel.

Poland, whose people love freedom no less, as we well know from the many outstanding citizens of Polish descent in our own country who have fought in our wars, served in our Government, and characterized democracy in every way, was to know little relief from oppression.

Today, Poland is in the grasp of communism and the United States is the bulwark of the free world. But the continued observance of their Constitution through all these years of hardship only

illustrates how deeply ingrained the spirit of liberty is in the Polish people. It is a spirit of liberty which will ever strike a sympathetic chord in all Americans, and serves as an inspiration to keep up the fight to restore freedom not only to Poland but to oppressed peoples everywhere.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, May 3, was Poland's Constitution Day, a day which marked the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution's adoption. Once again this meaningful occasion was celebrated by Poland's many friends in this country, which her own people could unfortunately commemorate only in their hearts.

Inspired by the ideals proclaimed in our own Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of May 3, 1791, represents an outstanding achievement in creative statesmanship. The principles enunciated therein survived Poland's early struggles for independence, and were retained in the constitutional laws of the reborn Polish State after World War I. These high principles were observed up until the ravages of World War II, when two brutal despots conspired to eliminate independence and freedom from central Europe. Today, the terrible force of international communism continues that despotic rule.

However, despite the imposition of a Communist constitution in 1953, together with other measures of subjugation and repression, the spirit of freedom still lives within the hearts of the Polish people. The Poznan revolt of 1956 was clear indication that Soviet domination will not be indefinitely accepted, and that resistance to communism will continue.

By reason of their courage in the face of Communist dictatorship, the Polish people have been a source of inspiration to freedom-loving men and women the world over. Their adherence to the values set out in the 1791 Constitution remains steadfast despite persistent efforts by the Communists to eliminate all vestige of liberty and freedom.

The city of Cleveland is proud to include many persons of Polish descent among its populace. They have contributed significantly to every aspect of community endeavor, and are keenly alert to the responsibilities accompanying citizenship in a free and democratic society.

As we renew our bonds of friendship with the people of Poland on this solemn occasion, let us remember that our basic and cherished constitutional documents were inspired by common ideals.

In this spirit let us therefore dedicate this day to the Polish people, joining them in the prayer that they will soon once again be free to join in its celebration.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, as we speak in this House of an anniversary that is dear to the hearts of Americans of Polish ancestry—the 168th anniversary of the great liberal Polish Constitution of 1791—we have a special obligation this year to think of the difficulties of Poland's present position among nations.

Let us remember that the Polish people are situated by the facts of geography

on the borders of an overwhelming neighbor, the Soviet Empire. Let us remember that Poland's western borders—in an area that for centuries has been a center of struggle, grief and torment—are not as yet recognized as fixed and lawful by the NATO powers, but only by the Soviet Union. Let us recall that when the Marshall plan was launched, the Polish Government of the time sought to participate—and that the Soviet reaction was swift and terrible. Let us remember that even today the Polish Government is seeking to keep open windows to the Western World—that Western correspondents are secure in Warsaw even though they suffer censorship or expulsion in Moscow, that the Polish people have successfully insisted upon maintaining a certain basic freedom from the image of the Soviet monolith.

We need to think of these things, on this anniversary of the 1791 Constitution, because we must recognize that it may be years or decades before the Polish people once more will be truly independent and we must be as patient as they will surely be compelled to be.

They have a reason for their patience, because the Polish people have proved themselves in circumstances even more frozen and difficult than those they know now.

It was only a few years after the Constitution of 1791 was adopted that the celebrated third partition of Poland ended the country's existence as a separate nation for five generations. Her great neighbors, which had contended for her territory, gobbled her up in a total bite, in a deal between kings and emperors that gave the Polish people no choice.

The passing of five generations, however, did not mean that Poland had died. There were Polish patriots in many lands and Polish leaders in self-imposed exile. There were the Polish people themselves in their villages and cities, on their farms and small holdings, who longed constantly for a national restoration. And in the end there was a restoration.

The central symbol of Polish freedom that gave her people the strength and ideal to hold on for five generations was the 1791 Constitution—a document that deserves a high rating in the annals of statesmanship.

In the heart of eastern feudalistic Europe, under the menace of greedy and contentious enemies, the Polish people proclaimed in that constitution that the source of all government power was the people themselves. The feudal system died as commoners gained the right to acquire land, to rise to the ranks of commissioned officers in the army, to hold posts of honor in the civil service. Religious freedom was guaranteed and the powers of the government were divided between the separate branches, precisely as only 4 years earlier in this country they were divided between the legislative, executive, and judicial departments.

In short, in this constitution Poland proclaimed freedom in the modern sense, in the sense of a declaration of the rights of man. Poland came of age—and it was a decisive fact in her survival

after she was temporarily extinguished from the rollcall of nations. Poland remained a reality and a nationality because her people thought of themselves in those terms, and freedom still lived in Warsaw.

Despite Communist efforts to thwart it, freedom lives in Warsaw today, we may be sure, and it is appropriate for us to join in a commemoration of Poland's national holiday. We have reason for faith, out of generations of history, that Poland's people in the fullness of time once more will be the masters of their own destiny.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join here today in the tribute being paid to the people of Poland and to the citizens of this country who are of Polish ancestry.

Unfortunately, the people of Poland do not now enjoy the basic freedoms set forth in and guaranteed by their Constitution of May 3, 1791. Poland, along with other nations of Eastern Europe, has come under the heel of a vicious form of colonialism—Soviet international communism, a crude philosophy designed to subjugate freedom and to make slaves of people all over the world.

In America, Mr. Speaker, we are familiar with the special contribution to our fight for freedom made during the Revolutionary War by Gen. Casimir Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko. The Polish people recognized then that we needed help, and that help was readily provided.

Today the people of Poland need help more than at any other time in her history. Communism has virtually destroyed the Polish economy. Starvation and economic dislocation are prevalent.

There has been no genuine freedom of opinion in Poland since the loss of independence, and even the freedom of criticism permitted in 1956 lasted less than a year. Censorship has been re-established. Today the press and other media of information are again becoming subservient to the Communist Party.

In my congressional district in Michigan, there are many American citizens of Polish ancestry. They are fine and respected people. They have achieved high positions in the learned professions. They have been honored with public office. As Americans they fought heroically in World War I and World II, and in the Korean conflict. These distinguished American citizens look forward to the time when the country of their ancestry will again be independent and free. They look forward, as do all Americans, to the time when the destiny of Poland will again be in the hands of its own people.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all Americans join in this expression of friendship and sympathy for the people of Poland, for their courage, and for the hope that the people of Poland will soon be in the vanguard of the forces of freedom once more.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, May 3 marked the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution, and it is most fitting that the Congress today once more should honor Poland's Consti-

tution Day with these tributes on the floor of the House.

I am happy to join with my colleagues in praising the loyalty and courage of the great Polish people who have been fighting the battle for freedom for centuries with a tenacity and a bravery that could never possibly be surpassed or exceeded.

Yes, Mr. Speaker; it is very appropriate that on the day of the anniversary of the Polish Constitution that the Congress hail this great historic event and laud the gallantry, courage, and fidelity of the sorely afflicted Polish people and thus strengthen the hopes and ideals and strivings of the Poles for their liberation from tyranny and oppression.

As lovers of freedom, all Americans deplore the bondage in which the Polish people are held by a ruthless Communist tyranny. Anyone who believes that the Polish people have become converts to communism or are permitting themselves to be used as stooges by the Soviets is simply not familiar with the temperament, the loyalty and the courage of this great people who for centuries have struggled and sacrificed beyond measure to establish and to preserve their God-given liberty. The unfortunate plight of the gallant Poles calls for a renewed pledge of assistance by all Americans to sustain and strengthen the aspirations for freedom and democratic government of their own choice of oppressed peoples everywhere.

It is to the great credit and glory of the Polish people that they have never surrendered their rights, they have never forfeited their freedom, they have never ceased their resistance to tyranny. On the contrary, this courageous people are working for liberation from the yoke of Russian bondage, ready to proclaim their determination for freedom, ready to make all sacrifices to recover their stolen liberties.

We are all proud of the loyal, unwavering allegiance of the Polish people to the cause of democracy and freedom. Let us hope that the American Government and the United Nations will insist upon the establishment of boundaries for Poland heretofore agreed upon by the Soviet Government at the Council of Riga in 1921. Under this solemn agreement, the boundary was fixed at the Rivers Oder and Neisse. If justice is to be done, the Soviet Government should be urged to respect this agreement into which it entered after the question had been carefully discussed.

The plight of Poland is one of the great political crimes of the ages. The cruel betrayal of this people at Yalta is a stain and blemish upon democratic government that cannot be erased. Let us then today in the name of freedom, let us reiterate our loyalty to Poland and the sacred cause of Polish liberty. Let us work courageously for Poland's liberation and the self-determination of oppressed peoples everywhere.

On this Polish Constitution Day, let all true Americans rally to the cause of Polish freedom, pledging anew to the Polish people our assistance in their struggle for independence. Let us offer our friendship, our support and our help

in this fight for human freedom and justice. Let us work for the day when Poland is again a free and independent nation.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in material things, progress seems synonymous with the passage of time. We can be fairly certain that 10 years from now science and technology will bring to man new and better ways of controlling his physical environment. And when we compare our comforts with those of our ancestors, the differences are truly amazing.

But in the realm of morals, values, and ideals progress often means returning to principles laid down long ago. This is true, for example, of religion, of philosophy, of art, and of music. It is also true of political principles.

Among the charters of political liberty to which men return for instruction and inspiration, the Polish Constitution of 1791 occupies a position of preeminence.

As accepted by the Polish Diet, the Constitution of 1791 incorporated principles that always have been and always will be basic to the freedom and dignity of man—government founded on the will of the governed and on the rule of the majority. The Constitution of 1791 also provided for separation of powers, a bicameral legislature, and an extension of the suffrage. Finally, it respected property rights and preserved the religious traditions of the Polish people.

In 1795 Poland was partitioned by her more powerful and less politically enlightened neighbors. This act of greed destroyed neither the liberty-loving spirit of the Polish people nor the principles of the Constitution of 1791.

One hundred and fifty years later Communist tyranny and the Red Army dealt another heavy blow to Poland's hopes and ideals. Yet, the forces of tyranny and their false promises of progress never have prevailed for long and never will prevail for long against the spirit and precepts of freedom.

As the Poles' love of liberty and the principles of their Constitution of 1791 have withstood oppression in the past, so will they endure in the future.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, a most important Polish national holiday, the celebration of the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution, was observed yesterday. The annals of the Polish people are marked by suffering, glorious deeds, tragedies, and the ability to rise above what might crush a lesser nation.

The first partition of this brave country took place in 1772, when Austria, Prussia, and Russia callously helped themselves to large pieces of Polish territory in what is known in history as the first partition of Poland. This first partition had a profound effect upon public opinion in Poland; far from crushing the spirit of the people, it galvanized them into action which finally resulted in the new Constitution adopted on May 3, 1791. Just a few years after the passage of this Constitution, the soldiers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia overran the country in the second partition.

We all know the outcome of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 25, 1939, when, in collusion with Germany, the

Soviet Union invaded Poland and an agreement was proclaimed parceling out its territories between Germany and Russia.

It is a pleasure for me today to salute those of Polish extraction in my congressional district and throughout the United States. We owe much to the memory of those Polish patriots, statesmen, scientists, soldiers, and musicians who came to this country, adopted it as their own, and contributed so much to our history.

I should like also to pay tribute to the brave people of Poland now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, and to express the hope that the liberties which they purchased so dearly with the Constitution of 1791 and then lost, may soon be regained, and that the spirit which has carried Poland through centuries of adversity and hardship may continue to endure.

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, May 3, 1959, has been designated by the Congress of the United States as a day on which to commemorate Polish Constitution Day. This will mark the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution.

Annually on this day we Americans express our feeling of brotherhood and compassion toward the freedom-loving people of Poland and extend to them our hand and hope that they will shortly break the yoke of oppression and assume their rightful place among the great independent nations of the world. This expression of ours which we make voluntarily one day a year, nevertheless is in our hearts each and every minute of each and every day of each and every year. History has shown that the spirit of godliness, freedom, independence, brotherhood and peace always remains steadfast in the heart of every Polish person. History has shown that tyranny and oppression have never long survived in Poland, nor will it this time.

The right thinking people of the world salute our Polish brothers and pray with them that the day of their deliverance will soon be at hand. During the trying days of the birth of our own country, it was with the unrepayable assistance of Polish patriots who sacrificed themselves in our cause that we were able to achieve our freedom. This we must never forget. Let us hope that the next anniversary of this great day will be celebrated by the rebirth of free Poland.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the development of institutions which provide for the participation of citizens in their government, and which enable the people of a nation to live in peace and freedom under just laws, has been a slow and painstaking process.

For that reason, concrete achievements in this direction have always been prized and celebrated by freemen of different times, and of different lands.

Today we are commemorating one of those important milestones in the history of man's advancement in freedom.

That milestone is the famous Constitution of May 3, adopted by the Polish nation 168 years ago.

It is fitting and proper that we pause in our deliberations in the Congress of the United States, to recall that illus-

trious document and to honor the Polish nation which gave it birth.

The Constitution of May 3 was one of the outstanding milestones in the evolution of democracy in Europe, and represented a considerable achievement even for Poles who were known through the centuries as the Nation of Parliaments.

For we must remember that, of all the nations and states of continental Europe which survived to the 20th century, Poland alone had an unbroken record of adherence to parliamentary principles and institutions. She maintained her parliamentary system without break down to the end of her independent existence as a state. For almost 1,000 years, the Poles adhered to a concept of legality which required the absolutely freely expressed agreement of all those interested. To the Poles, only that was legal, justified, and obligatory which was resolved by a decision of the people or of their delegates—that is, either through a plebiscite or by way of Parliament.

Realizing this historical tradition of the Polish nation, we must nevertheless marvel at the tremendous achievement embodied in the constitution of May 3. Through that constitution, the Poles accomplished a fundamental reform of their parliamentary system. And they did this peacefully and joyfully, without bloodshed or internal dissension.

The Constitution of May 3 is similar in many respects to the basic document adopted by our own Nation. It is based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the State—not the sovereignty of the state itself. It divided the powers of the Government between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. It reaffirmed the principle of religious freedom, which was one of the characteristics of Poland's historical tradition. It was humanitarian and tolerant in its spirit. And, what is very important, it corrected the basic weakness of Poland's parliamentary system by departing from requirement of unanimous consent in arriving at legislative decision.

It is no wonder that the Polish people chose to elevate the anniversary of the adoption of their Constitution of May 3 to the rank of their national holiday. It commemorates one of the most glorious moments in their national history.

How different was that moment from the tragic plight of the Polish nation today.

Although the Poles enjoy a somewhat larger degree of freedom today than they did 2 or 3 years ago, their nation is still dominated by the Communists. The Poles are subject to a system which is alien to their every tradition. Their nation remains a victim of the despotic tyranny of Soviet communism.

In view of the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva, it is timely to consider the fate and the future of the Polish nation—and of the other nations enslaved by Soviet Russia.

Last week's reports from Paris indicated that the Western Big Four foreign ministers reached an agreement on a package proposal which will be pre-

sented to the Soviet Union at Geneva on May 11.

Included in that package, according to all reports, are questions relating to the future of the city of Berlin, to reunification of Germany, and to European security arrangements.

It seems obvious to me that we cannot hope to achieve progress on the issue of European security without raising the question of Poland, and of the other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Adequate security arrangements are necessary to promote peace in Europe and in the world—but I firmly believe that such arrangements will not materialize while millions of subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain suffer under the Communist yoke.

Full national independence, and the right to self-determination for the nations of central and eastern Europe are the prerequisites for achieving decent and just security arrangements in Europe. Such arrangements are inconceivable without them.

I believe that if the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva will result in an agreement to take up the issue of European security at the summit, we must then press the following conditions:

First, that free, supervised elections be held in Poland and in the other enslaved countries behind the Iron Curtain; and

Secondly, that the governments chosen in the course of such free elections be invited to meet with the big powers, and with representatives of other European nations, to negotiate the necessary security arrangements for Europe.

The peoples of central and eastern European nations have the right to govern themselves—and they equally have the right to speak for themselves during the preparation of security arrangements for their continent.

I hope that the actions of our Government will contribute to the achievement of these goals.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding my remarks, I want to express my deep admiration for the people of Poland who produced the famous Constitution of May 3, 1791, and who have never succumbed to the totalitarian doctrines of their oppressors.

The people of Poland, I am confident, will continue their allegiance to the principles of freedom and democracy. I pray to God that their tragic plight may soon end, so that they may resume their rightful place in the family of free, democratic nations of the world.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 168 years ago, the Polish Constitution was adopted. It is a monument to the heroic ideals which inspired its creation.

The Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, gives full expression to the Polish peoples' love of liberty and independence, and, therefore, it is particularly fitting to take note of that memorable document because those same principles are still very much alive in the Polish nation today. In spite of the efforts of succeeding conquerors to destroy that love for independence, Poland has continued down through the ages. Needless to say, it is my firm conviction that the present Soviet oppressors will be no

more successful in their devious schemes to destroy that dynamic spirit.

Polish Americans have every reason to be proud of their ancestral heritage, as indeed all freedom-loving people share that pride. The heroic patriots of Poland who gave their lives to confirm the sacredness of the individual have bequeathed to their heirs a noble legacy; which legacy I am convinced will continue to instill in the Polish people that determination to preserve their national character. It is my deepest wish that one day soon they will prove successful in their efforts to secure their nation from the yoke of tyranny.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, this year Polish Constitution Day has a very special meaning. As negotiations are now under way at the diplomatic level for the holding of another summit conference, the case of Poland today warrants the careful consideration of all thinking men.

It will be recalled that the Polish constitution of May 3, 1791, in its basic elements, was patterned after the American Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. On several occasions in the recent past, I have singled out article 5 of that Constitution as worthy of review in light of the present world situations and particularly in view of the present plight of the Polish nation. Article 5 of the constitution reads as follows:

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 lasting foundation.

From this reading it is clear that the founding fathers of the modern day Polish nation intended that all power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people. This guarantee has as much if not more meaning to the people of Poland today as it did to those Polish patriots who enunciated the basic Constitution in 1791. Today the Polish people are denied this basic right of civilization. This right is denied them by the alien power which now controls their civil affairs and which remains in control only by virtue of the military presence of the Russian Army.

In the springtime of 1956 the Polish people expressed their contempt for the alien occupier of Poland by a series of popular demonstrations and uprisings. This spirit of discontent with alien rule swept through most of central and eastern Europe and was climaxed by the Hungarian freedom revolution. A similar national freedom revolution in Poland was averted by the Russian despots through their intermediary, Gomulka, who then took on the disguise of a Polish patriot and went through the well staged motions of speaking up to the Russian leaders on behalf of the Polish nation. With the passage of time the true character and role of Gomulka and his small clique of collaborators has been unmasked by the continuing demands of the Polish people for true liberty and freedom and genuine national independence.

The Russian leaders seek a conference at the summit with the Western Powers

in order to wring from the leaders of freemen the recognition of a status quo. Khrushchev has, on innumerable occasions during the past year, taken the position in public speeches that as a precondition to such a summit conference the Western nations must agree to the recognition of a status quo. He has sharply defined this to mean that there can be no discussion about the internal affairs of the once free and independent nations of central and eastern Europe. This is the price the Russians are asking for a summit conference in which they will seek to extract additional concessions from the West and thus set in motion an inevitable trend which will lead either to World War III or a worldwide victory by the Russian Communists by what they call peaceful coexistence. The Russian leaders need a recognition of the status quo in order to give them time to consolidate their empire. The spirit of nationalism which is on a rapidly rising wave behind the Russian imposed Iron Curtain, has created grave problems for the Kremlin and thrown tremendous stress upon the machinery of control which the Kremlin uses to hold its modern-day empire together. There are signs that the stresses and strains of nationalism are rapidly outdistancing the capabilities of the Russian-controlled mechanisms. As this ideological conflict enters into a critical stage the Russian leaders now seek the assistance and cooperation of the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and France, together with other free countries, in their struggle against the desire of Poland and all the other non-Russian nations to be free and independent. This is what motivates the Russian leaders to seek a so-called conference at the summit. This will be their basic objective when and if such a summit conference takes place. It is important to note that the Russian leaders can win their objective without formal agreement to such a proposal by the leaders of the free nations. If a summit conference is convened under an agenda which fails to include the future status of the subjugated nations of central and eastern Europe, the Russians will have won de facto recognition of a status quo. The failure of the West to support the people of Poland and other non-Russian nations in their desire to establish a government whose powers shall derive from the will of the people will be regarded by all thinking people as tacit agreement to the Russian proposal for a status quo.

There are overriding reasons why the leaders of the United States must insist upon a discussion of the future of Poland and the other enslaved countries at any summit meeting. The Atlantic Charter, which set forth the war aims of the Western Powers and which was endorsed by Stalin, guaranteed governments expressive of the will of the people for all of the liberated territories, and denounced any and all territorial aggrandizement. The Declaration of Liberated Territories of 1944 gave further guarantee that the Government of Poland would be representative of the freely expressed will of the people. Our own security and future as a free and

independent nation depends upon our ability to bring about the fulfillment of these guaranties.

The only position the leaders of the United States and other free nations can take in preparations for another summit conference is to insist that the first point to be taken up at such a conference is the case of Poland and the other non-Russian nations which today suffer under the enforced control of the Kremlin. It is only by the removal of foreign rule of vast areas of Europe and Asia, followed by the introduction of free and representative governments, that we may remove the political tensions which now grip the world.

It is my hope on this Polish Constitution Day that the leaders of our Government will stand fast by our solemn wartime commitments which, if realized, will give real life and meaning to the Polish Constitution which today stands as the hope and aspiration of all the Polish people.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, we celebrated the anniversary of the famous Polish Constitution of 1791. This celebration is a solemn occasion for the Polish people, for Americans of Polish ancestry, and for friends of freedom everywhere. If we should look at the Polish Constitution today and compare it with our own or with many of the other liberal constitutions which have been written over the past century and a half, we might wonder why this particular constitution has attracted so much attention. The answer is quite simple. At the particular time in which it was drawn up it was a very large step forward for the Polish Nation. It granted the Polish people significant freedoms which they had not possessed before. Indeed, it was one of the most significant political documents in the history of central Europe during the latter part of the 18th century.

It is extremely important for us to recall today this ancient document of Polish liberty because the Polish people are oppressed by a foreign tyranny. Today they do not have the full measure of human rights such as we are so fortunate to enjoy in this great democratic country of ours. We who are so blessed with liberty can deeply sympathize with those who are not. More than that, we can and should do all within our strength and power to help them regain the freedom and rights which they once fully enjoyed. We should exhaust all the resources of peaceful diplomacy and of the United Nations to help bring about this desired end. Fortunately we have seen signs within the past couple of years that the cause of freedom in Poland may not be completely hopeless. We should encourage in every discreet way we can those currents of independence that are stirring in the Polish nation. If we do so, we may yet see a much larger measure of liberty restored to the Polish people in the not too distant future. This should be one of the prime aims of American foreign policy as we celebrate the anniversary of the renowned Polish Constitution drawn up more than a century and a half ago.

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the 168th anniversary of the

establishment of the truly first democratic constitution in all of Europe, the Polish Constitution, was celebrated yesterday. It was then and still is an outstanding document which removed restrictions on the individual, assured religious freedom and discarded the heritage of class distinction. It has remained to this day one of the outstanding examples of democratic thinking.

Unfortunately, the Polish people who led all of Europe in demonstrating the values of democratic processes, have been themselves deprived of this freedom for the past 20 years.

In September 1939 the Nazi hordes of Adolph Hitler invaded Poland. The valiant Polish people fought to protect the precious liberties they cherished so highly but were overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers. Even then the Polish people felt that they would soon again regain their national autonomy through the aid of their allies.

This hope was shattered almost immediately when the Soviet Union joined hands with Germany and invaded Poland from the east. Subsequently, history is well remembered. The Russian Army, once established in Poland, aided the small Communist Party in crushing opposition whenever it arose. Through the secret police, the prison camp, and the other terrors they use so frequently, the Communists have managed to control the freedom-loving people of Poland. Poland is today cut off from the West with which it shares the closest cultural, economic, and religious ties.

The policy of this country toward Poland must be clear and unflinching.

As we are exploring the possibilities of an enduring peace and the harsh realities of coexistence, none of us can forget our long friendship with this gallant nation, and an unpaid debt that goes back as far as our own revolution in which so many sons of Poland bore arms at our sides.

We know in our hearts that coexistence is not the solution to the problems of the world so long as it must be based upon the cruel injustices of the Soviet occupation of Poland and the other free nations engulfed behind the Iron Curtain. We have not forgotten them. We have not turned our backs on their sad plight. And I know that whatever the expediencies of the moment may be so far as official foreign policy is concerned, the American people will never abandon their resolve to hope for the freedom of our friends and welcome them once more into the family of independent, sovereign, and liberated members of the family of nations.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Poland has had a long and glorious history, replete with examples of courage and independence in the face of oppression and injustice. One of the milestones in her history was the adoption on May 3, 1791, of a constitution which was an innovation for a country in her position.

The Constitution was adopted at a time when Poland's greedy neighbors were seeking once more to partition Poland among themselves. Polish leaders hoped, with the adoption of this progressive document, to stave off the impend-

ing danger. By its provisions, Poland turned from an autocratic to a limited and constitutional monarchy. A liberal parliamentary system was introduced. The electorate was enlarged and certain privileges formerly enjoyed by a few were made available to more people. The entire peasantry was brought under the protection of the law and the landlord's prerogatives were sharply curtailed. Absolute religious freedom was introduced.

Poland wanted to prove by this Constitution that she was fully prepared to take advantage of the democratic ideas that were then sweeping the West, and she wanted to be the first to democratize political institutions through constitutional means.

The Poles were not able to carry through the intent of this historic document, for her three powerful neighbors—Austria, Prussia, and Russia—overran Poland and divided her among themselves.

Although the Constitution of 1791 died with Poland's loss of independence at that time, the spirit of that document lived and lives in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving Poles. The Poles are proud of their great deeds and accomplishments, and they are fully justified in the pride which is theirs. They are well known as diligent and skillful workers, as fearless warriors and stalwart defenders of democracy, and as accomplished masters in the arts and sciences. Present day Poles, descendants of their brave forebearers, are not likely to deviate from the goals of the Constitution of 1791, adopted 168 years ago today. They want freedom, liberty, and national independence, as do all the enslaved nations of the world.

It is particularly significant that 2 days ago, on May 1, we in the United States observed loyalty day, a day on which we all rededicated ourselves to the preservation of liberty and freedom. Today we mark Polish Constitution Day, a day which saw the birth of liberty and freedom in a nation. We have noted the celebrations in the Communist countries of May Day, May 1, a day dedicated by them to the destruction of liberty and freedom.

Liberty and freedom are precious inheritances to be cherished and protected with all the strength and determination within us. As we contemplate these three celebrations and their significance, let us become increasingly alert to the dangers from within and without that threaten our own freedoms and resolve that we shall ever stand firm against the challenges of our enemies.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the 3d of May marks one of the most significant actions in the long history of mankind's constant striving for freedom under law. This year lovers of liberty throughout the world observe the 168th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791.

This great liberal document declared that "all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people." It granted the people full protection of the laws, religious freedom, the right to acquire land, and to be appointed to the civil

service. It guaranteed basic human rights.

It is with profound sadness that we recall that the people of Poland have enjoyed those freedoms for only brief periods during the last 168 years. Many tyrants have ruled Poland, and none more evil and unfeeling for the rights of man than the yoke of oppressive communism under which the Polish people groan today.

The hearts of all freedom-loving Americans, and particularly of the sons and daughters of Poland who have contributed so much to our great democracy, go out to the courageous people of Poland who have not and will never cease their struggle for liberty and justice.

As the United States, with our allies of the West, enters discussions with the Soviet Union at Geneva, let our negotiators keep prominently in their minds that any approach to a settlement of the problems of Berlin and Germany must keep open the path to restoration of full freedom for the people of Poland and of the other captive nations.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the spirit of freedom in the hearts of the Polish people, in celebrating this 168th anniversary of their Constitution Day.

The heritage of the citizens of Poland to free, representative government has come down through these many years of struggle and oppression since the establishment of their Constitution in 1791. Because of this tradition of liberty, Polish-Americans have proved themselves to be good citizens of Reading, Berks County, and in communities throughout our Nation. Their contributions to our way of life have been significant.

Three years ago the heroic struggle of the working people of Poznan against the dictatorship of the Soviet puppet regime gave renewed hope to millions of freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain. This spirit and devotion to the principle of democratic government will eventually triumph.

Polish descendants in this country can well be proud of their culture and traditional love of freedom. I join in saluting them on this important anniversary of their first Constitution.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to once again pay tribute to one of Europe's most brutalized but valiant nations.

I refer, of course, to Poland. Today is the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution. It is one of the tragedies of the modern world that the Polish people have never been allowed more than a mere taste of the freedom that this document promised. Conceived in the full flush of American and French inspired liberalism of the late 18th century, Polish leaders of such stature as Kosciuszko and Potocki fought bravely to establish a free Government. This dream was smashed in less than 2 years. In 1793 Poland's land-hungry neighbors, Austria, Prussia, and Russia began the process of Polish partition in earnest. The once proud nation was literally carved to pieces.

Poland has never fully recovered from that century of bloodletting. Indeed, the wounds have been opened again and again. Today the people of Poland labor under as real a system of terror as any that man has yet devised. Still these people are not broken. It is my firm conviction that they will never be broken. The constitution of 1791 may be more symbolic than realistic, but as man has proved time and time again, the most powerful thing in the world is an idea. The rulers of the Kremlin would do well to see the double edge of their ideological sword. Rebellion is the ultimate reaction to tyranny.

I am pleased to join the people of Poland in commemorating their national holiday. May their hopes and dreams prove a speedy reality.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues today in recognizing the 168th anniversary of the Polish Constitution.

On May 3, 1791, the people of Poland took a bold step in enacting a document which was one of the first democratic constitutions in Europe. Like our own U.S. Constitution, it became a reality after trials and tribulations.

These brave people were willing to cast off the shackles of the past and venture into an entirely new realm of government. Many of their descendants came to the United States in later years and here participated even more fully in the democratic processes of our own land. They became citizens of our country and they became good citizens. Many of them live in the 10th Congressional District which I represent.

The spirit with which their forefathers was imbued has not died out in Poland. Even though Poland has been the target of military might in the years since May 3, 1791, the seeds of freedom have not been crushed by the conquering hordes.

From time to time—and in this period—sparks of freedom have been fanned anew by liberty loving citizens of Poland. Even atheistic communism which holds the Polish people in its clutches today has not succeeded in quenching those sparks. This has been demonstrated by the concessions these people have been able to obtain from the Communist bosses.

I join in paying respect to Polish people who have not forgotten their heritage of liberty and who look for a new day when the principles of democracy will again be theirs.

Mr. DORN of New York. On May 3, the free world joins freedom-loving Poles everywhere in commemorating the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791.

But—this document is now defunct; the nation it served is now a Soviet satellite; its people are subjected to Communist tyranny. Why, then, do we pay tribute to a ghost, a thing of the past?

The answer is simple. It is not a document we salute today, but a people and their noble spirit, which was so magnificently manifested in this liberal and progressive document, and which has remained undaunted despite centuries of aggression and subjugation.

Devotion to freedom, a basic quality of the Poles, found expression in their

historic Constitution of 1791—truly a remarkable achievement in democratic constitutional development. During a period of violence, terror and war, in 18th century Europe, Poland moved from an unlimited autocracy to a limited monarchy in a peaceful, orderly manner. That she was able to achieve such reform without bloodshed or violence was due almost entirely to the genius and character of the Polish people themselves. Poland's enlightened leaders were reformers who reconciled the dominant political thought of the times with the realities of Polish life. The constitution they produced promised peace, stability and progress within a framework of an orderly constitutional system of government. If given the chance, it undoubtedly would have brought Poland to the threshold of national greatness.

Unfortunately, the Poles have had little opportunity to practice their ideas of freedom and democracy. Four times in its tragic history their land has been partitioned and oppressed. Today the Poles suffer under a most vicious and tenacious Communist tyranny. The liberties they love so much are banned; the freedom they have so often fought for is lost. But the spirit of freedom and democracy—their beloved Constitution of 1791—has a place of honor in their minds and hearts. We gladly join Polish people throughout the world in fervent prayer that this spirit will soon prevail again in a free and independent Poland.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, recently in Berlin, I had an opportunity to meet several people who had just fled from Poland. They once again emphasized to me the great Polish desire for freedom.

One hundred and sixty-eight years today, the people of Poland committed themselves to the proposition that government proceeded from and was committed to the people. They echoed in distant central Europe the principles of government then finding root in Western Europe and in the United States. They set down these principles in a remarkable constitution. Included in it was the right of the people to be landowners, a privilege hitherto possessed only by the nobility. It extended the protection of the law to the common people. The document symbolized the search of Poland's men and women for the air of freedom and the institutions of law and right.

This Constitution was, to the Polish people's great dismay, short lived. Poland's large neighbors soon overwhelmed her and the Polish state did not arise again until the end of World War I. Poland had lost none of its democratic desire, but its existence lasted only 20 years. Then again the curse of Poland's geographic position was visited upon it once again. Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia together overran the state.

Many times by many nations have the oppressors tried to stamp out the Polish desire for freedom. None have ever succeeded.

So it is today that the malignant colossus of Soviet Russia finds on its hand this fierce desire of Poland to once again obtain freedom.

So great and so real is this desire that only in Poland have the Communists backed down and acceded to the demands of the great Polish people, who demonstrated in the Poznan revolt of 1956 that they may be subjugated to Russia, temporarily, but that they would never accept dishonor.

Khrushchev had to fly in to personally stem the tide when he recognized that the continuation of Communist brutality would lead to disastrous results.

One thing is certain, however, that Poland's desire for freedom will outlast Mr. Khrushchev and his successors. For Poland has seen oppressors and totalitarians come and go, but none have ever dampened its ardor for democracy.

We here in the United States who enjoy the blessing of freedom should never relax in our efforts to see that the flame of freedom in Polish hearts is never extinguished.

And so today let us salute the men and women of Polish descent who have come to our shores and contributed so much to our national life. I join with them in pausing to remember that great day 168 years ago when the Polish people, in the heart of feudal Europe, asserted the very modern—yet inalienable—rights of free men. We look to the future when this burning desire for freedom in Poland will survive long after the cancer of communism has consumed itself. We cannot rest until this desire becomes reality.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, today we take appropriate notice of a great day in the history of Poland—the 3d of May, the date of the great Polish Constitution, the first democratic constitution in the world.

This document guaranteed to all Poles, regardless of their class or rank, whether they were peasant or merchant, laymen or clergy, the great rights of equality, freedom of conscience, religion and speech, and a share in the Government for every citizen. This constitution was to be revised every 25 years. It was an ideal constitution, a forerunner of our modern democracy, and later it was used as a model by nations seeking to perfect their own way of government.

We all know the great tragedies which befell the Polish Nation and her brave people. But we know too that, despite the sufferings of invasions, partitions, and occupations, the desire for liberty has always remained strong in the hearts of the Polish people.

It was this longing for freedom—so often unattainable in their homeland—that brought many Poles to American shores. Poland's loss was to be America's gain. Once in this country they assisted us in our struggle for independence.

Ever since the American Revolution, Polish blood has been shed for American liberty. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Casimir Pulaski, and hundreds of other Polish patriots fought with the Continental Army.

Americans of Polish descent fought in the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars for the preservation of liberty. More recently in World War I, 300,000, and in World War II over 900,000 served to make our country secure.

Not only did Polish-Americans contribute to the security of our land, but they also aided in its development. These Polish immigrants came to this country endowed with a capacity for industry and love of God. Their assiduousness contributed to the growth of America. They assisted in the cultivation of our soil, in the construction of our railways, in the development of our coal, iron, and copper mines and in the expansion of our industries. Their religious faith made them peaceful, honest, and loyal American citizens. In addition, their cultural achievements have become an integral part of the varied culture of America.

It is appropriate on this anniversary of Polish Constitution Day that all Americans express their appreciation to the Polish-Americans for their contributions to the defense and development of our country.

At the same time all Americans should take this opportunity to reiterate their deep concern for the brave people of Poland who are deprived of freedom today. We want to assure these courageous men and women that we will never enter into any agreement with the masters of the Kremlin which will legalize and help to perpetuate the enslavement of the Polish Nation.

Until these men and women, who have so clearly shown their deep love for freedom, are free to choose their own way of government and live without fear of political persecution, we in America cannot enjoy our freedom to the fullest extent. For our hearts are burdened by the knowledge of the burden carried by our fellow men in Poland and the other brave nations now under Soviet control. In the deepest sense, their struggle must be our struggle, and our freedom will only be perfect when we have won for them the precious freedom for which they have struggled so long and courageously.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House the fact that May 3 marked a historic anniversary in the calendar of human rights and progress.

May 3 is a date of tremendous importance to the freedom-loving people of Poland who, while imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain, have the same aspirations for liberty as we.

It is a significant anniversary to the people of Polish extraction who are splendid citizens of our own country. They have contributed much and, in a very real sense, share the suffering which is being endured by their friends and relatives who are deprived of their liberties in Poland.

Finally, it is a date of great consequence for all of us who admire that nation's great role in the history of constitutional liberty.

May 3 was Poland's Constitution Day, marking the 168th anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution.

It is more than just a date for the history books. It serves notice to the future that free Poland will rise again, will take its place once more with the free nations of the world.

The heroic revolution of June 1956 served notice to the Communist over-

lords, too. It told them, in graphic, human terms, that the Polish spirit cannot be extinguished by the naked force of totalitarianism.

We in this Nation have been edified by the noble resistance which has been exemplified by the Polish people. We pledge them that we shall not fail them, that we shall not forget their oppression.

Their imprisonment is a challenge to us all. It is a challenge to ourselves—for the man who proudly boasted that he will bury us cannot understand agreements.

Our only hope is to stand with the oppressed—for their courage is enough to sustain us as we wage the peace, as we stand determined not to bargain for temporary peace at the expense of those who are subjected to ruthless authoritarianism.

Mr. Speaker, May 3 and the days which follow it should be remembered as days in which the world lives in the twilight zone of half slave and half free. I pray that the day is fast dawning when all men will be allowed to take up their liberties where the gallant Polish people left off, when they were ruthlessly abducted by world communism.

I wish to extend my very best wishes and my fervent hope for liberty to the people of Poland, and to their relatives who have made such an edifying contribution to the heritage of our own country.

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, no one who believes in the sanctity of human freedom can remain silent in the face of the oppression that has been suffered by the gallant Polish people.

When the revolt against Poland's Communist overlords occurred in 1956 most of us entertained the fond hope that at long last a new day was dawning for those oft-oppressed but never subservient lovers of liberty.

In the 2 years that have intervened, however, we have seen the Communists reassert their authority and with the return to collective agriculture and the suppression of the press we can see these brave people once more being pushed toward the shackles that have been their lot decade after decade.

For as many years as we have been free this Nation has championed the cause of subject peoples everywhere and there have been times in the past when we have lent material aid to their liberation. Of late, however, we have too often pulled back and have been content to let our support center in pious platitudes and words of sympathy.

As we prize liberty for ourselves, even so do we have a responsibility to keep alight the flame that burns in the hearts of others. Let us with all of the resources at our command extend the hand of fellowship to our Polish brothers and implement our words with material aid.

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on May 3 many thousands of Americans of Polish ancestry celebrated the anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791. My colleague and friend, Congressman FRANK KOWALSKI, of Connecticut, has prepared a most fitting statement for this day which I would like to record.

The Polish people have a long and proud history of producing leaders of strength, courage and deep conviction. Americans of Polish ancestry have proved themselves time and again equal to and reflecting the image of the great Polish leaders.

It is my belief that as Americans who know the value of freedom, we should work continuously to help the Polish people gain greater independence from Soviet Russia. Those who seek our refuge from the present tyrants who control Poland should be welcomed to our shores.

Indeed, we must do all we can economically and diplomatically to help free the Polish people from the domination and rule of atheistic communism. There is another thing all Americans can do, each in their own way, that is to ask the Supreme Being to give the liberty loving Poles the courage, hope, and grace to carry on the struggle for freedom.

The statement follows:

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

(By Hon. FRANK KOWALSKI, of Connecticut)

May 3 is one of the most significant landmarks in the history of the Polish people. It was 168 years ago that the great Diet of Poland adopted a remarkable instrument of government that effected a peaceful revolution without resort to the violent and terrifying methods of the French Revolution. By the creation of that liberal and progressive Constitution, Poland's leaders led their countrymen from the feudal path of the Middle Ages to the broad and democratic highways of modern times.

By a very fitting double coincidence, the anniversary of the Polish Constitution falls in the midst of the 16th anniversary of the heroic uprising in the Warsaw ghetto—April 19 to May 16—which is being solemnly observed in Jewish communities throughout the world—and during the weekend in which Loyalty Day is celebrated in the United States.

The Constitution of 1791 introduced the principle of ministerial or cabinet responsibility in the Polish Government. The intricate and obstructive features of the old system and the many class distinctions associated with it were eliminated. A bicameral legislature with full lawmaking authority was created. Economic and social barriers between the nobility and the burghers were lowered. The townsmen recovered the local authority over the courts which they had formerly enjoyed but later lost to the central government. Religious toleration was established and the peasantry was taken under the protection of the law. The Constitution of 1791 thus abolished the worst abuses from which the Polish people had been suffering for centuries and proclaimed the great principles of political equality and representative government that have inspired the democratic movements of modern times.

The Communists have tried in vain to crush religion in Poland. The spirit of Polish resistance is symbolized by the Catholic Church, which has boldly challenged the effort of the Soviet overlords to erase the great religious traditions of the Polish people. Writers, students, and men and women in every walk of life have followed the lead of the church in opposing communism, even at the risk of their freedom and their very lives.

While this spirit lives—and it always will—the people of Poland will pray, and struggle, to win back their heritage of freedom.

Today America is proud to join in celebrating the anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791. The contributions which Amer-

icans of Polish ancestry have made to every facet of the life and culture of the United States are well recognized and strongly appreciated by all of our citizens.

Today our hearts are heavy because the Poles in their homeland are not permitted by their Communist oppressors to join with us in commemorating this great day. Yet the spirit of liberty, justice, and national independence in Poland cannot be exterminated by any totalitarian conqueror. The Congress of the United States joins all Americans of Polish descent in this celebration and heartily expresses its hope that once again the people of Poland will be able to observe freely and without fear the anniversary of their great Constitution and all that it means to the cause of freedom and justice.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Poznan revolt of June 1956, was but another demonstration of Poland's deep-seated dedication to democracy and freedom, a dedication which was first evident on May 3, 1791, when the Polish people proclaimed Europe's first written constitution. And today, as we watch the rulers in Poland tighten their hold and repress human rights, we are saddened, for this, too, has been the lot of Poland for hundreds of years.

The country was partitioned throughout the 19th century, yet the national image was kept alive by the continuing fight for freedom, a fight, incidentally, accompanied by a significant intellectual development. In 1918 independence was once again achieved, but 20 years later Poland again became an unwilling pawn in Europe's power politics. We will not forget that Poland in 1939 was the first nation to take up arms against violence and aggression.

Present-day Poland is living through an uneasy period. The freedom promised in 1956 lasted less than a year. As many of us feared, the Communist leaders grew impatient with the toleration of rights and freedoms, and they reverted to the traditional pattern of Communist rule—subservience to the party. We in the United States salute Poland on the 168th anniversary of Constitution Day, and we sincerely hope that one day soon it may again enjoy real freedoms.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I need not recite on this floor the long history of friendship and association between the Polish and American peoples, a history which goes back to the very foundation of this country. Nor need I recite, Mr. Speaker, the proud achievements of our Americans of Polish descent who have played such a prominent role in the development of our country. As I look around me here in the House of Representatives, I see living and convincing proof on that score.

Mr. Speaker, 168 years ago Poland secured her Constitution. I only wish that Poland had been as fortunate as was the United States in having had an opportunity to develop its resources and its institutions without partition, dismemberment, and without the more recent enslavement by the Red tyranny of Soviet aggression.

Poland was not to be so fortunate for, following World War II, the Red wave engulfed the Polish nation. A few years ago we were heartened by the sudden re-

surgence of the Polish national spirit and the Polish love of freedom. When the Polish people rose up and endeavored to throw off their Soviet yoke, we felt a thrill at their bravery and we were hopeful that a new day had dawned for our friends in Poland. We still have that hope. There is no doubt that the lot of the Polish people has improved but there are serious doubts as to the future course of the Polish Government. We only hope and pray that the Polish people will ultimately have their full freedom and independence so as to realize their full capabilities and their dignity as a completely independent nation.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, Americans in communities throughout the Nation celebrated the 168th anniversary of Polish independence. I join my colleagues in paying special tribute to the framers of the Polish Constitution of 1791. The people of Poland and those Americans of Polish descent can be proud of this rich heritage of freedom which stemmed from the adoption of their constitution. This document was inspired by the American Declaration of Independence and it included within its framework the fundamentals of freedom written into the U.S. Constitution several years earlier. It is fitting and proper that we remember each year this sister document of freedom which symbolizes with our own the will of man to achieve liberty for himself, his family, and his community.

While the people of Poland have been less fortunate than we in preserving their freedom in their homeland, they have persevered in their efforts to regain liberty each time it was taken from them by war and political partitions. In addition to their brave resistance to tyranny at home, they have sent to our own shores their sons and daughters who have made a major contribution in our own struggle to maintain the institutions of democracy. Americans of Polish descent who live in Cleveland as well as in every other American community have been stable, prudent, and reliable citizens. They have contributed in every line of endeavor. They have been a part of the greatness of our country.

It is to be hoped that a relaxation of artificial barriers which exist in Europe will permit greater communication between citizens of the free world and Iron Curtain countries. Communism cannot long survive in its present tyrannical form if it is thus exposed to the free exchange of ideas which would result from increased personal contacts between citizens of our countries.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, Polish genius has demonstrated its presence in nearly every phase of human activity. The West is indebted to the Poles in innumerable ways. In the arts they have been superb; in literature they have been no second-raters; in science they have had more than their quota among the great immortals. Of course, they are also noted for their bravery and daring, and for their almost endless struggle for freedom and independence. But in certain fields they are not as well known as they should be.

The Constitution of 1791 is proof that Poles deserve to be known in governmental reforms as pioneers in central and eastern Europe. That historic document marks not only a decided advance in progressive reforms in governmental institutions in Poland, but it also stands as one of the earliest attempts at reform by peaceful and deliberative methods.

Unfortunately, all the liberal and democratic provisions of that Constitution, and all the good and noble intentions of its patriotic framers, could not forestall impending dangers that were threatening Poland. As one partition followed another, leading to the eventual extinction of Poland's independence, it was, of course, impossible to implement the Constitution. But all patriotic and liberty-loving Poles have always held sacred the ideas embodied in that memorable document, and to this day they commemorate its promulgation as a national holiday.

I gladly join all American citizens of Polish descent on the observance of the 168th anniversary of that historic event.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with so many of my colleagues in observing the anniversary of Polish Independence Day. It is important that we set aside a bit of time each year to remind ourselves just how much the endeavors and achievements of this remarkable people has meant to the United States.

Their single-minded struggle to achieve and maintain independence has been an example and signal to oppressed peoples at many times and in many corners of the world. They are now engaged, as so often before, in an effort to throw off the shackles of foreign oppression. The dramatic Posnan revolution of 1956, and the successful achieving of some degree of equilibrium afterward, gives promise that Poland will again achieve its independence. I hope the United States will, as it always has, continue to befriend the Polish nation in this struggle.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for joining in this 168th anniversary tribute to the Polish Constitution Day of May 3, 1791.

May I call the attention of the House to the fact that yesterday in Chicago there was a great celebration commemorating this holiday. It attracted 150,000 people who joined in this tribute.

THE NATION'S CHOICE OF THEIR NATIONAL FLOWER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mrs. WEIS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mrs. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, these are serious times in which we are living, and it certainly was pointed up today in the magnificent tributes paid to Poland on this anniversary of her Constitution Day. Many things were said about Poland's bravery and Poland's gallantry. But, there are two qualities of the Polish people I do not think were touched on, and they are the gaiety and love of beauty that are so inherent in the Polish people. Those are two qual-

ities that I think we must not lose sight of lest we become overburdened with the gravity of our responsibilities and lose our saving sense of proportion. Therefore, with due respect for the essential and serious purpose of the Congress, but in an effort to serve the people at a lighter level, on April 8 I blossomed forth with my maiden speech to this important body. At that time, I suggested that a national referendum be taken to determine the Nation's choice of their national flower.

Tomorrow evening, some of our good brethren from the other House are staging a full-scale debate on this issue, for the umpteenth time. They have been having considerable trouble with chairs and rugs and subways and the like, and in an effort to provide them with a little guidance, and to let them know what the people—who should have the deciding voice—are thinking on the subject, I have conducted my own national poll. It has been conducted according to established procedure, and we have received an honest response—with the possible exception of one vote for the rose which came from a basset hound by the name of Grace. After careful deliberation, this vote has been disqualified. The response to the poll has been gratifying, interesting, and often amusing; and I have been somewhat surprised by the passionate fervor displayed by some of my correspondents in the espousal of the flower of their particular choice. I am also grateful to my colleagues who have cooperated so well in this effort by forwarding the communications they have received from their constituents.

Though I am sure that Dr. Gallup need not fear that this poll is a threat to his eminence in the field, the returns came from every section of the country and were sufficient in number to give a very clear indication of the will of the people.

I have received ballots from organizations such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 5 million American women, with a strong endorsement for the rose, while the good members of the Gardeners of the Crooked Billet of Hatboro, Pa., plumped for the mountain laurel, as did the Garden Club of Nashville, Tenn. A distinguished citizen, former Vice President Henry Wallace, came out of hibernation with his hybrids to support the corn tassel. In fact, his enthusiasm for this blossom caused him to circulate a large number of the Members.

One of my colleagues, HASTINGS KEITH, in a very flowery letter, cast his vote for the trailing arbutus, the State flower of Massachusetts, with the rather novel suggestion of the beach pea for his second choice.

The letter from one correspondent contained larger implications. In it she said:

How thrilled I was to read in the Washington Post today that after 5 years in the District of Columbia, I could vote for anything.

This vote I shall refer to the District Committee.

Many other flowers were mentioned, including the violet, daisy, dogwood, carnation, and one voter, who obviously does not suffer from hay fever, proposed that beautiful yellow menace, goldenrod. I must also report that if Senator MORTON, who must now begin concerning himself more with the grassroots than grass itself, prevails in tomorrow's flower debate, it will be purely a forensic triumph, as no one supported his beloved Kentucky bluegrass.

I have enjoyed conducting this poll. Some letters have contained beautiful poetry, others erudite discussions of the origins and development of the flowers they love. Most of them have been intelligible, while a few were illegible, but all have been sincere. Most of all I have enjoyed the result, for cards and letters from over half the States in the Union once again indicate the rose as the overwhelming national favorite, this time by at least a 6-to-1 majority over its nearest rival, the corn tassel, with the mountain laurel a weak third.

The Bible was quoted in support of the rose—so was Greek mythology. And I am happy to report that the support of the rose was not only nationwide but also bipartisan. My Republican friends in the 38th District were quick to come to the defense of our roses, but equally outspoken were the ladies of the Nez Perce Democratic women's organization, across the country in Lewiston, Idaho, with their unanimous vote for the wild rose.

The rose, acclaimed in every poll ever taken as the first choice of the American people, is once again victorious, and I shall report these findings to my good friend, the junior Senator from Pennsylvania, who will be doing battle for the rose in tomorrow's debate.

PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING ACT OF 1959

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RHODES] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to implement the recommendations of the National Conference on Public Health Training, held in Washington on July 28-30, 1958, pursuant to the requirements of the Health Amendments Act of 1956—Public Law 911, 84th Congress.

Important progress has been made during the past decade in the fields of medical research and public health. We in Congress can take pride in the establishment of the National Institutes of Health and the amount of funds voted for the various activities carried out by the Institutes in seeking the cause and cure of such killing and crippling diseases as cancer, heart disease, arthritis, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, dental diseases, mental illness, and many other diseases which threaten the health and strength of our Nation.

Under the effective leadership of such farsighted men as the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] and the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], Congress has also

enacted the Health Research Facilities Act sponsored by the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee on Health and Safety, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS]. Congress also enacted the Health Amendments Act, the National Heart Act, the National Dental Research Act, the National Mental Health Act, the Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act, the National Health Survey Act, and, of course, the Hospital Survey and Construction Act.

Special mention must also be made of the important role played by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which has legislative jurisdiction in this field. Under the able chairmanship of the late Percy Priest, of Tennessee, and our present distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS], our committee has recognized the far-reaching effect of public health programs and has provided the necessary leadership and support for legislation establishing these programs to meet the growing needs in the public health field.

The outstanding work of the present chairman of the Health and Safety Subcommittee, the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS], assures that public health matters will continue to receive the attention they deserve. In addition to the chairman and myself, the other members of the subcommittee are the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'BRIEN], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS], the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BROCK], the two gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. SCHENCK and Mr. DEVINE], and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN].

Members of the Appropriations Committee have been diligent in their support and evaluation of established public health programs, constantly searching for ways to improve the administrative and technical aspects of these programs so that the fullest benefit will accrue from each budget dollar spent.

Mr. Speaker, despite the advances in the field of public health, the new knowledge and technology developed is effective only to the extent to which it can be applied to existing health problems. Prevention of disease as part of our overall health protection efforts requires a complex group of skills and technical knowledge of specialized physicians, nurses, engineers, dentists, nutritionists, health educators, sanitarians, and other personnel adequately trained in the development and execution of public health programs.

For many years public health agencies of government have suffered from an acute shortage of trained personnel. The full extent of this training gap was revealed by the report of the National Conference on Public Health Training. This problem was discussed in the report as follows:

The conference found that the data indicate a serious deficiency in the training of many currently employed personnel, and document the areas of need for additional adequately qualified personnel to develop the specific health programs authorized by Congress and other public bodies. At the beginning of this year, for example, in offi-

cial public health agencies alone, there were well over 2,500 vacancies in professional categories due to lack of trained personnel.

In addition, because of this shortage of trained personnel, many positions have been filled during the past several years with inadequately trained people. As a result, over 20,000 professional workers now employed by governmental and voluntary health agencies do not have the formal specialized training they need to provide for the people the health protection made possible by today's technology.

To these 22,500 people who need training for today's health programs, there must be added 6,100 more specialized, trained professional workers who, it is conservatively estimated, will be needed for the inevitable expansion of the next 5 years to meet demands for service due to population growth and new health hazards. These estimates of needs for the immediate future are especially significant. Equally important, is the conclusion of the Conference, that just over the horizon are needs in health and health-related programs, which have not been formulated or have been incompletely developed by State or local health departments. One such field is that of radiation and health. Very little is known about the scope, the threat, and the hope that radiation knowledge may bring for human health. A second field is the changing health hazards incident to our rapidly developing industrial technology. The shifting patterns of the environment in which we work and live in both urban and rural areas further add to the growing complexity of maintaining public health protection. No one can more than speculate on the future extent of the needs for qualified people in such changing fields. Just as even the most ambitious automobile or electrical industry executive of 1910 in his wildest dream would not have come close to estimating the needs in his profession 20 years ahead, so the public health administrators who have submitted their estimates have kept their feet firmly on the ground of present known and demonstrable need. That fact alone adds urgency to their recommendations. The public health agencies are not staffed as they should be now. Much less are they prepared for even the known hazards that lie ahead. The above is but an indication of the facts upon which the Conference based its recommendations.

Additional urgency for an expansion of public health training was stressed in last month's report to the Surgeon General by the National Advisory Committee on Radiation. In advocating a comprehensive program of radiation protection in the United States, the Committee pointed out that the Public Health Service and various State and local health agencies presently need 150 radiation health specialists, trained to the level of a master's or doctor's degree in the problems of radiation protection and radiation control. This need will increase to an estimated 650 trained persons by 1966 and to 1,200 by 1970.

In addition, the report estimates that 4,000 radiological technicians, trained to operate radiation measuring equipment, will be needed by 1970. These figures are over and above those currently required by the Atomic Energy Commission for the conduct of its safety programs.

Yet last year the total enrollment of the 11 schools of public health was less than 1,200 graduate students, of whom 800 were graduated with advanced degrees in the various public health cate-

gories. It is obvious that there must be a tremendous expansion of public health training facilities, in enrollment, faculty, and in the scope of courses offered if we are to fill the backlog of public health agency needs and keep pace in the application of modern medical technology in the practical, day-to-day struggle against varied public health problems.

They include air and water pollution, food additives, atomic radiation, accident hazards in transportation, in the home, in the factory, and on the farm. Also included are the increasing importance of prevention and control of heart disease, cancer, mental illness, and other diseases frequently occurring in the adult and the aged, the rehabilitation of disabled individuals, and many other similar health hazards of our complex civilization.

Mr. Speaker, the recommendations of the National Conference on Public Health Training are a sound and reasonable approach to this vital problem. The full text of this report may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 28, 1959, at pages 1261-1265. Participants in the conference represented a broad cross-section of the country and included outstanding authorities in the public health field. Invitations to attend the conference were issued by the Surgeon General and were chosen after a careful review of persons broadly representative of State and local health departments, graduate schools of public health, schools of nursing, other university departments, medical schools, research institutions, hospitals, foundations contributing to health progress, medical departments of industry, and voluntary health agencies.

Prior to the National Conference meeting in Washington, numerous State meetings on public health training were held and their results and recommendations made available to the National Conference. Data on personnel and training needs and resources were assembled from all States and Territories, from local health departments, from teaching institutions throughout the country, from voluntary health organizations, and from other agencies. This data was assembled and issued to all participants.

At the conference the participants were divided into four groups, each of which independently studied and discussed all of the comprehensive reports and reached separate conclusions on each phase of the study. The four groups pooled their findings in reaching the final conclusions and recommendations contained in the report.

The bill which I am introducing today, Mr. Speaker, implements all of the specific recommendations of the conference report which require legislative action and that are sufficiently clear in their meaning and purpose to permit the drafting of appropriate language.

To clarify my proposal I have made a section-to-section analysis of the bill so that my colleagues may better understand the merits of this legislation.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING ACT OF 1959

The proposed bill amends the Public Health Service Act to provide for a comprehensive public health training program, implementing the specific legislative recommendations of the National Conference on Public Health Training. This Conference was called by the Surgeon General pursuant to the requirements contained in the Health Amendments Act of 1956 (Public Law 911, 84th Cong.), and was held in Washington, D.C., July 28-30, 1958.

SECTION 1—SHORT TITLE

This section contains the title of the bill, the "Public Health Training Act of 1959."

SECTION 2—PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING PROGRAM

This section amends the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C., ch. 6A) by adding a new title, title VIII, "Public Health Training Program."

SECTION 801—DECLARATION OF POLICY

Section 801 contains the following congressional findings and declarations of policy:

Subsection (a) that an adequate supply of professional public health personnel is necessary to promote the health, welfare, and security of the Nation.

Subsection (b) that the number of these adequately trained personnel and the rate they are being trained are grossly inadequate to meet the current needs of local, State, Federal, and international health programs.

Subsection (c) that modern technological and social developments require even larger numbers of trained public health personnel.

Subsection (d) that the major obstacles to accelerating the rate and broadening the scope of such training are inadequate facilities, high costs of training programs, and shortages of scholarship funds to attract an adequate number of trainees.

Subsection (e) states that it is therefore the policy of Congress to provide funds to assist in overcoming these obstacles and to increase the amount and scope of public health training.

SECTION 802—DEFINITIONS

Section 802 defines five specific terms as used in this title.

Subsection (1) defines the term "Advisory Committee" as the Advisory Committee on Public Health Training provided for in section 803(d) of the bill.

Subsection (2) defines the term "construction" to include (A) the construction of new buildings and the expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, and (B) equipping new buildings and existing buildings, whether or not expanded, remodeled, or altered.

Subsection (3) defines the term "cost of construction" as including architect's fees, but does not include the cost of acquisition of land or off-site improvements.

Subsection (4) defines the term "school of public health" as a public or nonprofit institution in the United States or its Territories or possessions accredited by the degree of master of public health by a body or bodies recognized by the Surgeon General.

Subsection (5) defines the term "nonprofit" as applied to a school or institution as a school or institution owned and operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or associations no part of the net earnings of which inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

SECTION 803—TRAINEESHIPS FOR PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC HEALTH PERSONNEL

Subsection (a) of section 803 extends title I of the Health Amendments Act of 1956 (section 306 of the Public Health Service Act), due to expire on June 30, 1959, for a 5-year period, authorizing such sums as the

Congress may determine, to cover the cost of traineeships for graduate or specialized training in public health for physicians, engineers, nurses, and other professional health personnel.

No provisions are contained in this bill to extend title II of the Health Amendments Act of 1956 (sec. 307 of the Public Health Service Act), also due to expire on June 30, 1959, because this program was not within the scope of the National Conference on Public Health Training, but was dealt with by a separate conference. Since this bill deals only with public health training matters, reference to traineeship program for advanced training of professional nurses is necessarily omitted.

Subsection (b) provides for the award of traineeships by the Surgeon General either (1) directly to any individual whose application for admission has been accepted by a public or other nonprofit institution providing the training, or (2) through grants to any such institution which is located in a State.

Subsection (c) specifies that payments under this section may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement and at such intervals and on such conditions as the Surgeon General finds necessary. Such payments to institutions may be used only for traineeships and shall be limited to such amounts as the Surgeon General finds necessary to cover the cost of tuition and fees, and a stipend and allowances (including travel and subsistence expenses) for a trainee.

Subsection (d) provides for the appointment by the Surgeon General of an Advisory Committee on Public Health Training, composed of persons representative of the principal health specialties in the fields of public health administration and training, to advise him in connection with the administration of this title, including the development of program standards and policies. Provisions are included for the compensation of members of the Advisory Committee not otherwise in the employ of the United States, at a rate not to exceed \$50 per diem, and expenses as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b-2).

Subsection (e) directs the Surgeon General to call a conference between June 30, 1962, and December 1, 1962, representative of the professional and training groups interested in and informed about training of professional public health personnel, including members of the Advisory Committee, to assist him in appraising the effectiveness of the programs authorized under this title and in considering modifications which may be desirable to increase their effectiveness. The Surgeon General is directed to submit to the Congress, on or before January 1, 1963, the report of such conference, including any recommendations by it relating to the limitation, extension, or modification of this title.

SECTION 804—GRANTS FOR TRAINING OF PUBLIC HEALTH PERSONNEL IN SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Subsection (a) of section 804 authorizes the appropriation of \$6 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for each succeeding fiscal year, to enable the Surgeon General to make grants in aid, under such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by regulations of the Surgeon General, for provision of comprehensive professional public health training in schools of public health. This subsection extends the 2-year emergency program enacted as Public Law 85-544, as recommended by the conference.

Subsection (b) provides that the Surgeon General shall allocate funds made available under this section among the schools of public health in accordance with a formula developed by him and prescribed by regulation after consultation with representatives of such schools.

SECTION 805—GRANTS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF TRAINING FACILITIES AT SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Subsection (a) (1) of section 805 authorizes an appropriation of \$5 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for each of the 4 succeeding fiscal years there is authorized an appropriation of such sums as the Congress may determine (except that the aggregate of sums appropriated under this section for the 5 fiscal years beginning on July 1, 1959, and ending on June 30, 1964, shall not exceed \$15 million), to enable the Surgeon General, upon recommendation of the Advisory Committee, to make grants-in-aid for the construction of facilities at schools of public health. Such facilities are intended primarily for the training of graduate students in the field of public health.

Subsection (a) (2) provides that funds appropriated under this subsection shall remain available until expended.

Subsection (b) provides that any school of public health desiring a grant under this section may file an application with the Surgeon General for the fiscal year in which such grant is desired. The application shall contain such information as the Surgeon General may prescribe by regulation and shall contain adequate assurances that such school will continue to be operated as a public or nonprofit institution, and comply with all provisions of this section and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto.

Subsection (c) limits each grant to 70 percent of the cost of construction of the facility or the amount recommended by the Advisory Committee, whichever is lesser.

Subsection (d) provides that subject to subsection (c), the Surgeon General in accordance with regulations, shall determine the amount to be paid from appropriations under this section to each school of public health for which an application has been approved and shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amounts so determined. Payment in accordance with such certification shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office.

Subsection (e) specifies that all regulations under this section shall be made by the Surgeon General, but only after obtaining the advice and recommendations of the Advisory Committee.

SECTION 806—GRANTS FOR TRAINING PUBLIC HEALTH NURSES

Subsection (a) of section 806 authorizes an appropriation of \$1 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for each succeeding fiscal year, to enable the Surgeon General to make grants-in-aid for the purpose of providing public health training for nurses in public or nonprofit institutions accredited for such training by a body or bodies recognized by the Surgeon General, under such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by him. No grant-in-aid shall be made under this section for such training in any educational institution which is not located in a State.

Subsection (b) provides that the Surgeon General shall allocate funds made available under this section among such educational institutions in accordance with regulations developed in consultation with representatives of such institutions.

SECTION 807—GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

Subsection (a) of section 807 authorizes an appropriation of \$3 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for each succeeding fiscal year, to enable the Surgeon General to make grants-in-aid to States for use by the States and their political subdivisions in training of personnel for State and local public health work.

Subsection (b) provides that amounts appropriated under this section shall be allocated by the Surgeon General among the

States in accordance with regulations made by him which shall take into consideration such factors as population, financial need, and the extent of the training problem in the several States.

Subsection (c) provides that a State desiring to receive a grant under this section shall submit to the Surgeon General through its State health authority an application containing such information as prescribed by him in regulations.

Subsection (d) provides that the Surgeon General shall determine the amount to be paid from appropriations under this section to each State for which an application has been approved and shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amounts so determined. Payment in accordance with such certification shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office.

Subsection (e) specifies that moneys so paid to any State shall be expended solely in carrying out its approved training program and such moneys shall be paid only upon the condition that there shall be spent in such State during any fiscal year for the same general purpose funds of the State or its political subdivisions in an amount equal to at least one-half of the amount of moneys paid to such State under this section for such fiscal year.

Subsection (f) provides that regulations under this section shall be promulgated by the Surgeon General, but only after consultation with a conference of the State health authorities.

SECTION 808—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Section 808 safeguards against any Federal encroachment into the curriculum or administration of any school or educational institution or the admission of applicants thereto.

SECTION 3—TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS

Section 3 of the bill makes certain technical amendments in existing laws.

Subsection (a) renumbers the titles of the Public Health Service Act.

Subsection (b) includes new title VIII in the short title of the original act.

Subsection (c) repeals section 306 of the Public Health Service Act (Traineeship Program for Professional Public Health Personnel), due to expire on June 30, 1959, but extended by section 803 of this bill.

Subsection (d) repeals section 314(c) of the Public Health Service Act (Public Law 85-544), due to expire on June 30, 1960, but extended by section 804 of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, the public health training needs of the Nation have been documented and defined by the report of the National Conference. Specific recommendations of this Conference to meet these crucial needs have been submitted to Congress through the Surgeon General. The bill which I have introduced today would carry out these recommendations and assure the American people of the essential prerequisite step needed to provide an adequate supply of trained specialists to fulfill public health responsibilities at all levels of government in the years ahead.

Long-range objectives, recommended by the Conference, would be effectively met by the programs extended by this bill and by the related programs which would be established. They include:

1. To build the public health profession on a sound career basis and maintain standards by current scrutiny and long-range planning.

2. To enable the Federal Government to do those things which cannot be done so well by the States separately or which can be done adequately by only a few of them.

3. To treat the relationship between the Public Health Service and the States and universities as primarily a professional relationship, a collaboration for public service in a highly technical field rather than a matter of governmental power and jurisdiction.

4. To treat the schools of public health and other university institutions as partners with operating agencies in a professional enterprise, and to so administer exchanges of personnel and other relationships as to stimulate and maintain standards of the highest quality.

5. To stimulate initiative and high standards in Federal, State, and local health departments and in university professional education.

6. To so guide the development and staffing of the Nation's health programs that public service in this field will continue to be an honorable career enjoying public confidence with full incentives to each individual to improve his own professional abilities to serve the public.

In view of the June 30, 1959, expiration date of the present traineeship program, it is imperative that early hearings be scheduled on this legislation so that all related aspects of the public health training problem may be considered by our committee.

The distinguished chairman of the Health and Safety Subcommittee, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS], is cosponsoring this bill in the House and has indicated his intention to begin hearings in the near future. The bill is also being cosponsored by the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY], chairman of the Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee, and by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MACDONALD], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD], and the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN].

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have permission to extend their remarks following my own statement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD].

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the farsighted legislation proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The gentleman is to be congratulated on his significant and imaginative leadership in a field as modern as tomorrow and as timeless as the plagues which have ravaged mankind through the centuries.

Many of us, I suppose, think of public health in terms of eradicating old diseases which have fed for so long on poverty and ignorance.

Public health is this, but much more.

It is man's search for the real truth about the danger of radioactive fallout; it is his efforts to rehabilitate the physically handicapped; it is his fight against pollution of our streams and air; against heart disease, cancer, mental illness, and polio.

Modern science has given man the key to progress against many of these problems. How well he uses this key will now depend on providing the money and

facilities necessary to train the public health worker in medicine and allied fields.

These are some of the domestic reasons why we should enact this Public Health Training Act of 1959.

But this great and growing field of public health goes far beyond our borders. As the recent Asiatic flu epidemic illustrated, plagues know no national boundaries.

Furthermore, the public health worker, in another role, can and often has become America's most effective ambassador to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

When I mentioned polio a moment ago, many of you probably thought of the great work of Dr. Jonas Salk at the University of Pittsburgh in my district.

If so, it was a most appropriate association because it illustrates how the successful efforts of a relatively small team of researchers become national and even international in the scope of their benefits.

This is the most important point for Congress to consider in relation to this bill, for the 11 schools of public health which would benefit most directly from these amendments are not local schools in any sense.

Just as their research efforts have had and are having worldwide application, their graduates are serving many State, local, and national governments.

Because the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public Health in my district is one of the newest and best of the 11 such schools in the country, I would like to pass on to the House information I gathered from the school's officials to illustrate both the needs and the potential benefits in the public health field.

The University of Pittsburgh's School of Public Health has been in operation for only 8 years. During that period it has trained 356 graduate students.

These students are not merely Pennsylvania students. As a matter of fact, they have come from 32 States of the United States and from 32 countries outside of the United States.

Only 89 of these 356 graduates, or 25 percent of the total, are now working in Pennsylvania. In other words, three-quarters of the benefit of the expenditures by Pennsylvanians for this public health education is exported to other States and other countries.

These expenditures are large. It costs a great amount of money to train personnel properly for public health service.

The ratio of professors to students in public health schools is higher than in almost any other field of education. Public health personnel must be taught by experts in narrow fields of specialty.

The average cost of educating one public health student per year for all schools in the United States is \$5,200, whereas the average revenues per student per year from tuition, fees, and so forth, is \$1,000.

In other words, for all public health schools in the United States there is an average deficit per year per student of \$4,200 which must be made up from private endowment or local taxes.

The average deficit per student per year for the University of Pittsburgh's School of Public Health is, I regret to say, much larger. In fact, for its size, the School of Public Health is the university's greatest financial burden.

Mr. Speaker, this situation cannot and should not continue.

Because the benefits from these schools are national and international in scope, it is proper that the Federal Government give them financial assistance.

With the type of aid proposed in this bill, the University of Pittsburgh and the other public health schools can expand and improve their facilities and help fill the tremendous need in this country for trained public health servants.

I am introducing a bill today identical to the bill proposed by my colleague from Pennsylvania.

As he has explained in greater detail, this bill does three things:

First. It authorizes more grants for training graduate students at these schools.

Second. It authorizes \$6 million per year for grants-in-aid for faculty development and other general use by public health schools.

Third. It authorizes \$5 million a year for 5 years for grants for the construction of training facilities at public health schools.

Good health, Mr. Speaker, is a precious asset for an individual or a nation.

This proposed legislation will help us preserve and improve the health of the people of our Nation and the world.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania for his interest and valuable help with this legislation. I join with him in commending the University of Pittsburgh which has made a tremendous contribution in this important field of public health not only to the people of the United States but to the people of other nations as well.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, at its home campus in Berkeley, Calif., in the Seventh Congressional District, the University of California maintains one of the 11 schools of public health which supply all of the trained public health physicians and other graduate health specialists in the United States. Furthermore, the University of California School of Public Health is the only one of that group located west of the Mississippi River.

The need for the legislation we are introducing today is amply shown in the record of the university's School of Public Health. Under the stimulation provided by Federal training stipends, there has been an increase in the number of graduate students enrolled in our school of virtually 100 percent. Prior to Public Law 911, we had 84 such students. In this current year, we have 165 graduate public health students registered at University of California's School of Public Health. Of that total, only 90 are residents of California. Another 53 come from 28 other States, including Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and the Marshall Islands. The remain-

ing 22 students come from 16 different foreign countries.

Clearly the University of California—and this is true for all of the other schools of public health, public and private—is training for the public health needs, not only of the State of California, but also for the needs of the Nation and of the world.

Dr. Charles E. Smith, dean of the University of California School of Public Health, was a participant in the National Conference on Public Health Training which, at a session held in Washington, D.C., in July of 1958, recommended the program set forth in this legislation. Dr. Smith is also a member of the Executive Board of the American Public Health Association and president of the California State Board of Public Health.

He describes this legislation as—

A notable contribution to the continued progress of our school and, far beyond it, to the health and welfare of our State, Nation, and, indeed, the entire world.

In a recent letter which I will summarize for brevity, Dr. Smith makes these remarks with reference to various provisions of this legislation:

First. Continuation and expansion of Federal training stipends:

These have been most effective in stimulating recruitment for public health. There has been virtually a 100 percent increase in the number of our graduate students in public health. Not only in our school, but nationally, this eliminated the downward trend in public health recruitment. Public Law 911 expires this year and the provisions of your bill will extend and expand its critically important provisions.

Second. Provisions for the continuation and expansion of Federal aid to schools of public health:

When one notes the tremendous expansion of our graduate student body, he sees why the very success of the program of Federal public health traineeships resulted in inordinate burdens on our schools. * * * The amounts now required are identified. Now we should move ahead on a long-range basis.

Third. Matching funds for construction of schools of public health:

The National Conference pointed out the importance of this provision for the current research construction available in public health does not meet the teaching needs of the schools. The notable increase in enrollments provides the obvious reason why.

Fourth. Federal aid for public health nursing:

Because public health nurses are our largest single professional component in health departments, and since many are taught outside schools of public health, the National Conference made this recommendation. * * * As with the schools of public health, only those schools of nursing in which public health programs are accredited would qualify, thus insuring high standards.

Fifth. Matching fund grants to States for training:

When there are pressures of finances, the various State departments of finance or of budgets characteristically and, indeed, invariably, attack training. The National Conference recognized that patterns of training differ among the States and the ground rules—age, experience, and even amounts of awards—suitable on a national basis must

be made more flexible in the State. Thus funds for training in accordance with the patterns of each State are very necessary. For these reasons the Conference recommended these earmarked matched funds.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor for me to cosponsor with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RHODES] a bill to carry out the recommendations of the National Conference on Public Health Training.

I want to congratulate the gentleman from Pennsylvania on giving so much of his time to such a worthwhile undertaking.

The extension and improvement of public health training in the United States is a most important factor in bringing to the American people the benefits which flow from medical research.

It is my hope that the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, of which I am chairman, will be able to hold early hearings on these bills. Early hearings are particularly urgent since two titles of Public Law 911, 84th Congress, dealing with public health training are due to expire on June 30, 1959, and continuity in these programs is of paramount importance. Therefore, I hope that all those who are interested in public health training will make a prompt study of the provisions of the bill introduced by Mr. RHODES and myself so that they will be in a position to assist the subcommittee by giving testimony when hearings are scheduled on relatively short notice.

SOCIALISM OR FREEDOM FOR AMERICA—I TOOK THE OATH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. JENSEN. The Speaker, the question is, Shall we have socialism or freedom for America? We must never forget that the power not to tax uniformly is also the power to destroy.

Twenty-one years ago the people of the Seventh District of Iowa did me the great honor to elect me their Representative in the Congress of the United States. As I first stood here in the well of this House I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States. This, of course, is the oath each of us takes as we enter into each new session of Congress, which I quote in full:

I, BEN F. JENSEN, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God.

In keeping with that oath I will support and defend the Constitution so long as there is a breath in my body. I shall resist with all the power at my command every effort to weaken or undermine the effectiveness of that great document.

THE BIRTH OF A NATION AND FREEDOM

This Nation was founded upon one basic principle—freedom. Thousands

upon thousands migrated from the tyranny and enslavement of the Old World to achieve freedom of one kind or another in a new land. Some wanted freedom to worship God in their own way. Others wanted freedom from political tyranny. Still others wanted to achieve economic freedom by the labor of their own hands.

To achieve and perpetuate this freedom our forefathers executed the greatest document of all times—the Constitution of the United States. Operating under this charter of freedom, individual initiative and the competitive free enterprise system have made this the greatest Nation on earth today. Our standard of living is the highest in the world. However, this freedom of ours is taken too much for granted and therein lies the danger of losing it.

Throughout history there have been those that believed a socialistic or communal system could be made to work which would achieve the greatest good for the greatest number. Their theory was "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." Human nature being what it is, this theory has failed throughout all history, wherever tried. The worker bee will not long tolerate the drone. An incentive is needed for the highest achievement.

ASSAULT ON AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

There has been in this country of ours a continual assault on the free enterprise system by these socialist inclined groups. Finding frontal attack ineffective, many indirect methods have been utilized. The dangers inherent in these indirect methods are not always apparent. It is to some of these dangers I wish to direct your earnest consideration.

The electric utility industry in particular has long been the objective of these socialistic planners. For they knew as did the Fabian Socialists in England that electric power was a logical starting point and could be used as a powerful leverage to socialize other industries.

SOCIALIZATION OF ELECTRIC POWER IN ENGLAND

The British Socialists working through the Liberal or Labor Party, told the people that if they owned the basic industries they would get all the profits as well as all the service. That they would be immune from the risks of unemployment, since they would be their own employers; they would avoid the booms, which filled the rich man's pockets, and the slumps, which brought starvation to the workers.

Their claim was that under private enterprise electric service was inefficient and wasteful—what a familiar cry—in face of the fact that electricity was one of their cheapest commodities. Electric power in England had been reduced in cost nearly 40 percent during the prior 15 years while the cost of coal—which is needed to produce the power—had gone up to 2½ times what it had cost 15 years earlier.

How did the British Socialists get control? They asked the housewife, the farmer, the businessmen and the industrialist this simple question: "Do you want electricity?" Of course, they must

have it. "OK, then get on our bandwagon."

INCREASE IN COST BY SOCIALIZATION

What was the effect of nationalization of the electric utility industry in Britain? The British publication *The Recorder* on September 4, 1948, had this to say:

Two months after nationalization, increases in the cost of electricity ranged from 20 percent to 50 percent in different parts of the country.

And a recent order of the British Electric Authority, which brings into force a country-wide minimum charge of three-fourths penny a unit, means that electric consumers will pay an additional £2 million a year.

It is of interest to note that even though 60 percent of the electric utility industry in Britain was run by local public authorities, their facilities were also taken over by the Government and without compensation other than to assume outstanding obligations. The municipal, REA, and other public electric utility systems in this country might well heed this fact and not think "it cannot happen here."

INVESTOR OWNED ELECTRIC UTILITY INDUSTRY IN AMERICA

There are nearly 4 million direct stockholders of the privately owned electric power companies, while nearly a hundred million other Americans are indirect owners through stock or bond ownership by insurance companies, mutual savings, fraternal, religious, charitable, and educational institutions, foundations, and so forth.

These investors in the electric utility stocks and bonds have, over the years, provided the major portion of the funds for the expansion of the electric utility from a small beginning in 1882 with 59 customers to the present in excess of 50 million customers. About 80 percent of these customers today are served by these investor-owned utilities.

The technological development and ever increasing efficiency in production of electric power is one of the greatest factors in our being the most productive Nation on earth today. Electric power is one of the cheapest items we can buy today. Its unit price has been reduced over the years so that it is over 10 percent cheaper than it was 25 years ago, while the cost of living has increased nearly 100 percent during the same period. Electric power is the willing servant on our farms, in our factories, in our stores and in our homes throughout these United States. And we should take heed that it shall continue to be our servant and not the means for socializing our country and the losing of the freedoms we cherish and so often have fought for.

THE FIRST STEP TO SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Socialization of power was the first step to be taken in the ultimate goal of eliminating the American free enterprise or profit system in America. The socialistic advocates well knew that the control of electric power means the ultimate control of all industry. In the forefront of the movement for the socialization of electric power and other major industries was a man named Carl D. Thompson who at various times was director of information and national

campaign manager for the Socialist Party. And at one time at a Socialist convention, his name was placed in nomination as candidate for President. Starting in the early 1920's, Mr. Thompson was secretary and guiding spirit of the Public Ownership League of America.

An off-shoot of the Socialist Party, that was organized as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905 and changed its name in 1921 to the League for Industrial Democracy, was also active at that time in fostering socialism and government ownership of industry. Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Paul Blanshard, were among the prominent Socialists that were directors or members of this organization.

In the early 1920's and prior thereto many of the advocates of governmental control of industry openly espoused their cause through the Socialist Party organizations. The 1920 platform of the Socialist Party contained the following:

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants, and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the Nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the Government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

This was followed up in 1928 with the following platform statements:

1. Nationalization of our natural resources, beginning with the coal mines and water sites, particularly at Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals.

2. A publicly owned giant power system under which the Federal Government shall cooperate with the States and municipalities in the distribution of electric energy to the people at cost.

3. National ownership and democratic management of railroads and other means of transportation and communication.

4. An adequate national program for flood control and flood relief, reforestation, irrigation, and reclamation.

5. The recognition of the Russian Soviet Government.

Socialist Party literature in those early days proclaimed:

The Socialists will push their campaigns. They will elect more representatives in the States where they already have them. They will win seats in new States. They will capture cities. Later they will control State legislatures, and finally the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Court.

States under the direction of this Socialist program, and finally the Nation, will take over one after the other of the public utilities, mines, railroads, interurban electric lines, powerplants, telegraph and telephone systems, waterways, forests.

FAILURE OF DIRECT APPEAL FOR SOCIALIZATION IN AMERICA

These early direct appeals for support of the Socialistic Party and its objectives were not successful. Realizing this back in 1927, Mr. H. Stephen Raushenbush, a bright young member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, counseled his Socialist friends on "How Shall the Socialists Attack the Abolition of the Profit

System?" Mr. Raushenbush advocated a program of gradual socialization of industry, and with regard to the electric power industry he stated that—

We cannot hope to take over the whole \$8 billion industry successfully, even if it were desirable to do so at the moment.

But a scattered series of great generating plants selling their power within 300-mile radii might be expected to have a very considerable influence upon the extension of public ownership to the transmission lines and the whole industry.

Mr. Raushenbush in discussing the transition to socialism said that—

The students coming from colleges today * * * can be of enormous use to the movement, as government officials, starting in small, definitely working on the reasonable hope that in the course of another 10 years we shall have government control of a much more definite kind over trusts, banks and general industries.

And—

One good man with his eyes, ears, and wits about him, inside the Department—whether it is the Interior * * * or the Treasury, * * * can do more to perfect the technique of control over an industry than can a hundred men outside.

Mr. Raushenbush later practiced what he preached, entering the Department of the Interior, working up to the position of Chief of Economics and Statistics of the Department's Division of Power from which he resigned in 1947 when our committee caught up with him and his philosophy. The Socialist Carl D. Thompson also went over to the New Deal and was employed, during the years 1938 to 1948, as a consultant by Bonneville Power Administration to foster public power in the Pacific Northwest. Thompson also was a member of the Department of the Interior Power Policy Committee in 1936.

There can be no doubt that the power policy of the New Deal Democrats was largely influenced by these and other members of the Socialistic groups who decided that their Socialistic aims could better be realized by indirection through the Democrat Party and a Democrat administration than through the Socialist Party itself. They had found that the American people would not go for socialism directly. Even the prominent New Dealer—Governor Harriman—in testifying before a Senate committee on March 14, 1952, relative to the Mutual Security Act, was naive enough to admit the Socialistic nature of the New Deal and Fair Deal Democratic Party when he said:

In many countries the Socialist Party is what we would call here the New Deal Party or a Fair Deal Party.

In 1924 the Public Ownership League under the leadership of Socialist Carl D. Thompson promoted a Public Super Power Conference in Washington, D.C. It was reported in the League journal "Public Ownership" that a prominent Senator from Nebraska had agreed to introduce a suitable measure in Congress providing for the creation of a national public super power system. This measure, S. 2790, was introduced on March 10, 1924.

This attempt to create a nationwide super power system failed and 2 years later the same public ownership group proposed the completion of Muscle Shoals as the nucleus of a power system in the Tennessee River basin. This and other similar trys in 1927 also failed.

These failures to obtain passage of acts putting the Federal Government directly in the power business taught the socialistic promoters a lesson in how to write laws that would have a better chance of passing and how to join forces with the New Deal to secure their passage.

THE INDIRECT ROAD TO SOCIALISM

In 1933 this same prominent Senator from Nebraska was prevailed upon to introduce the original TVA Act, the preamble of which did not even mention electric power. The act itself claimed that electric power was to be incidental to the principal purposes of navigation and flood control. By leaving power out of the preamble, it could be claimed that TVA was not being created to go into the power business, and would lessen the possibility of having the act declared unconstitutional.

TVA—A DICTATORSHIP EMPIRE WITHIN THE U.S.A.

The TVA Act, established in effect, for the Tennessee Valley area, a dictatorship empire of its own within our free American Republic. Democrat Congresses have continued to appropriate millions of your tax dollars to this growing empire. Even its many thousands of employees are not under the U.S. civil service laws, but only beholden to its three appointed Board members who have dictatorial powers to rule their empire with an iron hand, because they have your money to do just that; and which is more than the State governments in the Tennessee Valley have to spend altogether.

There are bills considered by the 85th and 86th Congresses which would give this growing empire even more power and practically eliminate all control by Congress. We are told by TVA officials and proponents that TVA belongs to "all the people" and yet they brazenly propose measures which would provide in effect that all control by "the people's" representatives in Congress be relinquished. Of course this is not the first time TVA officials and proponents have been inconsistent in their claims and later actions and pronouncements. These bills contemplate giving TVA the authority to issue \$750 million of revenue bonds. TVA representatives admit this is only the start. No one knows what the ultimate requirement would be or where we go from there. Under the provisions of the bill three men appointed by the President would have, in addition to the \$750 million bond revenue, power revenues of \$250 million or more annually to spend as they please. Please think of it, my colleagues.

WHAT TVA SAID

TVA, in defending the constitutionality of its operation, told the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1938 that:

With regard to single purpose power dams the Authority has not constructed or recommended for construction and has no inten-

tion and no authority under the Tennessee Valley Authority Act to construct such dams.

And that with respect to the Muscle Shoals steam-electric plant or any other steam-electric plant:

The defendant alleged that the said steam-electric generating plant has not been, and is not being, operated and that there is no plan or intention to operate said plant now or in the future, or to construct or operate any other steam-electric generating plants. The said plant is merely held by the defendant, Tennessee Valley Authority, as an emergency standby plant for national defense purposes in connection with the munitions plants located near Muscle Shoals, Ala.

The defendant, Tennessee Valley Authority, has disposed of, and will dispose of only such electric energy as generated from the power inevitably created by the operation of the said dams for navigation and flood control and which is not needed for governmental purposes and which would otherwise be wasted.

FAILURE OF TVA TO ADHERE TO ITS DECLARATIONS

It is a matter of record that TVA has not adhered to its solemn statement made to the high U.S. court. Like many other bureaucratic Federal agencies, it has gradually assumed and claimed powers that were never intended that it should have.

In violation of its contention to the U.S. court TVA has constructed single-purpose hydroelectric plants, purchased and operated single-purpose hydroelectric plants, purchased and operated steam-electric generating plants, constructed and operated steam-electric generating plants, disposed of single-purpose project electric energy, disposed of steam-electric generated energy from plants constructed by TVA, disposed of steam-electric and hydroelectric energy purchased from others, all contrary to its statement to the court.

The record of TVA's adherence to the yardstick criteria, set up early in its existence, is a like record of failure to perform in accordance with the nationwide and worldwide pronouncements made by TVA on this yardstick criteria. For instance, TVA told Congress that the TVA yardstick's rates would provide for interest on the power investment at 3½ percent, tax equivalent to local, State, and Federal rates of taxes paid by private utilities, depreciation and all operating costs, and the amortization of the entire TVA investment over a 50-year period. Since that time, we have not heard quite so much talk about the TVA yardstick, due no doubt to the failure of TVA to adhere to the yardstick criteria originally proclaimed and the resulting shrinkage to about half the lengths of an honest yardstick.

The Chairman of the TVA Board of Directors even went so far as to deny in 1948, in testimony before a Senate committee, that TVA ever claimed that it was to be a yardstick for power. Here are his exact words:

Well, there have been claims made that the TVA power system would set up a yardstick. The TVA has not developed or elaborated on that or made that claim.

Even though TVA has failed to operate as its officials and proponents said it would in order to obtain court and

congressional approval for continuing in operation, the TVA officials and proponents even now have the effrontery to proclaim that they are in effect providing for comparable taxes, interest, and so forth, as private utilities do.

For instance, we are told that TVA has earned an annual net revenue from its power operations which represents a return of around 4 percent on the taxpayers' investment. The fact that TVA used the greater part of this so-called return to construct more powerplants for their empire does not prevent them from insisting that it is a return to the taxpayers because "all the people" own TVA.

This same so-called net return is used by TVA officials and proponents to claim that they provide for taxes comparable to those paid by private utilities. Only a bureaucrat could make such outlandish claims.

If TVA had operated on the basis it testified to at the House appropriations hearings early in its existence, it would have a deficit of around \$500 million, instead of a claimed accumulated net revenue of \$468 million.

It might surprise you to know that the TVA revenue from the sale of power in the fiscal year 1957 was over \$234 million and was estimated to be over \$250 million for fiscal year 1959. TVA now claims to have almost unlimited power to utilize this revenue as its Directors dictate.

But this is not the whole story: Congress was told at the start that the total TVA cost would be less than \$150 million. To date Congress has appropriated over \$1,944 million in interest-free funds for TVA. All told including power revenues, TVA has had a total of over \$3,750 million to spend from 1933 to the present. The TVA investment in electric power facilities including work in progress now totals over \$1,850 million. Only about 15 percent of the power investment has been repaid during the 20-odd years of TVA operation. If TVA had to pay interest on the power investment, as some of the other federally financed power projects are scheduled to do, the interest cost would be over \$50 million for the year 1959 alone. As it is, you and the other taxpayers of the Nation pay the bill.

You farmers and home owners who still have to chop wood or shovel coal to heat your homes might be interested to know that your tax money has contributed to the construction of over 1¼ million kilowatts of electric generating capacity that is required to supply electric power for house heating of some 300,000 homes in the TVA area. The cost of power facilities needed to generate and transmit this house heating power would approximate \$250 million or much more than Congress was told at the beginning that the entire TVA development would cost. The low rate of around 7 mills per kilowatt-hour for this house heating use is due in large part to the free ride at the expense of the Nation's taxpayers.

TVA REPAYMENT REQUIREMENT

Back in 1947 when I was chairman of the Government Corporations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Com-

mittee, it was amply clear from the record that TVA did not intend to make proper repayment of the taxpayers' investment even though its officials and proponents had solemnly told us TVA would provide for such payment.

Therefore I insisted that something had to be done about it and the following language was put into the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1948:

Tennessee Valley Authority: Not later than June 30, 1948, and not later than June 30 of each calendar year thereafter, until a total of \$348,239,240 has been paid as herein provided, the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority shall pay from net income derived the immediately preceding fiscal year from power operations (such net income to be determined by deducting power operating expenses, allocated common expense, and interest on funded debt from total power operating revenues) not less than \$2,500,000 of its outstanding bonded indebtedness to the Treasury of the United States exclusive of interest, and such a portion of the remainder of such net income into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts as will, in the 10-year period ending June 30, 1958, and in each succeeding 10-year period until the aforesaid total of \$348,239,240 shall have been paid, equal not less than a total of \$87,059,810, including payment on such bonded indebtedness exclusive of interest on such bonded indebtedness. Total payments of not less than \$10,500,000 shall be made not later than June 30, 1948.

Amounts equal to the total of all appropriations herein and hereafter made to the Tennessee Valley Authority for power facilities shall be paid by the Board of Directors thereof, in addition to the total of \$348,239,240 specified in the foregoing paragraph, to the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts, such payments to be amortized over a period of not to exceed 40 years after the year in which such facilities go into operation.

None of the power revenues of the Tennessee Valley Authority shall be used for the construction of new power producing projects (except for replacement purposes) unless and until approved by act of Congress.

As will be noted, minimum repayments are provided for. TVA figures indicate that it has exceeded the minimum legal repayment requirement by \$139,441,000 as of this date. Looking at it through TVA eyes this may be technically correct. Let us examine, however, the actual fiscal transaction and see who is paying whom. A presently proposed amendment to the TVA Act would eliminate this minimum payment requirement.

Without any consideration of the interest cost on the taxpayers' investment in TVA or the loss of Federal taxes that would be realized if the area was served by a private utility, we find that in the 25 years since its inception TVA has never in any year returned more to the U.S. Treasury than it has obtained from the Treasury. So, insofar as the taxpayer is concerned, TVA has been putting a little money in one of Uncle Sam's pockets while taking much more out of the other pocket. And as a matter of fact, the so-called repayment that resulted from the Government Corporation Appropriation Act of 1948 is considerably less than the accumulated interest cost at 3 percent on the investment in TVA power facilities.

TVA ASSUMPTION OF UTILITY RESPONSIBILITY

The TVA Act never gave TVA a utility responsibility to serve all the power requirements of the area it now serves. This so-called utility responsibility is something TVA has gradually assumed. In the early years TVA told the Congress that it has no intentions of buying and operating the steamplants of the private utilities—that the municipalities were to take over and operate the steamplants. As an example, a TVA spokesman told a congressional committee that there was a large steamplant at Memphis which the city could take over and operate and that such an arrangement would be better than TVA operating the plant, and that the same thing would apply at Nashville. TVA, however, never carried out such a plan but instead took over and operated the steamplants acquired from the private utilities. Not only that—it executed "captive contracts," that made TVA the "sole supplier" of these various public power groups in the TVA region.

In this connection I want to say that Memphis, at the expiration of its 20-year captive contract, in effect, took the course that TVA 20-odd years earlier had said Memphis should take.

A few years ago a private utility group known as Dixon-Yates was ready to build a 700,000-kilowatt steamplant in West Memphis, Ark., just across the river from Memphis, without expense to the taxpayers of the Nation. Actually, the Memphis area is outside the borders of the Tennessee River Valley; however, present Members of the House and Senate from Tennessee together with other Federal power advocates screamed give-away and favoritism to free enterprise and demanded that Congress appropriate some \$100 million to construct a TVA steamplant on the Mississippi River north of Memphis at Fulton, Tenn. Congress refused to approve such a plan. Finally Memphis decided to build its own steamplant and it is expected to be in operation shortly. The other municipalities and major distributors of TVA power could also construct generating plants to supply their increased power needs if TVA had not executed captive contracts that prevent such action. TVA wants to maintain its autocratic control of all power in the TVA area.

ENTICEMENT OF INDUSTRY TO TVA REGION

TVA officials early in its history publicly stated that TVA should take an active part in getting industry developed in the TVA region. Later when an outcry was raised against TVA for the enticement of industry into the TVA region, the same TVA officials denied any attempt was being made by TVA to entice industry to the TVA region.

The fact remains that even in recent years at a time when TVA was claiming it was going to be short of power to serve its load, the State of Tennessee was running large advertisements in the newspapers of other States which in bold type portrayed the economic advantage of low power rates to be had by constructing plants in or moving plants to the TVA region. Some of the larger TVA

power distributors also put out large advertisements along the same line indicating that unlimited low cost power was available for industrial expansion. Many industries have moved to or located in or expanded plants in the TVA region as a result of the enticement of low power rates. This has been at the expense of laborers, businessmen, and farmers of those States—which would otherwise have retained or obtained these plants or plant expansions—who are paying a part of the TVA electric bill in unseen taxes.

PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE

I do not believe that the people of the Tennessee region are any less patriotic than the people in the rest of the country. And I am sure they want to carry their fair share of the expense of running the Federal Government and do not expect a handout at the expense of the people in the other States. The fact is the Tennessee Valley people also have been misled by the propaganda of TVA and its proponents into believing that they are paying their own way. Of course Members of Congress from the TVA region try hard to defend TVA and endeavor to obtain your tax dollars to expand this "empire" within the United States of America. It is a great political game to use for personal political advantage.

EXPANSION OF TVA UNDER DEMOCRAT CONGRESSES

The Democrat-controlled Congresses have appropriated hundreds of millions of the taxpayers' dollars to TVA for the construction of steam-electric generating plants. They also approved the use by TVA of power revenues by the hundreds of millions for constructing additional steam-electric generating units without first advising Congress. These millions in power revenue—so we are told by TVA and its proponents—belongs to "all the people" yet the "people's" representatives are now denied the opportunity to say how these funds are to be used. Electric power for defense was often used as the claimed justification for building more steam-electric generating capacity in the TVA area. That this was not strictly in accord with the facts was brought out on page 322 of the Public Works Appropriations Committee hearing for the fiscal year 1957 when I asked the TVA Chairman, Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, this question: "Is it not a fact that if TVA power were today sold only to preferred customers and to defense plants TVA today would have a surplus of power?" General Vogel replied, "That is correct, sir."

TVA WAS TO BE ONLY THE BEGINNING

As I have pointed out, the advocates of the socialization of the electric power industry, failing to get legislation enacted for a nationwide Federal superpower system, persuaded Congress and the New Deal administration to embark upon what was to be a river basin by river basin approach, using navigation and flood control as the vehicle for what was called incidental electric power. TVA was to be only the first of such

developments. As one of the TVA proponents said on the floor of the House:

Our great leader in the White House has had the vision to see what it will mean to the great section of my own State in the development of the great Tennessee River Valley Basin, and he stated that in his opinion it is just the forerunner of similar developments which will take place throughout the country.

Attempts were later made to establish other individual valley authorities such as a Columbia Valley Authority. Fortunately, this and other similar attempts to establish other valley authorities—Missouri River Valley and Arkansas River Valley, to mention two others—were defeated. Many speeches were made in opposition to the establishment of such river valley authorities. You will find my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 13, page A1439, on this subject. Others took up the fight—alert citizens, organizations, radio and newspaper commentators and editors—to the end that a majority of the people stopped the great planners from achieving these socialistic aims. However, our citizens must be ever on the alert, as even now there are attempts being made to achieve the same ends by proposals for similar regional authorities under different names.

HOW FEDERAL HYDROPOWER IS MARKETED

With the exception of the hydroelectric powerplants in the TVA area—which as I have pointed out is an autocratic power empire unto itself—the power from the Federal hydroprojects is marketed by the Department of the Interior.

For the hydroelectric plants constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation, that agency with slight exception markets the power from such projects. For the hydroplants constructed by the Corps of Engineers the power is turned over to the Department of the Interior to market. The Bonneville Power Administration, the Southwestern Power Administration and the Southeastern Power Administration are the three agencies set up within the Interior Department as the marketing agencies for this hydropower. In the case of Bonneville Power Administration, it also markets power from the Grand Coulee project of the Bureau of Reclamation. In general the power from the Bureau of Reclamation and Corps of Engineers projects is required by law to be sold at rates which will return with interest the investment allocated to power, generally over a 50-year period.

In many instances, however, a large part of the project costs are allocated to interest-free reclamation or to non-reimbursable uses such as flood control, navigation, recreation, and so forth.

In 1944 I became a member of the Interior Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives and was chairman of that subcommittee in 1948, 1953, and 1954. The Interior Subcommittee had, until 1955, the duty of recommending to the Congress the amount of money to be appropriated to the Interior Department for transmission lines, substation and other facilities required to market the Federal hydropower. Inasmuch as

many of the transmission lines requested by the Interior power agencies duplicated existing lines or the electric utilities of the affected areas were willing and able to construct transmission lines to carry or wheel the electric power from the Federal projects, about 75 percent of these requests for transmission lines were disapproved.

In 1950, several alert, patriotic, top officials of the Electrical Workers Union appeared before our committee and pleaded with us to disapprove the funds for most of the hundreds of miles of transmission lines which had that year been requested by the Southeastern Power Administration in the Southeast from Virginia to Florida. They all said they wanted to continue to work for private, Federal taxpaying companies, who were willing and ready to build the needed lines. Our committee did disapprove and our committee action was approved by the Congress.

Since that time the Congress has, with few exceptions, effectively used this unwritten yardstick:

Where investor-owned electric utility companies, and/or REA's and/or municipal power systems have adequate transmission facilities to supply a given area or are able and willing to construct such facilities and will agree to wheel Federal hydropower to preferred customers and others according to law, at reasonable rates, the Congress is not justified in spending the taxpayers' money to construct such facilities.

Congress has also refused to authorize or spend money for projects that are almost wholly for power, such as Hells Canyon, where local interests are willing and able to fully develop such power in accord with the Federal Power Act. Many of the socialistic tax-free boys scream "giveaway" to their heart's content, but they should know by now that most of the American people read and think for themselves and they cannot be fooled all the time.

ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER REA LINES

Now listen to these facts which I am sure will astound you. During the past 15 or 20 years the Federal Government constructed a number of hydroelectric dams in the Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri region. The Interior Department was given the job of disposing of the electric power from these projects. The Southwestern Power Administration was set up in the Interior Department as the marketing agency. This agency then set up plans for a gigantic power empire complete with hundreds of miles of high voltage transmission lines and steam-electric plants.

When Congress refused to go along with this grandiose scheme, Southwestern Power Administration developed a scheme to get the REA's to pull its chestnuts out of the fire by building hundreds or thousands of miles of transmission lines. Then, before the REA-owned transmission and distribution co-ops in that area could purchase Federal hydropower from these dams, they were obliged to sign a contract with the Southwestern Power Administration which provided, in plain words, that after the REA's had completely repaid their loan to the U.S. Treasury, South-

western Power Administration could pay to the REA's \$10, only \$10 mind you, and take over all the thousands of miles of transmission lines which the REA's had constructed. These lines would then become the property of the Federal Government. That fact is hard to believe but nevertheless true. The affected REA officials objected long and strenuously to that demand, but finally signed the contracts because thousands of farmers in that great area were told that was the only way they could get electric power. The REA's in northwestern Iowa and the REA's in other Missouri Valley States were obliged to sign similar contracts before they could buy electricity from Federal hydro dams on the Missouri River.

When I learned of this provision in these contracts shortly after the election of a Republican Congress in 1953, I as chairman of the subcommittee handling the Interior Department appropriation, along with other subcommittee members, insisted that these confiscatory provisions of the contracts had to be deleted. This has now been done to the gratification of every REA that had signed such contracts.

THE COMMUNIST PLAN

To accomplish the extension of valley authorities, bills were introduced in Congress in 1937 which would have set up seven valley authorities to cover the Nation. This was in keeping with a program being put forward by Communist groups in the mid-1930's. A friend of mine of long standing, formerly a colleague in the House and now a Member of the other body, told me of having been asked if he would like to attend a Communist meeting during that period. Here is a synopsis of what my colleague and his wife saw and heard at a Communist meeting, just as they told it to me:

In the middle 1930's while they were visiting some old friends in one of our larger cities, to their great surprise the man of the house asked if they would like to attend a Communist meeting that night. How could they? "Well," said the man, "if you will go with me and keep your mouths shut, I will get you in." "You see," said the man, "I am a member." So to the Communist meeting they went.

In due time the speaker hung on the wall a large map of the United States, which was divided into nine sections—each section containing one of our great river valleys, of which the Tennessee Valley is one. "Now," said the speaker, "since river valleys are no respecters of State lines, and since America can never be communized so long as there are 48 sovereign States, we must create 9 river valley authorities, like the Tennessee Valley Authority, where 3 men who are not elected by the people, but who are simply appointed by the President, are in full control. When this is accomplished, then 27 all-powerful men will be in complete control of the United States—then all city, county and State governments will be forced to surrender their sovereign powers and we will be in complete control, because we Communists will see to it that the right 27 men are appointed."

The sad part is that they were so adept in covering up their true objectives that for many years quite a number of good patriotic Americans went all out for their cleverly, well-planned, anti-

American program. And even to this day a few unthinking people, including some public servants now in high public office, still advocate programs almost as dangerous.

WE TOOK THE OATH SERIOUSLY

This colleague, who stood beside me with right hand upraised in the House of Representatives of the United States of America as we swore to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, about 15 years ago, and only a few days after he learned that I had been named a member of the Interior Subcommittee of Appropriations, told me of this experience, and said to me, "Ben, it appears quite clear we have a duty to perform." My reply was, "OK, my friend, I'll be in it to the finish—come what may." I have been, and so has he along with many other well informed Americans in and out of Congress.

IS TVA SOCIALISTIC?

With respect to whether TVA is socialistic we have the word of Norman Thomas the perennial candidate for president on the Socialist Party ticket who so aptly described it in these words:

The TVA is the only genuinely socialistic act (in the New Deal)—a flower in the midst of weeds.

We now come to a few important phases of the story of the socialistic plan to eliminate the private electric power industry as a step toward complete socialization of all industry. One of these is the matter of taxation, another is the preference clause in the disposal of electric power from Federal projects, and a third is the question of repayment of interest cost on the taxpayers' funds used to construct the Federal projects.

THE TAXING POWER

You have heard the statement, "The power to tax is the power to destroy," which holds just as true today as when the words were first spoken. Too often overlooked, however, is the fact that "The power not to tax uniformly is also the power to destroy."

Our Constitution in article I, section 8, says:

All duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Note carefully the word "uniform." From this word it is evident that our forefathers in framing the Constitution of the United States intended that each citizen should bear his fair share of the tax burden for operating the Federal Government. If every person were taxed uniformly and equitably in his or her kind of business or vocation, then all would have an equal opportunity with his fellow men, but such is too often not the case. The electric utility industry is a case at hand as is the case of any privately owned Federal tax paying business with a competitor across the street who pays little or no Federal tax.

TAXES PAID BY ELECTRIC UTILITIES

Over 80 percent of the electric customers in the United States are served by investor-owned electric utility sys-

tems that pay more than \$1 billion in Federal taxes annually to the U.S. Treasury. In contrast, similar facilities built by your tax dollars go scot free of Federal taxes, as do the non-Federal publicly owned electric utility systems.

In addition to Federal taxes, these same investor-owned electric utility companies pay annually more than \$600 million in State and local taxes or over 3½ mills on every kilowatt-hour of power they market. Altogether on the average over 23 percent of the income they receive from the sale of electric power is returned to local, State, and Federal governments to be used for schools, roads, police, national defense, old age and soldiers' pensions, and other expenses of running our town, county, State, and Federal Government. The balance of the revenue is used to pay for labor, repairs, administration, and other operating costs, and to pay fair dividends and interest on the funds provided by good Americans from all walks of life, and let us remember that the officers of these taxpaying utilities from top to bottom are all just employees of the shareholders nothing more, nothing less.

With respect to local and State taxes, most Federal projects make no provision for such payments, while others provide for payments in lieu of taxes that are usually only a fraction of those paid by private utilities.

TAX SUBSIDY TO PUBLIC POWER SYSTEMS

It is easy to see how the investor-owned electric utility systems that pay an average of nearly 24 percent of their revenue for Federal, State, and local taxes are at quite an economic disadvantage in comparison with the Federal or non-Federal public-owned electric utilities that pay little or no taxes. This tax treatment constitutes a considerable subsidy to the public power systems.

This advantage of no Federal tax was largely responsible for the promotion, by a rather smooth operator, one Guy C. (Flash) Meyers, of the total public electric power, Federal tax free operations in one of Iowa's neighboring States. This same operator was responsible to a great extent for the large-scale promotion and development of the public utilities districts in the Pacific Northwest. Faced with the threat of destruction through the distribution of subsidized tax-free Bonneville power, large segments of the private utility system in the Pacific Northwest area were forced by a State law to dispose of large parts of their systems to the public Federal tax-free agencies. For a more complete discussion of the operation of this tax evasion scheme, I refer you to my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 3, page 3419.

SURVIVAL OF FREE ENTERPRISE

A factor that played a large part in the survival of the major private utilities of the Pacific Northwest was the formation of the Northwest Power Pool with its resulting interconnections and integration of power facilities to achieve maximum use of all facilities at lowest cost. It is almost unbelievable how the tax-paying private investor owned electric utilities of the Pacific Northwest have

been able to compete with Federal tax-free power. There is only one answer—private initiative and efficiency have always been able to meet most any kind of competition if given half a chance. There is a limit, however, and that is why I am speaking out against the unfair competition that may ultimately be the means of destroying our present freedoms and American way of life. I for one do not want my children, nor my children's children nor yours to be living under the straight jacket of a socialized or sovietized America. Khrushchev, the Russian dictator, has said that our grandchildren would be living under socialism. This boast will not come true if Americans everywhere wake up to this threat of socialism and really do something about it.

INTEREST SUBSIDY

Often the long-term interest cost on the Federal funds, required to construct Federal power projects or as a loan source for non-Federal public power projects, is greater than the interest cost to be charged against the project and repaid to the Treasury. Such differential represents a taxpayers' subsidy. And it is usually true that interest cost to the private utility industry is higher than that obtainable by the Treasury. With regard to TVA no interest is paid on any part of the nearly \$2 billion of all the peoples' tax dollars appropriated by Congress to that agency since its inception.

The no interest or lower interest component obtained by Federal or public power groups represents a subsidy and patently unfair business advantage over the private utility system. Such unfair governmental competition with the tax-paying private enterprise of its citizens can only lead to ultimate destruction of the tax source which maintains that government.

PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS

In the early New Deal days, there were only a few public power utilities in being in the Pacific Northwest, so Bonneville officials, under orders from Washington, did everything possible to create public ownership groups. For a full account of such practice, I refer you to my statement and insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 4, page 4537.

COULD INDEPENDENT FARMERS COMPETE WITH SUBSIDIZED SOCIALIZED FARMING?

How would the farmers of my district compete with a Federal farm authority who was given Federal tax dollars to set up a gigantic farm development in an adjoining district or State? Could they compete with a farm purchased with Federal tax dollars, provided with all the most modern machinery and with unlimited capital to operate on, all tax and interest free? There is, of course, only one answer. They could not compete at the marketplace. Facts are they would soon go broke. The joker is that my people would be putting up their tax money to provide the funds for the tax-free and interest-free operation against which they would have to compete in the marketplace. Carried to the ultimate extreme, it brings up the question of who is going to put up the taxes and what

would happen to our freedoms and private initiative if the Federal Government took over all farming and industry? When such proposals were openly presented to the American people by the Socialist Party, they would have none of it. Nor should the American people now accept it under a new name. It matters not what it is called. It would mean the elimination of the free enterprise system and the ultimate elimination of our present freedoms.

It does not make sense to me for the Federal Government to take the tax dollars to construct Federal power projects where local interests are willing and able to provide for their own electric power needs. Nor is it fair and just for the customers of the Federal and publicly owned electric utilities not to pay, through their electric rates, an equivalent and fair share of taxes to the Federal Government and to local and State governments. Surely every good, thinking American is willing to pay his fair share of the cost of government. And before it is too late, every American should take a more active interest in how his Government is being operated and what his tax dollars are being used for.

TAX SUBSIDY SHOULD BE ELIMINATED

The basic unfairness of such subsidized competition raises the question as to whether some means should be provided for collecting from the Federal and non-Federal power systems a Federal tax or "in lieu of" payment equivalent to the average unit tax paid by the customers of the investor privately owned utilities.

TVA BOND BILL

I feel obligated to speak out at this time against proposed legislation that I believe is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. I refer to the proposed amendment to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act commonly referred to as the "revenue bond proposal." The proposal for a Federal agency to issue bonds that do not have the full faith and credit of the Federal Government back of them is something new in Federal agency financing. If permitted, it could and no doubt would be the forerunner of an extension to other agencies of the Federal Government. Certainly it is contrary to the provisions and intent of the Constitution of the United States. Nor is it in keeping with the principles and standards upon which this Nation was founded.

I believe that Congress has the right and the duty to pass annually upon the financing of the Federal Government and its various agencies. This right is inherent in the Constitution that provides that—

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

Year after year proposals are made to use the back-door approach to the Federal Treasury or to obtain money for Federal agencies or programs by methods not in keeping with the Constitution of the United States.

This bond issue proposal and many other features of H.R. 3460 are not in

keeping with the Constitution and the basic principles on which this Nation was founded. I am duty bound to oppose it with all the strength at my command. I can do no less.

This bond bill, H.R. 3460, would practically eliminate all the financial and other control of TVA by the people's representatives in Congress. I do not believe a representative acting for the people has the right to evade and forfeit his or her responsibilities in this manner. In my opinion, the entire proposal is not in accord with the Constitution of the United States, which each Member of Congress took an oath to support. It is another manifestation of a well-organized drive toward eventual socialization of the entire economy through the back door. It would be the forerunner of other similar proposals for other Federal agencies in other sections of the country. To give to three men the responsibilities that belong to the entire Congress is anti-American. It is more power than three good men should want or three bad men should have. The record of TVA does not recommend such action.

THE MYTH OF TVA LEADERSHIP

Year after year TVA reports and TVA officials and proponents have bragged about the development that has taken place in the TVA region. For instance, TVA reports consistently inferred that TVA was doing a wonderful job of farm electrification. In the fiscal year 1954 report TVA had this to say:

Rural electrification has made great strides during the 8-year period, 1946-54. The number of farms served was multiplied 3½ times, from 125,000 to 436,000. * * * But more important from the Nation's viewpoint is the fact that rural electrification in the Tennessee Valley region pioneered the vast national development of rural electrification that burgeoned after 1935.

Actually, pioneering work on rural electrification had been started back in 1923 by the formation of the National Committee on the Relation of Electricity to Agriculture.

The record also shows that the farm electrification criteria set up by TVA in the early days was on a restrictive basis that did little to promote area-wide service. In fact, it was a sort of cream-skimming type of farm electrification extension policy that public power proponents accused and condemned the investor owned utilities of doing.

The per customer use of electric power on the farms in the TVA region has consistently lagged behind the national average for farms east of the 100th meridian. Farm income in the TVA region has continued to lag behind that of most other sections of the country. In 1954 a TVA spokesman admitted that three out of four farms in the TVA area did not have running water. This is a sad commentary on TVA's vaunted leadership.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN TVA AREA

In industrial development, the TVA area, even with the enticement of subsidized power rates has not been able to keep up with the industrial development in other areas of the South.

The people of the TVA area might well ask themselves if the total price of the so-called low cost power has not been too high when one counts in the loss of personal freedom, loss of personal and private initiative, loss of economic progress in keeping with the balance of the South, and loss of personal satisfaction of doing for themselves and carrying their proper share of the cost of the Federal Government.

Perhaps the TVA paternalism might be likened to an opiate which creates an illusion of well being. The realities may not become apparent unless the opiate is taken away.

IS TVA THE BLESSING CLAIMED?

There have been indications in recent years that the people of the Tennessee Valley area are beginning to realize that TVA has not been the blessing that its officials and proponents would have us believe.

As an example, I quote from an editorial in the *Tupelo, Miss., Journal* of June 12, 1953—Tupelo was one of the first towns to distribute TVA power:

The time has come for TVA to back up and admit that the fastest growth in the South actually has taken place outside the TVA area and we who live within its borders are still as a whole just about the poorest people in America.

This of course would be quite true. For with the exception of giant projects like the Oak Ridge atomic energy plant that Uncle Sam has plunked down in Tennessee the TVA area has shown less rapid industrial growth than several other portions of the South.

And in income, the TVA area is still dollar for dollar further behind the national average than it was in 1933 when the Tennessee Valley Authority was first established.

And then there is the statement of Dr. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, condemning the TVA for permanently flooding thousands of acres of the finest land in Tennessee.

FLOOD CONTROL—TVA STYLE

The preamble to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act states that it is "An act to improve the navigability and to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River."

Let us examine how TVA has solved the flood control problem of the Tennessee River.

It has eliminated a major part of the flood control problem along the Tennessee River by permanently flooding hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest lands in Tennessee. It is like cutting off one's head to cure a headache—effective but drastic.

It was this wanton flooding of the finest land in Tennessee, land that has been estimated to have produced as much as \$27 million worth of crops annually, that led to the denunciation of this TVA policy by Dr. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee. There follow some excerpts from his statement on the subject:

The proposed construction of the Douglas Dam on the French Broad River above Knoxville and near the Jefferson and Sevier County lines raises an important, even a critical, question involving the welfare of a large section of Tennessee.

Altogether, this proposed dam will cut a considerable slice from east Tennessee—from its body politic—from its body social—from its body economic. And altogether, too, let us observe—it is a seizure of common wealth for special purposes.

And what is all this for? What are the benefits to accrue that would make this social and economic destruction worthwhile? What is our democracy contemplating in thus altering the face of nature and the course of human affairs?

Here let us pause before a most critical question. Let us be careful of our words. If it is the purpose of the Tennessee Valley Authority to develop this region—what is the meaning of the word "develop"? If it is a democracy we are to defend—what is the meaning of democracy?

Can we achieve development—can we preserve democracy—by destroying the homes, the common wealth, and community life of our people?

I appeal to the Tennessee Valley Authority and to the Federal Government for a proper development of this region—for a development that leads to a fuller life for our people—to the welfare and security and defense of our democracy. * * * The function of east Tennessee is that of a whole democratic community essential to the welfare of the whole. I beg of you to preserve it in this right.

ARE WE TO LEAVE A HERITAGE OF SOCIALISM FOR OUR GRANDCHILDREN?

In conclusion I want to plead with my colleagues and the American people to awake to the danger of leaving a heritage of socialism for our grandchildren. The Russian dictator Khrushchev has said that our grandchildren will be living under socialism.

Are we to permit that to happen by apathy to programs for socialization of the electric power industry as the forerunner to eventual socialization of all industry, including farming—farming being the greatest of all industries under our American free private enterprise system of government?

I know that the American people as a whole are proud of the heritage of freedom that gallant patriots fought and died to create and maintain. Are we to fritter away this birthright of freedom through the failure to recognize the gradual encroachment of a socialistic welfare state? I am sure the majority of the American people are too smart and too patriotic to let that happen.

I beseech every good American to think twice before he or she supports any program, or any candidate for high office that advocates a program which will lead us down the road toward socialism and a welfare state. Such programs tend to cripple or destroy our Federal-taxpaying, private enterprise—from the farmer to the corner grocer and from the peanut vendor to the large corporation—whose revenue is so desperately needed to keep our local, State, and Federal Treasury solvent.

It will take the combined efforts of every American who wants to preserve our free institutions—our American heritage if you please—to be ever on guard to see that these taxpaying enterprises continue to operate.

Our free enterprise system has made us the most prosperous Nation on earth

with the highest living standards. Are we to throw away this heritage for socialism and a welfare state? I am sure the majority of the American people's answer is, no, no, no. If only they can be made to realize the danger confronting them. Each patriotic American should do his part to awaken the Nation to the insidious danger confronting us today.

So I beg each of you to join in a crusade to halt this trend toward the Khrushchev goal of socialism and slavery for our grandchildren.

AGRICULTURE HAS MADE ITS IMPACT ON THE STABILITY OF OUR NATION

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, there is never justification for stopping debate or stilling disagreement about the problems that face our Nation. However, there are times for thinking of the broader aspects of differences and what the issues are that should be emphasized. Today we are searching for a constructive answer to the farm problem. Agriculture is undergoing a cost-price squeeze, whereas other segments of our population are prospering. It is unfair and dangerous that farmers, alone among the great economic groups in our country, are not sharing in the current prosperity. The farmer is 13 percent of the population and receives 6 percent of the income. The interest of our family-size farmer must be fully protected. The owners of small farms must prosper if the Nation is to prosper. The difficulties that beset the farmer pose grave problems which cannot be solved overnight. These problems have been made more difficult by neglect, indifference; and postponement. While many of us may maintain different points of view, all of us must be guided only by the politics of responsibility. We should ever be reminded of the nearness of God to the affairs of man.

From the birth of our Republic new methods of cultivation were developed in agriculture. An aggressive search for improvements started which has continued to this day. Farming was man's fundamental pursuit. It was Jefferson who said:

Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God.

Certainly in the Second Congressional District of Kentucky those who labor in the earth are meeting the challenges of present day living, and their hopes of attainment should be guaranteed.

Mr. Speaker, the Second Congressional District of Kentucky is primarily an agricultural district, producing all types of commodities. We have been blessed by virtue of the strong farm organizations and soil conservation districts in our midst. Also we have been fortunate in the high caliber men and women who serve as county extension

agents, home demonstration agents, and vocational agricultural leaders in the various counties of our district. These dedicated men and women are responsible for carrying forth information directly to our farm people. It is satisfying to realize that the young people in my congressional district do not lack necessary leadership and knowledge. I cannot too highly commend the Future Homemakers of America, the Future Farmers of America and the 4-H Clubs in our section of Kentucky. The very foundation of our Christian civilization is based on the family unit, and it is to the wives and mothers that we look to provide the cohesive and stabilizing influence so necessary to the continuance of the family unit. Kentucky was the first State to charter the Future Homemakers of America. In the Second Congressional District the influence of the local chapters on their communities is felt in innumerable ways. The young women of the FHA are indeed prepared to face the future with warm courage and high hope.

This year the period of February 22 through the 28th was designated as National Future Farmers of America Week, and March 1 through March 7 was set aside to focus attention on the past achievements and future goals of the 4-H Clubs. I know of no national student organizations more deserving of praise than the Future Farmers of America and the 4-H Clubs. The training these young people are now receiving will be of immeasurable benefit to them in the years to come. By living up to their high principles, today's youth will grow into a mature citizen anxious to assume his share of responsibility in improving the community of which he is a part. One of the main reasons why our Future Farmers of America and 4-H Clubs are so successful in the Second Congressional District of Kentucky is due to the efficient instruction and able guidance furnished by our county agents, home demonstration agents, and vocational agricultural teachers. They stand ready with advice, suggestions, and encouragement, but the young person is impressed with the fact that for him to grow in knowledge, self-reliance, perseverance, and maturity he must solve the problem himself. We have in my district a group of young people, who, by reason of ambition, ability, and energy, have won many top honors and offices in connection with their agricultural pursuits. For the second consecutive year a young man from the Second Congressional District of Kentucky won first place in the statewide soil conservation essay contest in which contest 33,000 essays were submitted. This year's recipient of the award is Glenn C. Dockery, of Route 1, Beaver Dam, Ky. In addition to Glenn C. Dockery, winners in this year's soil conservation essay contest from our district are: Jean Goodman, Scottsville, Allen County; Johnnie Hines, Hardinsburg, Breckinridge County; G. McCoy, Morgantown, Butler County; Mary Alice Wethington, Utica, Daviess County; Jackey Pearl, Big Clifty, Gray-

son County; Jacqueline Stephens, Pellville, Hancock County; Brenda Briscoe, Hebbardsville, Henderson County; Lena Villines, Nebo, Hopkins County; Sarah Miller, Sacramento, McLean County; Joyce DeBruler, Fordsville, Ohio County; Lynn Caudill, Franklin, Simpson County; Shelby Woodring, Morganfield, Union County; Joe R. Cowles, Bowling Green, Warren County.

On January 24, 1959, the Kentucky 4-H champions were named, and Joseph Wesley Sprague, of Sturgis, Union County, Ky., was selected as the champion in agriculture in the 1958 4-H Club achievement contest. On February 14, 1959, Danny Duvall, Route 7, Bowling Green, Ky., was chosen top Future Farmer of America in Kentucky.

Mr. Speaker, this is only an example of our young people's accomplishments. Many other boys and girls have been recognized in their agricultural endeavors. What we may expect of the youth of today can well be exemplified by William T. Roark, of Simpson County, Ky., who was chosen by the Kentucky Junior Chamber of Commerce as the outstanding young farmer for 1958.

We of the Second Congressional District of Kentucky have always been convinced that farming is not only an essential industry entitled to its fair share of the national income, but that it is something more—it is a way of life that must be preserved, it is indispensable to the stability and the continuity of any civilized society. And, in spite of the many problems facing our farmers, agriculture has most assuredly made its impact on the stability of our State. The initial impact of the rural development program has been responsible for many improvements in Kentucky, and particularly is this true in Butler County, located in my district. Under the rural development program pilot counties were designated in many States. The three such counties in Kentucky are Butler County, Metcalfe County and Elliott County. The citizens of Butler County are convinced that the rural development program is the soundest approach yet devised to gaining long-range economic development and growth in our rural towns and communities. Here we have witnessed an example of success so far as the rural development program is concerned, and likewise the citizens of Butler County have set a splendid example of time and effort successfully spent in saving small farms, and their owners from economic downfall.

While citizens collectively have been striving for improvement in agricultural conditions, it is equally true that many individuals have directed their vision and leadership toward lifting the farming profession to a higher level. Such an individual is Mr. Charles L. Taylor, of Bowling Green, Ky., who for 30 years headed the agricultural department at Western Kentucky State College. Mr. Taylor has devoted practically his entire life to the furtherance of agriculture, and in so doing he has ever kept in mind

that our farm problem is basically a problem of conservation—of conserving not only the very roots of our national economy, but also a way of life. Through his knowledge of the great potential that lies in the soil of our land, he has endeavored to see to it that this gift of our inheritance is not forfeited. On April 16, 1959, Mr. Taylor was named Kentucky's "Man of the Year" in agriculture. It is fitting that his services should be recognized, for certainly there is no person in the State of Kentucky more deserving of such an honor.

Mr. Speaker, I am humbly grateful that the people whom I represent have an appreciation of the rewards and satisfaction to be achieved from a life devoted to farming. It is comforting to realize that there are civic-minded citizens who are dedicated to the principle that abundant agricultural production is the backbone of America's strength. Our country will always have room for imaginative, reasonable and responsible men and women such as I am privileged to number among my constituents. They are aware that soil and water and vegetation and wildlife are important not so much for themselves, but for the effect they have on people. Conservation means not just conserving topsoil and trees, but conserving the values which make human beings human.

Our forefathers knew that agriculture must prosper if our new Nation was to prosper. Farming was man's fundamental pursuit. Our early farmer helped to develop a democratic spirit and pride in the virtues of industry, thrift and labor which is present today on our farms in the Second Congressional District of Kentucky. I am convinced that their love and concern for the soil, its use, conservation and nature will continue on into the future. We must not forget to pass on the lesson that the men and women who founded our Nation knew so well; that our lands, one of our most valuable possessions, must be jealously protected and strengthened by each generation.

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER VETOES HIGH INTEREST BILL—IDENTICAL ISSUE TO BE SETTLED IN BOTH STATE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] may extend his remarks at this point and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of yesterday reports that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller vetoed a bill passed by the Legislature of New York which would have increased the ceiling on small loans from \$500 to \$800, and would also have increased interest rates under the usury laws. The bill would have raised the monthly rate of interest

which a lender may charge on that portion of a loan in excess of \$300 from the present rate of one-half of 1 percent per month to 1 percent per month.

This bill, as I understand it, would have applied to savings and loan associations. Yet to be considered, according to the New York Times' report, is a bill to amend the banking laws which will have the effect of creating a large loophole in the usury laws of the State. Judging from the newspaper description of this bill, it is the same proposal, to apply to State banks, which Congress considered last year with reference to national banks, and which the Congress will consider again this year.

The nub of the proposal, which is before Congress, is to eliminate an essential part of the usury provisions contained in the National Bank Act which was signed by Abraham Lincoln. This is the part of the provision which forbids the national banks to make loans and discounts at a rate above that specified in the law. The proposal, specifically, is this: When consumer paper or the small business paper is made up by the automobile dealer, the appliance dealer, or the loan sharks, or by anyone else, the bank will be exempt from the maximum interest rate allowed by the usury laws when it advances money on such paper. In other words, the theory is that the bank will be purchasing the paper in the open market although, of course, as a usual practice the automobile dealer, the appliance dealer, the furniture store or whoever sells the paper to the bank does so under a full recourse agreement which requires the seller of the paper to make good the loan in event the consumer defaults.

Evading the usury laws on this theory has been foreclosed since 1881. In that year the Supreme Court of the United States slapped down the theory in *National Bank v. Johnson* (104 U.S. 271). However, some of the bankers have had a drive on in recent years to write this theory into both the Federal and State usury laws. Thus the financial institutions bill, a 252-page bill which would overhaul all of the banking laws, contains provisions which would put this loophole, plus several other loopholes, into the Federal usury law. The financial institutions bill was passed by the Senate in the 85th Congress, but was finally beaten in the House Committee on Banking and Currency. This proposal appears by no means dead, however. The financial institutions bill has been reintroduced in the present Congress; and from all appearances the bankers are working on the State legislatures to get this loophole placed into the State laws applying to State banks.

The forces for breaking down the usury laws are powerful and very insistent, because huge amounts of money can be made by charging usurious interest rates, and some of the banks and other financial institutions are quite willing and able to make money in this way. Last year the Attorney General of one of the States brought an injunction against one of the national credit organizations which revealed that this organi-

ation was charging the people of that State interest rates amounting to as much as 72 percent a year for financing automobiles.

The New York Times report of May 3, 1959, to which I have referred, is titled "Legislators Saw Money Bank Bills." The report is as follows:

The Governor vetoed a bill that would have increased the ceiling on small loans from \$500 to \$800, and increased from one-half of 1 percent to 1 percent the monthly rate of interest a licensed lender may charge on the portion of a loan in excess of \$300. The bill also would have permitted precomputation of interest, default charges, and the sale of insurance.

In killing the measure the Governor said it would have increased the costs of borrowers and the earnings of lenders. He added: "In view of the fact that the earnings of the industry are not now insufficient, and the fact that the public interest requires that loan ceilings and rates be fixed as low as possible consistent with maintenance of the necessary lending facilities, the changes wrought by this bill appear to be unduly favorable to the lender and unfavorable to the borrower."

The Governor vetoed a bill amending the general business law to apply to savings and loan associations the usury rules applying to banks and trust companies under the banking law. The amendment would have made violators of the statute liable to forfeiture of double the amount of interest collected. Their contracts, however, would have remained valid.

An amendment to the banking law that would have permitted banks to purchase commercial paper at discounts greater than 6 percent was held in the banking committees of the senate and assembly.

The last paragraph of the news item above refers to a 6-percent discount rate. It means an effective rate of about 12 percent. In the FHA, modernization loans which provide for a 5-percent rate on a discount basis really means an effective rate of 9.7 percent that the borrower pays.

IN SPITE OF THE VETO THREAT, CONGRESS SHOULD PASS NEW FARM LEGISLATION

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.
Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in our present situation, we depend heavily upon income tax receipts to balance the budget. Most of our public debt was accumulated during the war, and we are now paying such high interest rates on that debt that 10 percent of our taxes are required to pay the interest on the debt. In this situation we cannot afford depression for any segment of our economy. Low farm income and high unemployment are of great concern and importance to all of us. I received through the mail a copy of the April 24, 1959, commodity letter of Daniel F. Rice & Co., of Chicago. They are a firm with branches in Iowa, Illinois, New York, and Florida, and members of the New York

and other stock exchanges, and have set forth some worthwhile statistics and observations. The letter is as follows:

COMMODITY LETTER

APRIL 24, 1959.

The Nation as a whole is enjoying a boom and experiencing a wave of inflation. The textbooks tell us that primary producers, especially farmers, benefit first and most from inflation. This one is not going according to the book. The farm situation is deflating. The rest of the economy is eating better than it ever has in history without having to pay a proportionate increase in cost. Why has farm income lagged during inflation?

Consumer expenditures for all goods and services increased from \$178 billion in 1948, to \$291 billion in 1958. This is an increase of 63 percent. Between the same two times, consumer expenditures for food increased from \$48 billion to \$68 billion, only 42 percent. Food expenditures have lagged behind other uses of income.

But this is not the whole of the story. Farmers got only a tiny share of the increased food costs of consumers. In 1948, the retail store equivalent cost of consumer foods (adjusting for meals eaten in restaurants) was \$39 billion. Farmers got \$19.2 billion and marketing agents \$19.8. In 1958, the retail store equivalent cost was \$53.7 billion. Farmers got \$20.7 and marketing agents \$33 billion. Farmers got an increase of \$1.5 billion but marketing agents realized \$13.2 billion.

During the same 10-year period, total farm receipts increased slightly from \$34.9 billion to \$37.6 billion. But this was only because of the very favorable weather in 1958. Gross farm income in 1957 was \$34.3 billion, or less than it was in 1948. Production expenses increased from \$18.9 billion to \$24.5 billion so that net farm income went down from \$16.1 billion in 1948 to \$13.1 billion in 1958. The farmers were caught in an inflationary vise.

What has happened to net farm income during the tenure of our present Secretary of Agriculture? In 1952, net farm income was \$14.4 billion versus \$10.8 billion in 1957, a decrease of 25 percent. Between 1952 and 1957, consumer income went up from \$239 to \$305 billion, an increase of 28 percent—25 percent down for farmers and 28 percent up for consumers.

If it were argued that there is an increasing number of consumers and a decreasing number of farmers, an analysis of per capita income would fortify our position:

Per capita income:	1952	1957
Farm.....	\$711	\$658
Nonfarm.....	\$1,849	\$2,082
Percent farm to non-farm income.....	38	32

This disparity is not confined to consumer incomes. A comparison of the 1958 levels to 1947-49 levels reveals: Industrial prices up 26 percent, hourly earnings of food marketing employees up 63 percent, railroad freight rates up 42 percent—but farm prices were down 4 percent. Dow-Jones industrial averages were \$269 on January 2, 1952, and \$608 on April 13, 1958—a 2.3-fold increase.

Winston Churchill once proudly said he did not become Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Why did Ezra Taft Benson become Secretary of Agriculture? Certainly, he has not sought to improve the poor lot of the farmer and the position of agriculture.

Cabinet officers and executive departments all work to benefit that segment of society in which they function. No so with the Secretary of Agriculture whose activities have injured farmers while aiding food processors, grain storage companies, and other nonfarm groups.

Those who are interested in balancing the budget without hampering our growth should seriously consider the facts set forth in that letter as additional evidence that we need a better approach to our farm problems. The more our programs have been designed to please the administration, the lower the farmers' income has been. I admit that many Members cite the undeniable fact that a program that would not be vetoed would be of little or no benefit in raising farm income and would probably lower farm income. The President vetoed bills passed by Congress previously that would have helped this situation. I also admit that since we failed to override the veto of the REA bill, there is now considerable evidence that the veto of a good farm bill would be difficult to override. After all, it is difficult in any deliberative body to get a 2 to 1 vote on such matters. I do believe, however, that we should work on and pass a farm bill in time to affect the 1960 crop year.

Increasing farm income to a parity with other incomes would increase income tax receipts and help greatly to balance our Government budget. I hope Members of Congress will not become so discouraged at the obstacles being placed in our path that they will give up. Let us review the facts set forth in that letter and other facts we have at hand and pass new farm legislation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. LIBONATI (at the request of Mr. PRICE), for Monday, May 4, 1959, on account of official business.

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana, for an indefinite period, on account of being called to active duty, in the Official Army Reserve, on orders.

Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. ROONEY), for Monday, May 4, 1959, on account of illness.

Mr. HOSMER (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for the period May 4, to May 15, 1959, on account of illness.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (at the request of Mr. ANFUSO), for Monday, May 4, 1959, on account of official business.

Mr. HESS (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for the period May 4 to May 8, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. JENSEN, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. GUBSER, for 60 minutes, on Monday, May 11.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. LINDSAY (at the request of Mr. GRIFFIN), for 45 minutes, on Thursday.

Mr. PORTER (at the request of Mr. PUCINSKI), for 60 minutes, on Wednesday next.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. BOLAND in three instances.

Mr. BAILEY.

Mr. SHIPLEY.

Mr. STRATTON and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. EVINS in four instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PORTER in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio and to include a copy of a letter he recently wrote to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Mrs. MAY.

Mr. PRICE and to include a transcript of a television program "Face the Nation."

(At the request of Mr. GRIFFIN, the following Members were given permission to revise and extend their remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:)

Mr. ZELENKO.

Mr. VAN ZANDT.

Mr. ALGER.

(At the request of Mr. PUCINSKI, and to include extraneous matter, the following:)

Mr. HEMPHILL.

Mr. MULTER.

Mr. HOLTZMAN.

Mr. FORAND.

Mr. DINGELL.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 455. An act to provide for the appointment of an assistant to the Secretary of State to assure joint policy and planning and equitable budgeting of exchange of persons programs and administrative cooperation between staffs engaged in carrying out such programs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

S. 753. An act to authorize cooperative associations of milk producers to bargain with purchasers singly or in groups, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 994. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Spokane Valley project, Washington and Idaho, under Federal reclamation laws; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1289. An act to increase and extend the special milk program for children; to the Committee on Agriculture.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 7. An act to authorize the Secretary of Defense to lend certain Army, Navy, and Air Force equipment and provide certain services to the Boy Scouts of America for use at the Fifth National Jamboree of the Boy Scouts of America;

H.R. 296. An act to authorize the Secretary of Defense to lend certain Army, Navy, and Air Force Equipment and to provide transportation and other services to the Boy Scouts of America in connection with the World Jamboree of Boy Scouts to be held in the Philippines in 1959;

H.R. 1411. An act for the relief of T. V. Cashen;

H.R. 1453. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mathilde Ringol;

H.R. 1462. An act for the relief of Logan Duff;

H.R. 1535. An act for the relief of Sister Mary Damion (Maria Saveria D'Amelio), Sister Maria Tarcisia (Maria Giovanna Fenuta), and Sister Mary Regina (Maria Lizz);

H.R. 1691. An act for the relief of Oliver O. Newsome;

H.R. 1727. An act for the relief of Dimitrios Kondoleon (also known as James Kondolous);

H.R. 2063. An act for the relief of Otis Parks, W. B. Dunbar, and J. C. Dickey;

H.R. 2099. An act to provide for a posthumous cash award in recognition of the scientific contributions in the field of electronic ordinance by the late Paul M. Tedder;

H.R. 2237. An act to amend chapter 13—wage earners' plans—of the Bankruptcy Act;

H.R. 2281. An act to provide for the payment of relocation expenses to Milo G. and Patricia Wingard;

H.R. 2295. An act for the relief of Sterilon Corp.;

H.R. 2603. An act for the relief of the American Hydrotherm Corp.;

H.R. 2949. An act for the relief of Lois K. Alexander;

H.R. 2975. An act to validate payments of certain quarters allowances made in good faith, and pursuant to agreements by authorized officials, to employees of the Department of the Navy, but which were subsequently determined to be inconsistent with applicable regulations;

H.R. 3095. An act for the relief of Hilary W. Jenkins, Jr.;

H.R. 3293. An act to authorize the construction of modern naval vessels;

H.R. 3939. An act for the relief of Virginia E. Speer;

H.R. 4121. An act for the relief of certain members of the Armed Forces of the United States, or their survivors who were captured and held as prisoners of war in Korean hostilities;

H.R. 4314. An act for the relief of Samuel Abraham, John A. Carroll, Forrest E. Robinson, Thomas J. Sawyers, Jack Silmon, and David N. Wilson;

H.R. 4615. An act to relieve certain members and former members of the naval service of liability to reimburse the United States for the value of transportation requests erroneously furnished to them by the United States; and

H.R. 4913. An act to amend the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, to authorize the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to lease buildings in the District of Columbia.

JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on April 30, 1959, present to the President, for his approval, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 301. Providing for printing copies of "Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives."

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 51 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 5, 1959, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS,
ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

920. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, relative to submitting additional material pertaining to a letter dated March 5, 1959, which recommended enactment of a bill which would amend section 377 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

921. A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report on plans for works of improvement pertaining to the Little Paint Creek watershed, Alabama; Big Park watershed, Iowa; Jennings Creek watershed, Tennessee; and the American Fork-Dry Creek watershed, Utah, pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 1005), and delegated to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget by Executive Order No. 10654 of January 20, 1956; to the Committee on Agriculture.

922. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Logistics), transmitting reports on Army, Navy, and Air Force prime contract awards to small and other business firms completed during the month of February 1959, and in fiscal year 1959 through February, pursuant to Public Law 85-536; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

923. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend the act of May 26, 1949, as amended, to strengthen and improve the organization of the Department of State, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

924. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to authorize the establishment of the Arctic Wildlife Range, Alaska, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

925. A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report on plans for works of improvement pertaining to the Frye Creek-Stockton Wash watershed, Arizona, Brule Creek watershed, South Dakota, and the Sulphur Creek (supplement) watershed, Texas, pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 1005), and delegated to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget by Executive Order No. 10654 of January 20, 1956; to the Committee on Public Works.

926. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended"; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

927. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend subsection (c) of section 4 of the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958"; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

928. A letter from the Acting Secretary of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to authorize the acquisition of land for donation to the Pan American Health Organization as a headquarters site"; to the Committee on Public Works.

929. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated February 20, 1959, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a preliminary examination and survey of Moriches and Shinnecock Inlets, Long Island, N.Y., authorized by the River and Harbor Act, approved March 2, 1945 (H. Doc. No. 126); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with three illustrations.

930. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting amendments to the budget for the fiscal year 1960 involving an increase in the amount of \$433,635 for the legislative branch (H. Doc. No. 127); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANFUSO:

H.R. 6845. A bill to supplement the provisions of the act of August 12, 1955, and the act of August 28, 1958, in order to provide opportunity for Government employees to obtain career-conditional and career appointments in the competitive civil service in certain additional cases; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BARRY:

H.R. 6846. A bill to establish a Central Security Office to coordinate the administration of Federal personnel loyalty and security programs, to prescribe administrative procedure for the hearing and review of cases arising under such programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BENTLEY:

H.R. 6847. A bill to provide an income credit in the case of civil-service annuities received by nonresident alien individuals not engaged in trade or business within the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOLAND (by request):

H.R. 6848. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the full amount of any pension or annuity received under a public retirement system shall be excluded from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOYKIN:

H.R. 6849. A bill to authorize benefits under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration when the service department having jurisdiction does not certify "not in line of duty"; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. CHENOWETH:

H.R. 6850. A bill to amend title III of the Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act to provide for payment of the death gratuity in certain cases involving deaths after June 27, 1950, and before January 1, 1957; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 6851. A bill authorizing the establishment of a national historic site at Bent's Old Fort near La Junta, Colo.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CURTIS of Missouri:

H.R. 6852. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to permit the temporary listing and certification of F.D. & C. Yellow Nos. 3 and 4 for coloring edible

fat under tolerances found safe by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, so as to permit continuance of established coloring practices in the edible fat industries pending congressional enactment of general legislation for the listing and certification of food color additives under safe tolerances; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 6853. A bill to extend the coverage of military service under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system to include inactive duty training; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOGARTY:

H.R. 6854. A bill to extend the application of the Classification Act of 1949 to certain positions in, and employees of, the executive branch of the Government; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 6855. A bill to establish a Central Security Office to coordinate the administration of Federal personnel loyalty and security programs, to prescribe administrative procedure for the hearing and review of cases arising under such programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GEORGE:

H.R. 6856. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a widow under retirement age or a former wife divorced may continue to receive mother's insurance benefits even though none of the children of her deceased husband are any longer entitled to child's insurance benefits, if she is 50 years of age or over when the last such child ceases to be so entitled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6857. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to broaden and make more realistic the definitions of "disability" for purposes of entitlement to disability insurance benefits and the disability freeze; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6858. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that certain illegitimate children may be entitled to benefits thereunder notwithstanding provisions of State law which would otherwise prevent such entitlement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6859. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase from \$1,200 to \$1,800 the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 6860. A bill to amend section 5(B) (4) of the Federal Alcoholic Administration Act, title 27, United States Code, section 203(b) (4); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOEVEN:

H.R. 6861. A bill to provide for a specific contribution by State governments to the cost of feed or seed furnished to farmers, ranchers, or stockmen in disaster areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 6862. A bill to supplement the act of July 30, 1956, by providing in certain additional cases for the granting of the status of regular substitute in the postal field service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. KOWALSKI:

H.R. 6863. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a fully insured individual may qualify for the disability "freeze" and for disability insurance benefits, in certain cases, with 10 quarters

of coverage; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McDOWELL:

H.R. 6864. A bill to provide for the representation of indigent defendants in criminal cases in the district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. METCALF:

H.R. 6865. A bill to further amend an act of September 27, 1944, relating to credit for military or naval service in connection with certain homestead entries; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 6866. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall, under certain circumstances, disclose the current addresses of husbands and parents who have deserted their families; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOULDER:

H.R. 6867. A bill to permit the transmission as third- or fourth-class mail of medical prescriptions with written or printed instructions for the use thereof; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 6868. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, with respect to the hours of operation of certain broadcasting stations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 6869. A bill to provide that the milk ordinance and code, 1953, recommendations of the Public Health Service, will be in effect in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H.R. 6870. A bill to provide for uniformity of application of certain postal requirements with respect to disclosure of the average numbers of copies of publications sold or distributed to paid subscribers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 6871. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a public health training program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. COHELAN:

H.R. 6872. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a public health training program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.R. 6873. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a public health training program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 6874. A bill to repeal the tax on transportation of persons; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts (by request):

H.R. 6875. A bill to amend chapter 15 of title 38, United States Code, to provide for payment of a pension of \$100 per month to World War I veterans who have attained the age of 60 years; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 6876. A bill to amend the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956 to authorize the President to provide for participation by foreign governments and citizens of other countries in artistic and cultural activities in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TRIMBLE:

H.R. 6877. A bill to provide for the establishment of a U.S. Foreign Service Academy,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 6878. A bill to repeal the cabaret tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WILSON:

H.R. 6879. A bill to liberalize the tariff laws for works of art and other exhibition material, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZELENKO:

H.R. 6880. A bill to provide for the issuance of a national health research stamp for the support of the National Institutes of Health; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HARGIS:

H. J. Res. 359. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONTOYA:

H. J. Res. 360. Joint resolution to authorize participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences with Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H. J. Res. 361. Joint resolution to establish a National Institute for International Health and Medical Research, to provide for international cooperation in health research, research training, and research planning, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. J. Res. 362. Joint resolution to provide for the acceleration of the various reforestation programs of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DOLLINGER:

H. Res. 257. Resolution to provide for the unity of Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. Res. 258. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 259, current session; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By Mr. FORAND: Memorial of the Rhode Island General Assembly memorializing Congress to work for the passage of a U.S. constitutional amendment denying any State an unfair process of taxation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Rhode Island General Assembly memorializing the Congress of the United States relative to providing free medical care to aged persons; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States relative to atomic energy and radiation protection; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States relative to providing free medical care to aged persons; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States relative to the civil rights bills now under consideration before the subcommittees of the Senate and the House of Repre-

sentatives of the Congress of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alaska, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States relative to urging that proper legislation be passed protecting the rights of homesteaders in the State of Alaska to the minerals on and in those homestead lands; to the Committee on Interior and 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. BURNS of Hawaii:

H.R. 6881. A bill for the relief of Francisco P. Pascua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COHELAN (by request):

H.R. 6882. A bill for the relief of Mrs. King-Ngu Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 6883. A bill for the relief of Leong Lun Do; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KITCHIN:

H.R. 6884. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Barbara May Boswell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 6885. A bill for the relief of Neal Anderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALTER:

H.R. 6886. A bill for the relief of Lilliana Caprara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATES:

H.R. 6887. A bill for the relief of Mieko Nishikawa Yoshida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

172. By Mr. BENTLEY: Petition of the editors of Szavad Magyarsag, an American-Hungarian newspaper, published in the city of New York, concerning free elections in Hungary and other captive nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

173. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the secretary-treasurer, International Council of Sugar Workers and Allied Industries Unions, Delta, Colo., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to voicing approval of the Sugar Act of the United States, as amended in 1956, and calling for the extension of the act prior to its expiration on December 31, 1960; to the Committee on Agriculture.

174. Also, petition of the acting city clerk, city of Chelsea, Mass., with reference to supporting proposed legislation eliminating the telephone tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

175. Also, petition of the chairman, Todd County Taxpayers League, Inc., Mission, S. Dak., relative to true facts concerning the Indian affairs of the State of South Dakota; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

176. Also, petition of Benjamin Torres and others, Central Mercedita, P.R., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to requesting favorable consideration of proposed legislation to be presented to Congress that would establish Puerto Rico as the 51st State in the Union, also authorizing a referendum; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.