

within the Research and Development Division of the Bureau of Public Roads to work with the State highway departments and with industry to explore the whole problem of permissible tolerances and inspection procedures.

The consensus of informed persons, as I interpret it, is that the approach being followed is based on the fact that the testing of samples taken at random provides data which can be plotted on a curve, and an analysis of which determines whether or not a given standard of quality has been met. I would be inclined to the more lenient interpretation that in using this approach it does not follow that a job is categorized as a failure because a few samples may fall below the lower limit of specified tolerances. Shouldn't the whole curve be considered?

Early completion of the work of the task force in the Bureau's Research and Development Division is a matter of urgency. Acceptance by the States of recommended tolerances to be brought forth likewise is an urgent matter.

I am informed that planning and construction delays have reached proportions in many areas which are costly not only to the taxpayers but also are threatening the stability of the contracting industry.

Highway contractors should find acceptance of workable tolerances to be of significance to their work and beneficial to their operations.

Experts assure me that new inspection and testing techniques, coupled with engineering judgment of high order, will promote decisions on the spot, so to speak, and will thus eliminate many costly delays, as well

as speed the process of approving estimates for payment.

Close cooperation between State and Federal authorities and between government and industry is, of course, essential to success through these approaches.

I am gratified that the American Road Builders' Association has a committee at work to provide industry participation in and support for this project undergoing study by the Bureau's research and development task force.

The interest of our Public Works Committee in the matter of new materials and new uses of materials, new equipment and new methods employed in construction has been demonstrated by the activities during the past year in connection with the compiling of seven committee prints dealing with the subject of new materials, new design methods, etc., in public works construction. One of the outstanding presentations which the committee received was prepared by the Bureau of Public Roads, in cooperation with others. It has shown very clearly and concisely the high degree of technical refinement that is being employed in highways construction in this country. It is my hope that we can expand this study by conferences with representatives of industry and that eventually we can publish a composite report which will point up specific areas where additional research may be helpful in improving public works structures.

In summary, I emphasize the belief that important contributions can be made—indeed, must be made—to three vitally necessary goals, namely:

1. Maintenance of a Federal-aid highway program—and I underscore the fact that it

must be an aid program—conducted by the States, rather than one which would be a Federal highway program with aid to the States unfortunately deemphasized.

2. Improved and duplication-free inspection which would have the positive result of strengthening public confidence in the integrity of the highway program.

3. Elimination of project and construction delays costly both to the taxpayers and to the contractors.

It is my hope that this year will be one during which the administrators can devote their efforts to administering—the engineers to engineering—the roadbuilders to building—the paving contractors to paving—and the highway and safety researchers to their important investigations and development.

I trust there will be a minimum of requirement on the time of those in the public road agencies and those in the private sector of road construction for response to legislative inquiries and legislative hearings.

In the absence of objection—to use legislative parlance—I will close, as I did the last ARBA convention I had the privilege of addressing, with these admonitions and assurances:

There is an overriding requirement that there will be full recognition of the fact that this Nation's road construction needs are among our most urgent domestic problems. But these needs can be had and will be fulfilled—and the blight of accounts of alleged and/or actual wrongdoing will be overcome—if we unite to promote a harmonious Federal-State-industry partnership. I call for a partnership for progress—one guided by men to match our times.

## SENATE

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1963

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of all grace, Thou hast taught us that in quietness and in confidence shall be our strength. On this day of world prayer, when around the earth the incense of intercession arises from the agonized needs of Thy children, we, too, in this Chamber of governance, would climb the world's great altar stairs which slope through darkness up to Thee, the giver of all good.

We lift up our prayer for Thy endowment of spiritual might upon the godly women of all the churches in this our Capital City, who are reverently bowing this very hour at an altar set up in this white-domed shrine of each patriot's devotion, asking for Thy healing grace as the only balm in Gilead for the ills of this Sundered and wounded world.

On this appointed day we would join the hosts under all skies in the mystery of united prayer by which more things are wrought than this world dreams of. We do not ask for Thy bestowal upon us of any material thing. We but ask that Thou wouldst make us men and women of pure hearts, purged from the mire of moral failure, free from the lure of selfish advantage, and of the prejudice which blinds our inner eyes and warps our judgment.

So above all, in turmoils without and within, day by day we would find—

A little place of mystic grace,  
Of self and sin swept bare,  
Where we may look upon Thy face,  
And talk to Thee in prayer.

In the dear Redeemer's name we ask it. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 28, 1963, was dispensed with.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

### LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING MORNING HOUR

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the morning hour were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

#### REPORT ON EXPORT CONTROL

A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on export control, covering the quarter ended December 31, 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### USE OF CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD RECORDS AND TESTIMONY OF BOARD PERSONNEL REGARDING AIRCRAFT ACCIDENTS

A letter from the Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation relating to the use of Civil Aeronautics Board records and testimony of Board personnel regarding aircraft accidents (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

#### REPORT ON FINANCIAL CONDITION AND FISCAL OPERATIONS OF HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the financial condition and fiscal operations of the highway trust fund, dated June 30, 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

#### REPORT ON REVIEW OF MANPOWER UTILIZATION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF FACILITIES AND OPERATION OF UTILITIES AT SELECTED MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN JAPAN

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the review of manpower utilization in the maintenance of facilities and operation of utilities at selected military installations in Japan, Department of Defense, dated February 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

**REPORT ON EXTRAORDINARY CONTRACTUAL ACTIONS TO FACILITATE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE, U.S. COAST GUARD**

A letter from the Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on extraordinary contractual actions to facilitate the national defense, U.S. Coast Guard, for the calendar year 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

**REPORT ON RESEARCH AND TRAINING ACTIVITIES UNDER MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT**

A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on research and training activities under the Manpower Development and Training Act, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

**PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS**

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

**By the VICE PRESIDENT:**

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Idaho; to the Committee on Government Operations:

**"HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 10**

*"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:*

"We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho, respectfully represent that:

"Whereas, in its act of June 30, 1906, the Congress of the United States recognized that nontaxpaying national forests situate within the States created an imbalance within those States and within the counties in which such forests were situate, and by said act authorized payment to said States and counties of 25 percent of the receipts from sales of timber in such national forests in lieu of taxes on said forest lands and the timber thereon; and

"Whereas although it appeared to be the intent of the Congress that such payments in lieu of taxes were to be computed on the gross receipts, as aforesaid, nevertheless the quantitative payments to the said States, and especially to the State of Idaho and to the counties situate therein, have become smaller in relation to the gross receipts from sale of timber from said national forests because of increasing deductions from said gross amounts; and

"Whereas, it has been estimated that, because of increasing deductions from said gross payments the counties of the State of Idaho have been receiving as little as 8 percent of said gross receipts; and

"Whereas it would require, because of present deductions which have been made since the original enactment of the act of Congress of June 30, 1906, payment to the State of Idaho for the counties therein of 65 percent of the receipts from the sale of timber severed from forest lands to realize the amount of 25 percent as originally contemplated by the Congress: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the 37th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, now in session (the Senate and House of Representatives concurring), That we most respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as will authorize the payment to the States wherein are situate national forests an amount of 65 percent of the gross receipts from the sale of timber in such forests, or such other percentage of said receipts, as will assure such States of*

receiving an amount equivalent to the intent of the Congress in enacting the act of June 30, 1906; and be it further

*"Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to forward copies of this memorial to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress, and to the Senators and Representatives representing the State of Idaho in the Congress of the United States.*

"Passed the house on the 9th day of February 1963.

"PETE T. CENARRUSA,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

"Passed the senate on the 18th day of February 1963.

"W. E. DREVLLOW,

*President of the Senate.*

"Attest:

"ROBERT H. REMAKLUS,

*Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives."*

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Idaho; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

**"HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 7**

*"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:*

*"Resolved by the 37th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, now in session (the Senate and House of Representatives concurring), That we most respectfully urge the Congress of the United States of America to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.*

**"ARTICLE —**

*"SECTION 1. Article V of the Constitution of the United States is hereby amended to read as follows:*

*"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. Whenever applications from the legislatures of two-thirds of the total number of States of the United States shall contain identical texts of an amendment to be proposed, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall so certify, and the amendment as contained in the application shall be deemed to have been proposed, without further action by Congress. No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."*

*"Sec. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission"; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That if Congress shall have proposed an amendment to the Constitution identical with that contained in this resolution prior to January 1, 1965, this application for a convention shall no longer be of any force or effect; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to forward certified copies of this memorial to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress, and to the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.*

"Passed the house on the 7th day of February 1963.

"PETE T. CENARRUSA,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

"Passed the senate on the 19th day of February 1963.

"W. E. DREVLLOW,

*President of the Senate.*

"Attest:

"ROBERT H. REMAKLUS,

*Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives."*

A memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

**"HOUSE MEMORIAL 1**

*"Memorial urging the Congress of the United States to authorize the immediate cessation of printing of all one dollar silver certificates which do not bear the inscription 'In God We Trust'*

*"To the Congress of the United States:*

*"Your memorialist respectfully represents:*

*"Whereas Public Law 140, enacted by the 84th Congress, and approved by the President of the United States on July 11, 1955, provided that all U.S. currency shall bear the inscription 'In God We Trust,' the intent of the U.S. Congress is clear and this law is hereby quoted below:*

*"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That at such time as new dies for the printing of currency are adopted in connection with the current program of the Treasury Department to increase the capacity of presses utilized by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the dies shall bear, at such place or places thereon as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine to be appropriate, the inscription 'In God We Trust', and thereafter this inscription shall appear on all U.S. currency and coins.*

*"Approved July 11, 1955."*

*"Whereas 8 years have elapsed since the enactment of this law by the Congress of the United States; and*

*"Whereas as recently as the fiscal year 1962, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing delivered 193,960,000 silver certificates, series 1935 G, without the inscription; and*

*"Whereas it appears that the use of currency without the inscription 'In God We Trust,' gives aid and comfort to those nations which pursue the atheistic Communist ideology;*

*"Wherefore your memorialist, the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, prays that the Congress of the United States authorize the appropriate officials and agencies of the Federal Government to order the cessation of printing of all \$1 silver certificates which do not bear the inscription 'In God We Trust.'*

*"Adopted by the house on February 8, 1963.*

*"Approved by the Governor, February 8, 1963.*

*"Filed in the office of the secretary of state, February 8, 1963."*

**CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS OF SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE**

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of the Senate a concurrent resolution adopted by the State Legislature of South Dakota urging that the Commodity Credit Corporation shall recognize the full protection which licensed South Dakota public grain warehousemen provide for the owners of grain in storage, and urging the abandonment of any proposed action by the

Commodity Credit Corporation to duplicate such protection. I request that the resolution and the letter of transmittal be made a part of the RECORD, and referred to the appropriate committees.

There being no objection, the letter and concurrent resolution were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,  
SENATE CHAMBER,  
Pierre, S. Dak., February 25, 1963.

HON. KARL E. MUNDT,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 which has been adopted by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, convened in its 38th regular session at Pierre, S. Dak.

Your favorable consideration of the purpose and intent of this concurrent resolution will be greatly appreciated by the citizens of South Dakota.

Respectfully,

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 1

Concurrent resolution urging that the Commodity Credit Corporation shall recognize the full protection which licensed South Dakota public grain warehousemen provide for the owners of grain in storage, and urging the abandonment of any proposed action by said Commodity Credit Corporation to duplicate such protection

Whereas the licensed public grain warehousemen of South Dakota do provide a surety bond to the State of South Dakota for the full market value of all grain that they hold in storage, either for private individuals or for the Commodity Credit Corporation, in contrast to many other States where warehouse laws do not afford this safeguard; and

Whereas the Commodity Credit Corporation has publicly announced its intention to seek a blanket bond or legal liability insurance policy covering all warehouses in the United States by whom Government grains are held in store; and

Whereas the need which Commodity Credit Corporation may feel to secure adequate protection arises solely from absence or insufficiency of statutory safeguards elsewhere than in the State of South Dakota; and

Whereas the Commodity Credit Corporation proposes to arbitrarily distribute the cost of such blanket bond or legal liability coverage under some plan which has not yet been determined, to which extent they would inflict a cost upon South Dakota warehousemen for duplicating a protection which has always been required by South Dakota law: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the senate of the 38th Legislature of the State of South Dakota (the house of representatives concurring),* That the action under study by the Commodity Credit Corporation would be in conflict with the regulatory controls already wisely established in this State and administered by the Public Utilities Commission; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota hereby memorializes the Commodity Credit Corporation to abandon any action which serves to duplicate the safeguards which they now already have provided to them; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the assessment of any costs which Commodity Credit Corporation might incur, to warehousemen licensed under the

South Dakota public grain warehouse law, would be imposing an unfair and unnecessary burden upon them; and be it finally

*Resolved,* That a certified copy of this resolution be transmitted to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, the Board of Directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation, and to the Members of the Congress of the United States elected from the State of South Dakota.

Adopted by the senate January 28, 1963.

Concurred in by the house of representatives February 20, 1963.

NIELS A. BOE,  
Lieutenant Governor,  
President of the Senate.

Attest:

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.  
PAUL E. BROWN,  
Speaker, House of Representatives.

Attest:

W. J. MATSON,  
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of the Senate a concurrent resolution adopted by the State Legislature of South Dakota, memorializing the Congress of the United States, relative to providing incentive payments by the Federal Government for domestic gold producers.

In presenting the concurrent resolution, Mr. President, I call attention to the bill, S. 824, which I have introduced and in which my colleague from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN] has joined as a cosponsor.

Mr. President, I request that the resolution and the letter of transmittal be made a part of the RECORD. I also request that a copy of S. 824 also be printed in the RECORD immediately following the text of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the letter and concurrent resolution were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and the concurrent resolution, letter and bill were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,  
SENATE CHAMBER,  
Pierre, S. Dak., February 25, 1963.

HON. KARL E. MUNDT,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith Senate Concurrent Resolution 4, which has been adopted by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, convened in its 38th regular session at Pierre, S. Dak.

Your favorable consideration of the purpose and intent of this concurrent resolution will be greatly appreciated by the citizens of South Dakota.

Respectfully,

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 4

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States relative to providing incentive payments by the Federal Government for domestic gold producers

Whereas domestic gold producers have been obligated to sell their product to the Federal Government at the established price of \$35 an ounce since 1934; and

Whereas constantly increasing inflationary costs of mining and milling this precious metal have resulted in closing down the

properties of virtually all of the gold producers in the United States; and

Whereas production of gold from domestic sources has remained in the range of 1½ million ounces contrasting to 6 million ounces in 1940 while current industrial use of gold in this country amounts to 3 million ounces per annum; and

Whereas our dwindling national gold reserve is a matter of grave concern to our citizens; and

Whereas it is in the national interest to increase our domestic gold production: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the 38th Legislature of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein),* That the members of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota respectfully request the Congress of the United States to provide incentive payments to assure domestic gold producers a fair economic return on their properties with the objective of increasing gold production in the United States. Such incentive payments would enable gold mines currently operating to survive under current high levels of cost, would aid in reopening closed mines and likewise provide a stimulus for exploration and development of new gold properties. Such incentive payments are essential to prevent complete destruction of our domestic gold mining industry; and be it further

*Resolved,* That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each Member of the Congress from this State.

Adopted by the senate February 13, 1963.

Concurred in by the house of representatives February 21, 1963.

NIELS A. BOE,  
Lieutenant Governor,  
President of the Senate.

Attest:

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.  
PAUL E. BROWN,  
Speaker, House of Representatives.

Attest:

W. J. MATSON,  
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

#### S. 824

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the percentage depletion allowance for gold produced in the United States

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the second sentence of section 613(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to percentage depletion) is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: "except that in the case of gold mines, such allowance shall not exceed 65 percent of the taxpayer's taxable income from the property (computed without allowance for depletion)".

SEC. 2. Section 613(b)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to mines and other natural deposits entitled to 23-percent rate of percentage depletion) is amended by inserting "gold," after "columbium."

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.)

### RESOLUTION OF ARIZONA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, relating to the withdrawal from circulation all \$1 silver certificates which do not bear the inscription "In God We Trust."

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

A MEMORIAL URGING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO AUTHORIZE THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM CIRCULATION ALL \$1 SILVER CERTIFICATES WHICH DO NOT BEAR THE INSCRIPTION "IN GOD WE TRUST"

To the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents: Whereas Public Law 140, enacted by the 84th Congress and approved by the President of the United States on July 11, 1955, provided that all U.S. currency shall bear the inscription "In God We Trust." The intent of the U.S. Congress is clear and this law is hereby quoted below:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That at such times as new dies for the printing of currency are adopted in connection with the current program of the Treasury Department to increase the capacity of presses utilized by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the dies shall bear, at such place or places thereon as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine to be appropriate, the inscription 'In God We Trust', and thereafter this inscription shall appear on all U.S. currency and coins.

"Approved July 11, 1955."

Whereas 8 years have elapsed since the enactment of this law by the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas as recently as the fiscal year 1962, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing delivered 193,960,000 silver certificates, series 1935G, without the inscription; and

Whereas it appears that the use of currency without the inscription, "In God We Trust", gives aid and comfort to those nations which pursue the atheistic Communist ideology.

Wherefore your memorialist, the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona prays:

That the Congress of the United States authorize the appropriate officials and agencies of the Federal Government to order the cessation of printing and immediate withdrawal from circulation of all \$1 silver certificates which do not bear the inscription "In God We Trust."

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Government Operations, without amendment:

S. 345. A bill to provide for the approval of a payment in lieu of taxes to be made for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959, by the Hawaii Housing Authority to the city and county of Honolulu (Rept. No. 13).

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Government Operations, with an amendment:

S. 812. A bill to provide for the release of restrictions and reservations on certain real property heretofore conveyed to the State of Arkansas by the United States of America (Rept. No. 14).

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on Government Operations, with amendments:

S. 13. A bill to authorize the Administrator of General Services to convey certain land situated in the State of Arkansas to the city of Fayetteville, Ark. (Rept. No. 15).

By Mr. ANDERSON, from the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, with amendments:

S. Res. 74. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences to make a study of matters pertaining to aeronautical and space activities of Federal departments and agencies; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, without amendment:

S. Res. 95. Resolution to provide funds for additional staff for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments:

S. Res. 22. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to examine, investigate, and study matters pertaining to migratory labor; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MCGEE:

S. 963. A bill for the relief of Constantina (Mihai) Michia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SALTONSTALL (by request):

S. 964. A bill for the relief of Michele Tunzi and his wife, Carmina, and their minor children; and

S. 965. A bill for the relief of Amalia Seresly; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOWER:

S. 966. A bill for the relief of Yukio Iseri; and

S. 967. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio A. Moure; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HILL:

S. 968. A bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in expansion of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 969. A bill to provide medical care for certain Coast and Geodetic Survey retired ships' officers and crewmembers and their dependents, and for other purposes;

S. 970. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to utilize funds received from State and local governments for special meteorological services; and

S. 971. A bill to authorize the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to arm his employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bills, which appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 972. A bill for the relief of Jesus Te Torrado-Espana; and

S. 973. A bill for the relief of Manuel Gil-Carrasco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 974. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the construction, protection,

operation, and maintenance of a public airport in or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia"; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. BIBLE when he introduced the last above-mentioned bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 975. A bill to provide for the satisfaction of claims arising out of scrip, lieu selection, and similar rights; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks by Mr. BIBLE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself and Mr. Moss):

S. 976. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to permanently set aside certain lands in Utah as an addition to the Navajo Indian Reservation, and for other purposes," approved March 1, 1963; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FONG:

S. 977. A bill for the relief of Henry Kau-fusi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. JACKSON, and Mr. KENNEDY):

S. 978. A bill to provide medical care for certain persons engaged on board a vessel in the care, preservation, or navigation of such vessel; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JOHNSTON (for himself and Mr. HRUSKA):

S. 979. A bill to amend section 332 of title 28, United States Code, in order to provide for the inclusion of a district judge or judges on the judicial council of each circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AIKEN (for himself and Mr. PROUTY):

S. 980. A bill to provide for holding terms of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont at Montpelier and St. Johnsbury; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BURDICK, and Mr. HUMPHREY):

S. 981. A bill to amend title V of the Housing Act of 1949 to assist in the provision of housing for domestic farm labor; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

### RESOLUTION

#### MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATORS DWORSHAK, CHAVEZ, AND KERR

Mr. MANSFIELD submitted a resolution (S. Res. 104) providing for memorial addresses on the late Senators DWORSHAK, CHAVEZ, and KERR, which was considered and agreed to.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. MANSFIELD, which appears under a separate heading.)

#### MEDICAL CARE FOR CERTAIN RETIRED COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY PERSONNEL

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, at the request of the Acting Secretary of Commerce, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide medical care for certain Coast and Geodetic Survey retired ships' officers and crew members and their dependents, and for

other purposes. I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce and an enclosed statement of purpose and need for the proposed legislation, be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 969) to provide medical care for certain Coast and Geodetic Survey retired ships' officers and crew members and their dependents, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter and statement presented by Mr. MAGNUSON are as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,  
Washington, D.C., February 19, 1963.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
President of the Senate,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There are attached four copies of a proposed bill to provide medical care for certain Coast and Geodetic Survey retired ships' officers and crew members and their dependents and for other purposes.

There are also attached four copies of a statement of purpose and need for the proposed bill.

The proposed bill is not being submitted to the Speaker of the House for introduction as a similar bill, H.R. 74, is pending before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this proposed bill to the Congress from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

C. D. MARTIN, JR.,  
Acting Secretary of Commerce.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEED FOR PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE MEDICAL CARE FOR CERTAIN COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY RETIRED SHIPS' OFFICERS AND CREWMEMBERS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

The attached legislation would provide permanent authority for treatment at Public Health Service facilities of retired vessel employees and their dependents of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. This authority was inadvertently repealed by section 5 of Public Law 86-415, approved April 8, 1960, 74 Stat. 34, but has been continued on a year to year basis by language in the Public Health Service appropriation acts. The bill would also provide for an eventual transition to coverage under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959, rather than under the Public Health Service Act, for retired vessel employees and for the dependents of all vessel employees, active or retired.

For many years ships' officers and crewmembers of Coast and Geodetic Survey vessels when on active duty have been authorized to receive medical care at PHS facilities on the same basis as other seamen employed on American vessels. In 1939, retired ships' officers and crewmembers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and dependents of retired or active officers and crewmembers were also authorized to receive such care. In 1960, in amending the Public Health Service Act to provide parity of treatment for members of the uniformed services (which do not include the vessel employees covered by this proposal), the Congress inadvertently re-

pealed the authority to provide medical care to retired vessel employees and to the dependents of such retired employees, while leaving unchanged the authority to provide medical care to vessel employees on active duty and their dependents (sec. 5(d) of Public Law 86-415).

Present vessel employees were hired and have served for a period of years with the understanding that they and their dependents would receive Public Health Service medical care during active service and after retirement. Elimination of this service for those now retired would be a severe hardship and is inconsistent with the administration's concern in regard to adequate medical care to the aged.

Discontinuance of the service to the dependents of those now employed similarly would be an obvious breach of a moral obligation. Moreover it would undoubtedly result in the loss of some highly qualified personnel. To keep faith with these employees, the Department recommends it be made clear that Public Health Service care will continue to be provided to all vessel employees now on active duty or retired, and their dependents.

We believe, however, that for those entering on service in the future, medical care after retirement, and for dependents at all times, should be provided on the same basis as those benefits are provided for Federal employees generally, that is, under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959.

The attached legislation would accomplish this purpose by providing in effect that a vessel employee who entered on duty before July 1, 1963, would be eligible to receive care at PHS facilities after retirement and his dependents would be eligible for such care at any time. Employees entering on duty after that date would receive medical care after retirement, and for their dependents, under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959.

The legislation would also amend section 326(c) of the Public Health Service Act to make clear that the Public Health Service is to supply for the Coast and Geodetic Survey not only care for the sick and disabled but also ancillary services such as medical examinations for purposes of appointment, retirement, and the like. This would be accomplished by extending to the Coast and Geodetic Survey existing authority for the Coast Guard to receive such services. The amendment to section 326(c) also would extend to Public Health Service officers assigned to Coast and Geodetic Survey vessels the authority to render medical aid to crews of fishing vessels now vested in Public Health Service officers assigned to Coast Guard vessels.

AUTHORIZATION FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE TO UTILIZE CERTAIN FUNDS FOR SPECIAL METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, at the request of the Under Secretary of Commerce, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to utilize funds received from State and local governments for special meteorological services. I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Under Secretary of Commerce and an enclosed statement of purpose and need for the proposed legislation be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 970) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to utilize funds received from State and local governments for special meteorological services, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter and statement presented by Mr. MAGNUSON are as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,  
Washington, D.C., February 13, 1963.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
President of the Senate,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There are enclosed four copies of a draft bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to utilize funds received from State and local governments for special meteorological services, and four copies of a statement of purpose and need in support thereof.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the administration's program, there would be no objection to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD GUDEMAN,  
Under Secretary of Commerce.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEED

The Weather Bureau has often been requested by various State and local governments to provide or undertake special meteorological investigations, tests, and services which the personnel and facilities of the Weather Bureau are specially capable of carrying out. It has become increasingly difficult for the Weather Bureau to perform such functions, which ordinarily cannot be effectively undertaken by any other organizations, because of the lack of adequate statutory authorization to utilize funds for these purposes which the requesting public agency would be willing to provide. The purpose of this proposed legislation is to enable the Weather Bureau to accept and use funds provided by State and local governments for special services required by them which cannot be financed from available Weather Bureau resources. The proposed legislation provides that if work or services requested have no value to the public at large, the Secretary of Commerce must require reimbursement for the total direct and indirect costs before undertaking such work or services. Moreover, the Secretary of Commerce could not undertake work or services having no public value unless they cannot be obtained from private firms or individuals with special competence.

Some instances in which the authorization herein proposed could be utilized for the benefit of local needs are as follows:

1. The State of California is embarking on a large-scale water resources program (headed by its department of water resources) for which it requires a large increase in precipitation stations, in reporting, in maintenance and inspection of stations, and in processing of data. The Weather Bureau's responsibility is national, with its available funds actually insufficient to cover the local needs of California. The State is willing to pay for the increase required to meet its needs. The necessary funds cannot be accepted and utilized by the Bureau unless the proposed legislation is enacted.

2. In 1955 the Kansas Water Resources Factfinding and Research Committee recommended to the Governor and legislature a "cooperative program with the U.S. Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Geological Survey, U.S. Weather Bureau, and U.S. Soil Conservation Service for comprehensive research in hydrology of small watersheds, requiring detailed data on all aspects of the water cycle and effects of man's operation.

Estimated State funds \$150,000 per year for 20 years, to be matched by Federal funds." But of the four Federal agencies mentioned, only the Weather Bureau cannot now accept and utilize the State funds.

3. Many thousands of communities on lesser tributaries and in headwater areas suffer devastating flash floods. With the support of the Weather Bureau's national main stem and tributary flood forecasting system and its developing radar network, these communities could be warned effectively in many cases after establishment of special local observational and reporting networks and communications, development of localized forecast and warning procedures, and educational liaison in planning actions based on warnings. The costs may average only a few thousand dollars per community per year. There are thousands of such communities, and the Bureau is able to serve only a token few with its available funds. The job could be done wherever the community felt it was sufficiently needed to pay for it—if the Bureau could accept and use funds made available by the community.

4. Fire-Weather Service of the Weather Bureau is another service which operates on a cost-sharing basis in many instances, and which is handicapped in its operation by lack of adequate legislative authority. The Service provides day-to-day forecasts and advices during the fire season and issues detailed localized operational forecasts for going fires. The Bureau is subject to a heavy demand from forest protection agencies for an expansion of this service to new areas. In most cases it is unable to provide the needed assistance. Enactment of the proposed legislation would greatly facilitate arrangements to provide additional badly needed services of this nature where Federal funds are not available but State or local governments are willing to help.

5. Agricultural weather services, particularly those requiring highly localized and detailed forecasts and special instrumentation, would be greatly benefited by enactment of the proposed legislation. This type of service cannot be adequately handled through the general forecast service and as a rule it is of direct benefit to a relatively small segment of the population. Accordingly, such services are often arranged on a cost-sharing basis where the recipients of the service assume a share of the costs involved. The Horticultural Protection Service which operates in Florida, California, Washington, Oregon, and a few other States is a good example of a specialized weather service that often uses cost-sharing procedures. Under present law the cooperating agency is limited to furnishing such items as communication expenses and office quarters while the full salary of the employee limits the number of points where such service can be provided since the major expense must continue to be handled by the Federal Government. The Bureau has had many requests from all parts of the country for more agricultural weather service of the above-mentioned type. Although cost-sharing is one good way of furnishing more service of this kind, the Bureau is seriously handicapped by the present inability to utilize funds which the localities would be willing to furnish.

6. The Weather Bureau has, in the past few years, received several requests for special observations and assistance in the field of air pollution. Two specific examples of recent origin are the request from the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District for the reinstatement of intermediate upper air soundings at Santa Monica, Calif., and the request from the San Diego County Air Pollution District for additional wind installations and additional upper air soundings in the vicinity of San Diego. There have been other similar requests in the past. The Bureau has generally met such requests

either by declining on the basis of inadequate funds or, where consultation work and a minimum of observations would suffice, arranging for support through other agencies such as the Public Health Service or the Atomic Energy Commission. In light of the increased interest in air pollution, it can be expected that the number of these requests will increase, particularly for specialized observational data such as low-level radiosondes and additional wind measurements. The Bureau will be unable to accommodate most of these requests unless it can accept reimbursement.

On December 22, 1955, the Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy recommended: "Continued cooperation with States and municipalities should be encouraged. Such cooperation serves to supplement the basic data programs of the Federal Government in fields in which there is substantial joint interest. State and local participation contributes to the fundamental programs for interpretation, analysis, and research which are primarily national in character and extend beyond the interests of any single geographical area. Federal matching of State financial support for data programs on a 50-50 basis has been mutually satisfactory and should continue to be a sound basis for such cooperation. \* \* \* Authorization for cooperative participation should be provided if necessary authorization is lacking."

The Bureau cannot provide the cooperation proposed unless legislation is enacted authorizing it to utilize State funds.

Harvey O. Banks, director of water resources, State of California, in supporting legislation such as here proposed, said:

"In many areas, there is need to supplement the basic information now gathered in order that more detailed evaluation may be made of the nature and occurrence of water supplies. California is most vitally interested in the most efficient and complete control and utilization of its water resources to meet the needs of all beneficial uses.

"Therefore, it is the recommendation of the State of California that legislation be enacted by the Congress which would permit agreements permitting cooperative financing between the Weather Bureau and non-Federal agencies under which the trained personnel of the Weather Bureau might be assigned to these cooperative endeavors to obtain and develop information and to make analyses thereof, in addition to that gathered under the Bureau's present basic responsibilities. If this legislation is enacted, we expect to take advantage of it, by entering into such a cooperative agreement at an early date."

#### AUTHORIZATION FOR ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY TO ARM HIS EMPLOYEES

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, at the request of the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to arm his employees, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, requesting the proposed legislation, be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 971) to authorize the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to arm his employees, and for

other purposes, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter presented by Mr. MAGNUSON is as follows:

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY,  
Washington, D.C., January 31, 1963.  
Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
President of the Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a draft bill "To authorize the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to arm his employees, and for other purposes."

This proposal is part of our legislative program for 1963 and its enactment by the Congress is recommended. The bill would authorize the Administrator to purchase and furnish firearms to employees of the Agency as necessary for the protection of public property under his jurisdiction, custody or control, or the execution of responsibilities vested in him by law.

It is the opinion of this Agency, and one shared by other agencies, that the head of an agency of the Federal Government has implied authority to arm his employees for the protection of Federal property. (See S. Rept. 1858 and H. Rept. 2087 accompanying H.R. 11700, 85th Congress.) Accordingly, at those facilities for which we must provide guard service, and for which the normal protective services of the General Services Administration are not available, the Agency has provided arms to the guards. In one instance, the arming of the guards has been preceded by securing from local jurisdictions their designation as "special policemen." This has been done as a precautionary measure to prevent any conflict with local authorities. However, such a designation cannot always be obtained and because of the potential hazards involved in the carrying of firearms, we believe it prudent to obtain express legislative authority. This would place beyond dispute the legal status of our employees in the event of an incident.

In addition to the normal peacetime requirements for property protection, the recent international crisis demonstrated some of the very urgent protection problems which this Agency will face in a national emergency when all of its resources must be directed to maintaining an air defense and air strike capability. The continuity of service of the hundreds of air navigation facilities and other installations which this Agency operates then becomes a matter of critical importance. To assure protection of these facilities, we anticipate arming a limited number of employees at each installation during an emergency. The legislation which we propose would also eliminate any doubt as to the authority of those employees to bear arms.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection from the standpoint of administration's program to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely,

N. E. HALABY,  
Administrator.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF A DOWNTOWN HELIPORT FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which would authorize the construction and operation of a downtown heliport for Washington, D.C.

Helicopter transportation is no longer a novel idea or a mere vision in the eyes of planners. Successful operations are

being conducted in American and foreign cities, serving local and international air transportation needs. Washington, as the capital of the free world, must build to meet the needs of its users of air transportation. A public heliport would serve this purpose.

The Nation's capital city should not lag behind other major metropolitan areas, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, in providing fast and efficient transportation for those who desire it between downtown business areas and jet airports, required to be located more miles away from cities than terminals for conventional aircraft.

With the opening of Dulles International Airport, a new era in air transportation has begun for the Washington area. No longer is it possible for passengers to travel 15 or 20 minutes to National Airport and board a plane to almost any destination. Most long-haul flights, including both arriving and departing jet and conventional aircraft, will be utilizing either Dulles or Friendship terminals. These airports are located between 27 and 34 miles from the District, a greater distance than jet airports presently serving New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Helicopter transportation will provide the service sought by many air travelers who prefer speedier travel to and from jet airports, thereby effectively taking advantage of the timesaving features made possible through the development of jet air transportation.

Forecasters tell us that air transportation in the Washington, D.C., area will increase greatly during the next 5 years. The Bureau of National Capital Airports, Federal Aviation Agency, predicts that Dulles Airport alone should be handling 4,088,000 passengers in 1967 compared to an estimated 1,035,000 passengers in 1963.

My bill would leave to the discretion of the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency the downtown Washington location, which would be in close proximity to the business section and easily accessible to Federal offices.

It is essential that the prestige of the Nation's Capital be maintained as a leader in the air transportation field and as a forward-looking and progressive city supplying the finest in air services.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 974) to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the construction, protection, operation, and maintenance of a public airport in or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia," introduced by Mr. BIBLE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO SATISFY SCRIP CLAIMS

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for the satisfaction of claims arising out of scrip, lieu selection, and similar rights. This legislation has been submitted by the Secretary of the Interior and has as its principal purpose closing the books by 1970 on 462 un-

redeemed old "blank checks" for 16,522 acres of public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management.

I ask unanimous consent that a departmental press release which embodies all of the points suggested by the Department in their letter transmitting the proposed legislation, and the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and press release will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 975) to provide for the satisfaction of claims arising out of scrip, lieu selection, and similar rights, introduced by Mr. BIBLE, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, except for military bounty land warrants, all claims and holdings recorded under the Act of August 5, 1955 (69 Stat. 534, 535), which are not satisfied in one of the ways hereafter set forth, shall become null and void on January 1, 1970, or at the termination of any transaction initiated pursuant to this Act, whichever is later.*

SEC. 2. Prior to July 1, 1966, holders of claims recorded under the Act of August 5, 1955, may apply to the Secretary of the Interior to have conveyed to them, in satisfaction of their claims, such lands as they may, in their applications, designate. The Secretary shall thereafter convey the selected lands if he finds them to be proper, under existing law, for such disposition, and if the claim upon which an application is based is determined to be valid.

SEC. 3. Prior to January 1, 1967, the Secretary shall classify lands which he finds can properly be sold at public sale under the Small Tract Act, as amended (43 U.S.C. 682 a-e) or other public sale laws as suitable for selection in satisfaction of claims recorded under the Act of August 5, 1955. Holders of recorded claims may apply for reasonably compact areas of land so classified, and, upon his determination that the claim upon which application is based is valid, the Secretary shall convey such lands to the applicant.

SEC. 4. Prior to January 1, 1968, the Secretary shall, by registered mail or certified mail send to the address of record of each person having an unsatisfied claim, offer in satisfaction of such claim lands which in the opinion of the Secretary shall have a fair market value per acre not less than the average price received for lands sold under the Small Tract Act, as amended (43 U.S.C. 682 a-e) during the three years prior to the date of the appraisal of the offered lands. Upon the acceptance of the offer, the Secretary shall convey the lands to the claimant, if he determines that the claim is valid.

SEC. 5. Prior to January 1, 1970, any person who has a claim recorded pursuant to the Act of August 5, 1955, by written notice to the Secretary of the Interior, or any officer of the Department of the Interior to whom authority to receive such notice may be delegated, may elect to receive cash instead of public land in satisfaction of his claim, at a rate per acre equal to the average value of the lands offered by the Secretary under section 4 of this Act. Upon a determination that the claim is valid, the Secretary or his delegate shall certify the claim to the Secretary of the Treasury who is authorized and directed to pay the claim out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Acceptance of the money shall constitute a full and complete satisfaction of

the claim or holding for which the money is paid. No agent or attorney acting on behalf of another to procure a payment under this Act shall demand, accept, or receive more than 10 per centum of the payment made, and any agreement to the contrary shall be null and void.

The press release presented by Mr. BIBLE is as follows:

#### INTERIOR SEEKS LAW TO SATISFY LAND "SCRIP" CLAIMS BY 1970

The Department of the Interior has asked Congress to enact legislation that will permit the Government to close its books by 1970 on 462 unredeemed old "blank checks" for 16,522 acres of public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management.

Under the proposed bill, holders of land scrip—I O U's issued by the Government against public lands for various reasons—would have to make their selections by 1970 or forfeit their claims.

From 1776 until as late as 1922, the Government, from time to time, issued public land warrants, or scrip, to satisfy a wide variety of claims and obligations to individual citizens. The acreage entitlement was specified, with the location to be chosen by the holder. It was a handy way of paying off Government debts during the years when the United States had easier access to land than to money.

But the scrip problem has plagued Federal administrators for many decades. The situation has become unsatisfactory because of changing times, lost records, and unforeseen practices.

Until August of 1957, no one had any sure way of knowing how many valid and unsatisfied scrip claims on the public lands were still outstanding.

A law passed by Congress on August 5, 1955, required scripholders to record their claims within 2 years or forever hold their peace. When the deadline came and passed, it finally became possible to ascertain the maximum amount of land the United States still owes the holders of these I O U's.

Congress dealt with a part of the remaining problem in July 1962 when it passed a law providing for the final settlement of claims on scrip issued for military bounty purposes. This measure authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to buy up remaining military bounty land warrants at \$1.25 per acre, and imposes a 1-year deadline for warrant holders after receipt of the Secretary's offer.

Military bounty land warrants were the most numerous and best known form of scrip, issued to veterans of American wars and skirmishes fought prior to March 3, 1855. One recipient of a 120-acre scrip certificate was former Capt. Abraham Lincoln of the Illinois militia, for his service during the Black Hawk War.

There were numerous other varieties of scrip, based on about 10 major acts of Congress and about 30 minor ones.

There was, for example, Gerard scrip—issued as partial reimbursement to the three children of Joseph Gerard, who died in service as a messenger to the hostile Indians of the old Northwest Territory; Sioux Half-Breed scrip, issued to Sioux Indians of mixed blood in exchange for lands set apart for them under a treaty signed in 1830; Choctaw scrip, with a similar background. Other forms of scrip were issued to compensate landowners for early Government survey errors which, when corrected, led to partial loss of their properties.

The bill now proposed by the Department of the Interior is aimed at finishing the job by settling claims for the other remaining kinds of scrip within a limited period. Eleven varieties have been identified among those still outstanding.

Holders of scrip must be able to show valid title through inheritance or purchase before

it can be honored by the Government. Still, other problems have arisen in the transfer of scrip to land.

Some scripholders, for example, in recent years attempted to take some highly valuable public properties in exchange for long-unredeemed warrants—public beaches in California, offshore properties in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Pacific, and valuable timber stands. Some effort was made to set up a lively traffic in scrip sales, at substantial sums, based on the asserted value of such lands.

Activities like these led Congress to pass the so-called Recordation Act of 1955. Now that it is known how many claims must be considered for a definite number of acres, the Department and the Bureau of Land Management are seeking a fair way to clear the books at last—before the passage of time can create further difficulties for purchasers and Government alike.

Under the proposed bill, scripholders could continue to apply for land of their own choosing until June 30, 1966, and the land could be secured if it were classified by the Secretary of the Interior as proper for selection.

After July 1, 1966, scripholders of record would be permitted to apply only for lands that are first declared proper by the Secretary for scrip location.

Before January 1, 1968, every remaining scripholder of record would be offered a specific tract of land by the Secretary, equal in acreage to the amount of his claim. Procedures are specified in the proposed bill to insure that the offers would be of a reasonable value.

If scripholders should prefer money instead of land, they could elect to do so, at fair market value of the equivalent offer by the Secretary. All applications, either for land or for money, would have to be submitted before January 1, 1970.

If the bill passes, a long and colorful era in American history will end, and so will a bothersome problem in governmental house-keeping and business practices.

The following is a list of the kind, number and acreage of scrip recorded which would be affected by this proposal:

Kind of scrip	Approximate acreage recorded	Number of pieces of scrip recorded
Valentine certificate.....	2,119	65
Soldier's additional rights.....	5,563	275
Forest lien selection rights.....	6,282	61
Sioux half-breed certificates.....	560	7
Wyandotte certificates.....	250	7
Porterfield warrants.....	436	11
Issac Crow.....	80	1
Railroad lien selection rights.....	542	18
Merritt W. Blair selection right.....	80	1
Gerard certificates.....	440	11
McKee certificates.....	200	5
Total.....	16,522	462

#### MEDICAL CARE FOR SELF-EMPLOYED SEAMEN

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator BARTLETT, Senator JACKSON, Senator KENNEDY, and myself, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to provide medical care for certain persons engaged on board a vessel in the care, preservation, or navigation of such vessel.

This bill is needed to correct inequities which resulted from a ruling in 1954 of the General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. For 20 years or more prior to this ruling in 1954, self-employed seamen or those who

had financial interest in the vessels on which they served as seamen had been entitled to medical care at facilities of the U.S. Public Health Service. This medical care was given to all persons working on board these vessels irrespective of whether they were working for themselves as owners or part owners of vessels or whether they were employees working for others just as long as they were employed in "the care, preservation, or navigation of any vessel, or in the service, on board, of those engaged in such care, preservation, or navigation."

In May 1954, the General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued an opinion stating that the term "employed" would thereafter be interpreted in the narrow sense to mean only those persons working for someone else in an employer-employee relationship. This interpretation had the effect of denying medical care to the thousands of self-employed seamen all over the country, particularly in the fishing industry. It had the effect of dividing the crews on these vessels into two parts: one consisting of those who had no ownership in a vessel and who were eligible for medical care at facilities of the Public Health Service, and the other consisting of those who had an interest in the vessel no matter how small and who were excluded from receiving medical care at Public Health Service facilities. This situation should be corrected as soon as possible.

Legislation similar to that now introduced was passed by the Senate in the 87th Congress but failed of favorable consideration in the House. This failure was to a large extent attributable to the views of the Bureau of the Budget on one small aspect. The version today is designed to eliminate that objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 978) to provide medical care for certain persons engaged on board a vessel in the care, preservation, or navigation of such vessel, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### HOUSING FOR MIGRATORY LABOR

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senators BURDICK and HUMPHREY, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill relating to housing for migratory labor. I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by me relating to the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 981) to amend title V of the Housing Act of 1949 to assist in the provision of housing for domestic farm labor, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The statement presented by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey is as follows:

#### STATEMENT OF SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., DEMOCRAT, OF NEW JERSEY, UPON INTRODUCTION OF MIGRATORY LABOR HOUSING BILL

The problems faced by the migratory farm citizens of this Nation are many, complex, perennial, and when encountered firsthand, disheartening. Of this panoply of problems, none is more pressing or persistent than the inadequacy of the housing in which our migratory citizens and their families live. Inadequate housing destroys the incentive for qualified workers to enter agricultural employment; adequate housing, on the other hand, attracts those already working in agriculture to areas where they are needed. Thus, adequate farm labor housing is essential to insure a sufficiently large farm labor force and insure the efficient allocation of this labor force to seasonal farm jobs—two factors that are indispensable to the efficient operation of our Nation's farm economy.

In addition to the obvious hazards and degradation that ramshackle housing imposes upon its occupants, this housing is a major source of the serious health problems that afflict our migratory farm citizens. Their interstate movement, moreover, endangers the health of the residents of communities in which these laborers work and through which they pass.

Although our Nation's farmers are aware of the seriousness of this housing problem, and in many instances have made outstanding efforts to remedy it, too often the farmer is unable to obtain funds needed to construct new housing or to renovate existing housing. The financial squeeze is particularly acute in the case of the small or marginal farmer—frequently, the farmer with the worst housing facilities. Thus, the key to any amelioration of the migratory farmworker housing problem is a program that will lessen the financial difficulties that prohibit or prevent the establishment of housing for our Nation's farm laborers and their families.

There are three basic reasons why financial assistance is required to make adequate migratory farmworker housing a reality in our Nation.

First, commercial money is not readily available for building or rehabilitating migratory farmworker housing because of the high investment risk resulting from the fact that the economic usefulness of such housing is generally limited to the short duration of the harvest season. The practical consequences of this situation are that the farmer must make expenditures for housing from his profits, or mortgage his entire farm enterprise to finance a relatively minor part of his farming operation. Neither action can be regarded as a sound business transaction, particularly in view of the expense of such housing.

Second, the emergence of more stringent State housing and sanitation codes is producing greater needs for new or rehabilitated farmworker housing. Many States are moving in this direction, and still others have begun more vigorous enforcement of existing codes. This situation means, of course, that without adequate Federal assistance the already difficult financing problems can be expected to grow worse in the near future.

Third, the farmworker himself, when he does manage to acquire title to property, seldom has sufficient financial resources to take the next steps toward homeownership; consequently, those dwellings which the migratory farmworker manages to acquire are frequently ramshackle, patchwork shacks that constitute health hazards to their occupants and to the community in which they are located.

The absence of Federal legislation designed to meet the housing needs of our domestic farmworker is another factor that accounts for the lack of adequate farm labor housing. The existing low-rent housing provisions are geared to the metropolitan-urban complex and cannot accommodate the low-paid migratory worker who is constantly on the move or who lives in rural areas.

In recognition that the farm labor housing problem is national in scope, I send to the desk a bill to amend title V of the Housing Act of 1949 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to develop and operate a program utilizing direct loans, loan insurance, loan-grant combinations for minor repairs, and financial assistance for low-rent housing so as to assist in providing adequate housing for this Nation's domestic farm laborers and their families. This bill will make a major contribution toward establishing domestic farm labor housing that is adequate to meet the minimum needs and standards for shelter, sanitation, durability, and human dignity that every citizen needs and deserves.

Mr. MONRONEY subsequently said:

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill introduced earlier today by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] relating to housing for migratory labor, may lie on the desk until March 8, 1963, for additional cosponsors.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### WARTIME BENEFITS FOR PEACETIME VETERANS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, at the request of the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of S. 836 (a bill to authorize wartime benefits under certain circumstances for peacetime veterans) the following names be added as cosponsors: Senators ALLOTT, BEALL, BOGGS, CARLSON, CASE, CURTIS, DOMINICK, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, HRUSKA, JAVITS, JORDAN of Idaho, KEATING, MILLER, MUNDT, PEARSON, PROUTY, SCOTT, SIMPSON, TOWER, and YOUNG of North Dakota.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, also at the request of the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], I invite any other Senator who would care to cosponsor S. 836 to contact Senator SALTONSTALL's office.

#### PRESENTATION TO PEOPLE OF MEXICO OF A MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THEIR INDEPENDENCE—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 28, 1963, the name of Mr. LONG of Missouri was added as an additional cosponsor of the bill (S. 944) to provide for the presentation by the United States to the people of Mexico of a monument commemorating the independence of Mexico, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. KUCHEL (for himself and other Senators) on February 28, 1963.

#### NOTICE OF POSTPONEMENT OF HEARING ON NOMINATION OF CARL E. MCGOWAN, TO BE U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT, BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, this is to announce that the hearing scheduled for Tuesday, March 5, 1963, on the nomination of Carl E. McGowan, of Illinois, to be U.S. circuit judge, District of Columbia circuit, has been postponed until further date.

#### ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. GOLDWATER:

Article entitled "Today's Liberals: Better Called 20th Century Tories," by Senator KARL E. MUNDT, published in Critique, Penn State University magazine, January issue, related to the meaning of the term "Liberal."

#### NATIONAL WEIGHTS AND MEASURES WEEK

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, for the sixth consecutive year the National Conference on Weights and Measures is sponsoring a "National Weights and Measures Week." We in Massachusetts are proud that Mr. J. Ellis Bowen, city sealer of Newton, Mass., is serving as chairman of the education committee of the conference, and that he and his committee colleagues have the responsibility for this undertaking.

National Weights and Measures Week, which begins today, March 1, and continues through March 7, will be a timely reminder to Americans of the important role that accurate weights and measures play in our daily lives. Industry, business, agriculture, and, in fact, every field of endeavor, depend heavily upon the accuracy of such determinations.

In these difficult times, with all the pressures on us, it is easy to lose sight of the vital importance of such basic governmental services as weights and measures enforcement. But it is fair to say that our complex civilization could not exist without them.

Weights and measures enforcement is performed at national, State, and local levels. All work together in close harmony, with personnel numbering only some 3,000 officers. At the national level is the National Bureau of Standards, which is the custodian of our national standards of weights and measures and is the calibrating authority for State standards. The Bureau is also constantly occupied in a teaching and technological advisory capacity to the lower governmental levels. State-operated offices of weights and measures direct statewide administrative and enforcement activities. At the local level, county and municipal offices of weights and measures carry out strictly local enforcement.

Some laws, and the enforcement thereof, touch the average person only

occasionally, if at all. But as John Quincy Adams said in his report on weights and measures, made to the Senate in 1821, when he was Secretary of State:

Weights and measures may be ranked among the necessities of life to every individual of human society. They enter into the economic arrangements and daily concerns of every family.

Historically in America weights and measures are of sufficient importance that the Constitution specifically delegates to Congress the authority to "coin money, regulate the value thereof, and fix the standard of weights and measures."

It is not accidental that these two powers were mentioned together, for while money is a medium of exchange, what a purchaser receives is of equal importance to what he pays therefore, for to receive short weight or short measure is the equivalent of receiving counterfeit money in change.

Today, proper weights-and-measures administration constitutes a sound governmental investment. It confers a two-sided benefit, protecting the seller as well as the buyer. I have been assured by Mr. Bowen that at least half of the mistakes in weighing and measuring that are uncovered throughout the United States each year are against the interests of the owner of the weighing or measuring device. In discovering such mistakes, protection is provided the honest businessman or merchant against loss of just profit by means of a faulty device.

America's weights and measures officers inspect and either approve or reject all commercially used weighing and measuring devices. These range from large-capacity railroad and vehicle scales to the delicate prescription balances and tiny weights used by hospital pharmacies and drugstores, the accuracy of which can spell the difference between death and life itself. Also involved are the scales of the butcher, the grocer, and the baker; scales used for counting piecework for wage purposes; fuel-oil measuring meters and gasoline-dispensing pump meters; yardsticks; and taximeters. All of these are definitely related to the cost of living of every family; and usually neither the merchant nor the customer is aware of any inaccuracy of devices or in packaging and labeling operations, unless such is discovered by an inspector of weights and measures during his inspections.

Mr. President, it is my conviction that America is indebted to these dedicated officers. National Weights and Measures Week is a good time to suggest that our weights and measures service, at all levels, is deserving of the commendation of the Senate and of our fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I am very happy that a fellow citizen of mine in Newton, Mass., is serving as chairman of the education committee of the national conference.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, let me

state that it is the intention of the leadership to call up for debate and consideration House Joint Resolution 284, Calendar No. 10, the agricultural supplemental appropriation bill for the Commodity Credit Corporation, on Monday next.

I also wish to announce that Senate bill 20, the outdoor recreation bill, is on the calendar, and will also be considered shortly.

#### APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS TO MILITARY PROBLEMS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I believe we can all agree that science is wonderful. But I seriously doubt if it is wonderful enough to justify a policy of unilateral disarmament by the United States. Perhaps I am a skeptic, but I find it very difficult to put my complete faith in so-called scientific developments which fit in so neatly with Communist objectives and which arise so conveniently when Soviet intransigence at Geneva seems to call for another concession on the part of the United States.

In this morning's newspapers, we read that Mr. Jacob D. Beam, Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has stated that the concessions being made at Geneva are not concessions to the Soviet Union but rather are concessions to scientific progress. In other words, scientific progress has taken another leap now that the United States is getting ready to present a new draft treaty for a nuclear test ban at Geneva. Presumably this scientific progress will encourage our negotiators to drop our previous requirement that international observers be placed at national seismic stations that would monitor a test ban and excuse another downward revision of the number of on-site inspections required on Russian soil. Presumably, this so-called scientific progress will allow us to give the Soviets just about anything they demand.

On this basis, Mr. President, are we to conclude that the Russians are not keeping pace with our scientific progress? I have not read anywhere that scientific progress has led the Soviets to ease their position at Geneva. It is true that they have made a tongue-in-cheek offer to accept two or three on-site inspections, and, of course, that is like saying they will accept none. This is not an offer made in good faith; it is a cynical attempt to see how far the United States will go in its headlong drive toward accommodation.

Why is it that all the scientific progress is on the side of American concessions? Why is it that our scientific computations in the Pentagon tell us that manned bombers are no longer necessary; that the Skybolt is no good; that we no longer need missile bases in Turkey and Italy; that perhaps surface ships are as good as submarines for carrying the Polaris missile?

Another point I should like to raise is whether the world at large is fully apprised of this scientific progress? I certainly am not one to dwell on the surpassing value of world opinion, but I do recognize the fact that it will do the United States no good if the entire world views our concessions at Geneva and our

jettisoning of the manned bomber and the Skybolt as signs of weakness. In other words, can we be sure that the rest of the world understands the marvels of this scientific progress and the wide vistas it opens to us alone for disarmament moves? Or will it interpret our actions as frantic moves to pacify an enemy which has sworn to bury us?

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, science is wonderful and I am as thankful as anyone else for the great benefits which it has given to mankind. But I also recognize the fact that the application of scientific progress to military problems is subject to human error and open to wide disagreement and debate. This is particularly true when such application so conveniently fits a pattern of unilateral disarmament in a dangerous world.

#### TRIBUTE TO EDWARD J. MEEMAN

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on February 25, several hundred persons—just a small percentage of his admirers in this country and abroad—gathered in Memphis to pay tribute to one of the greatest newspapermen of our time, Mr. Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Memphis Press-Scimitar.

The occasion was a dinner at which Mr. Meeman received the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The principal speeches were made by Edmund Orgill, former mayor of Memphis, who presented the award to Mr. Meeman and Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges.

Mr. Orgill traced the fabulous career of this wonderful man, who framed the motto, "The newspaper working alone can do much, but citizens working with their newspaper can do anything"—and believed in it and lived by it every day, and still does.

Secretary Hodges paid deserved tribute not only to Mr. Meeman for his dedicated service to Memphis and the Midsouth, but also to the people of Memphis for their very substantial progress in the crucial area of better human relations.

In his response after receiving the Human Relations Award, Mr. Meeman was truly in character: he was appreciative of his recognition of his past services, but he was already pointing out that there was still work to be done.

Our task now—

He said—

is to widen the opportunities for employment for our Negro citizens.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Mr. Orgill, Mr. Meeman, and Secretary Hodges be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ADDRESS BY EDMUND ORGILL

In 1931, Edward J. Meeman, came to live amongst us—and we are blessed that he did.

He came to Memphis as the editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar. He had started

his newspaper career at the age of 18 as cub reporter for the Evansville (Ind.) Press. His work impressed his bosses, and in 1921, he was sent to Knoxville to start, and to edit a new paper, the Knoxville News. Under his guidance the News flourished and bought out its competitor. It became the News-Sentinel and the city's leading newspaper, which it is today.

In Knoxville, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was among this man's visions. He and his paper supported every move for the establishment of this national park. They were successful and the whole Nation is happier for it. Meeman is now chairman of the board of the National Committee on State Parks, he is vice president of the American Planning and Civic Association and he has just been appointed the conservation editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

In Knoxville, Ed Meeman fought for the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority. When he came to Memphis, he carried on the fight for TVA power, and low electric rates. He and his star reporter, Null Adams, went into the towns of northeast Mississippi and west Tennessee preaching TVA's advantages.

After TVA power was secured for Corinth and Tupelo, the Press-Scimitar went after it for Memphis. It published a series of articles under the heading "The Tale of Two Cities," in which the electric rates of Tupelo and Memphis were compared. There was built up a popular demand, and the local politicians in power "took the ball" and in 1934 Memphians voted overwhelmingly to become a TVA city. Ladies and gentlemen, what a great contribution this was to the Memphis area.

There have been many more great achievements by this great editor. I will mention just a few of them. When he came to Memphis we had an old, crumbling, mismanaged, rat-infested city hospital. As a result of a Press-Scimitar crusade, this was replaced in 1935 by the modern John Gaston teaching hospital.

In the middle thirties, Ed Meeman returned from a European trip deeply impressed by the Black Forest of Germany. He thought that Memphis should have something like it. He and his associates started looking. One day they discovered in the northwest corner of this county, the forest along the Chickasaw Bluffs, and in the adjacent Mississippi River lowlands. Meeman cried, "This is it," and jumped up and down with joy. (This information comes from the man who was with him.)

He persuaded the Federal Government to buy 12,000 acres. This was later transferred to the State of Tennessee, and is now our Shelby Forest. It is the most visited of Tennessee's State parks and probably Ed Meeman's greatest love. His home and his Forest Farm adjoin Shelby Forest. His writings make constant reference to the birds and flowers and trees and animals and to the many joys of nature. (Incidentally, the flowers on the tables will be delivered to Forest Farm and it is our hope that they will be replanted and serve as a reminder to our honoree of this happy occasion.)

Through 32 years in Memphis, Ed Meeman has pleaded—and fought for—more democratic government with greater citizen participation.

His vigor and vigilance, imparted to his reporters, helped see to it that local government in the years of machine rule, was honest, if not democratic.

And, democracy began to come alive in 1948 with the election that year.

Citizens have overcome their fear and now speak out on public issues.

With Press-Scimitar support, we have gotten permanent registration, voting machines and other election reforms.

We have an effective city-county planning commission. City employees are pro-

tected to a degree by civil service. Reassessment of all real property is underway by qualified experts. Many other improvements in local government have been accomplished and still more are under discussion.

Ed Meeman has stimulated an interest in international affairs. It was at his home in November 1946, that a small group met with Clarence Streit, author of "Union Now" and editor of the magazine, Freedom and Union, and pledged themselves to work for a Federal Union of the self-governing peoples. (We are delighted that Mr. Streit is with us tonight.)

Out of this meeting the Atlantic Union Committee was born. Its efforts resulted in the Atlantic Convention in Paris last January, and the increasingly strong movement towards economic and political unity of NATO and the free world.

Meeman's interest in world trade resulted in his appointment to the Regional Export Expansion Council by Secretary Hodges.

Any one of these achievements would make a man's life worthwhile—a success. When we consider them together, we all must agree that Ed Meeman justly deserves the honor that is his tonight.

We are sorry that Mr. Jack Howard could not be with us tonight. We want him to know of the accomplishments of the Memphis Press-Scimitar and its editor emeritus and his conservation editor. We hoped to let him know what we think of Ed Meeman.

We wanted also to tell him that Memphis likes Charlie Schneider. We are glad to have him back with us.

Again we wanted to express thanks for the support which both the Press-Scimitar and the Commercial Appeal give to all worthwhile civic causes. They both fulfill the role of good citizens.

But it is the National Human Relations Award that Ed Meeman is receiving. Therefore, it is fitting that we know and recognize his strong efforts through the years towards a better understanding between men—between labor and management—and between members of different religious faiths (hence his interest in the National Conference of Christians and Jews). He believes that men should be judged by their character and not by the color of their skin. He and his paper have been big factors in the good race relations which we enjoy in Memphis. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Streit—we want you and other visitors to know that many leading white and Negro citizens are working together to maintain and improve these relations.

But the best thing of all was emphasized by one of the editors of the Commercial Appeal. This man said to me last Thursday, "I have always liked and respected Ed Meeman—he is so interested in the people who work under him."

And how true this is. I expect that he has personally helped more young men up the ladder of success than any other editor in America.

And so, Ed Meeman, my friend—our friend—I present to you on behalf of the National Conference of Christians and Jews—this National Human Relations Award.

#### RESPONSE BY EDWARD J. MEEMAN

This award means much to me, because I see it not as an honor given to one individual, but as an honor given to principles in which a great many people believe, principles which have brought us together this evening in this assemblage.

What are those principles? That Jews, Catholics and Protestants each find in faiths which are not their own, so much more which they hold in common with the other faiths than they find differences. We all believe in one good God, the same God, and that it is His will that all His children should live together as brothers, sharing harmoniously in the good earth He gave us.

CIX—209

We may have different theological reasons for being good and doing good, but our differences as to what is good are minor. At least there is a vast area of common agreement on what good needs to be accomplished. When the men and women of the three faiths join hands to accomplish this good, they find joyous fellowship, brotherhood, and unity of spirit. Each reflects credit on his own faith by the fruits he shows in his contribution to such community action.

Memphis has had many examples of fine accomplishment when men and women, each inspired by the teachings of his own faith, have joined hands with those of other faiths to make our community an ever better place of abode. Most recent have been the changes in race relations, for which the time had come, which were brought about in Memphis peacefully and without violence, by men and women of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, all working together to practice the principles of each of those faiths. This accomplishment has made our community a happier place for those who live here, and brought us the generous envy of other American cities, and the admiration of the world.

#### GOOD FOR ONE—GOOD FOR ALL

It is my faith, which has been proved to my satisfaction in both observation and experience, that what is good for one is good for all, and that what is good for all is good for each. Conflict is only in the erring human mind, not in reality. The solution of any problem, mathematical or human, always lies right alongside the problem. We can always find the solution if we will lay aside self-interest and prejudice, and discuss it in the spirit that our religious faith has taught us, whatever that faith is. We need to ask not "Who is right?" but "What is right?" and if we look for the answer in enlightened discussion, reinforced by mediation and prayer, we will find the answer. The answer will be found to be good for all concerned, and we will wonder why we did not see this solution in the first place, it will seem so obvious when it is found.

#### RECALLS AN ILLUSTRATION

When we have that spirit, every problem will become an opportunity. I recall an illustration of this truth. When the New Deal, during the depression, issued a brochure saying that the South was the Nation's No. 1 problem, the editors of the seven Scripps-Howard newspapers which are published in the South met in Memphis to consider the brochure. Not in the spirit of criticizing the New Deal's pronouncement, but in order to strike a positive note, we editors issued our own pronouncement, declaring that the South was "the Nation's No. 1 opportunity." And so it proved, when the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority created a vast new market for the goods of northern manufacturers.

#### THE NEXT PHASE IN RACE RELATIONS

We have come to the next phase in race relations in Memphis.

We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries, and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions. Therefore it is easier. Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment for our Negro citizens. It is to find more and better jobs for the men and women who constitute more than one-third of our population, jobs in both public and private employment. Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.

The great pioneer of Negro opportunity, Booker T. Washington, told the story of sailors from a wrecked ship, marooned in open lifeboats, who were dying of thirst. They had failed to see that they had drifted from the open sea to the estuary of the great Amazon River, and that the water around their boat was now fresh water. All they had to do was to let down their buckets where they were. He told this story to show his fellow Negroes, just emerged from slavery into personal freedom, that there was opportunity for progress all around them, if they but had the gumption to see it and use it. "Let down your buckets where you are," he told them.

This story has a moral, not only for Negroes then and now, but it has a moral for white people now. Let us let down our buckets where we are. All around us is a great pool of competent, educated, trained Negro labor. Let us dip into it and use it fully. If we use it, the South will have a great increase of prosperity. There should not be Negro jobs and white jobs but a job for the one best qualified to hold it. Many Negroes now dependent and a drag on the economy, will become self-supporting. Those just getting along will have increased income and become better customers.

#### JOB GAINED DOESN'T MEAN JOB LOST

Let white labor not make the mistake of thinking that a job gained by a Negro is a job lost by a white man. The good God has not given us the kind of universe in which the good of one man is at the expense of another. When we open wider the doors of opportunity to Negroes we shall have such an improvement in our economy that more jobs will be available to white men also.

Why are so many nations clamoring to get into the European Common Market? Because it is a wide, free trade area with a high standard of living.

When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here, and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races.

#### BROTHERHOOD COMMANDED BY RELIGIONS

Brotherhood is commanded by the teachings of the religions to which all of us in this room adhere. Thus we know it is right. It would be a lawless universe if that which was right was not also practical. Hate, prejudice, fear, and division are negative, and they are shown by their fruits to be impractical. Brotherhood is practical.

I thank you, Edmund, for this award, and I thank everyone in this room, and those they may represent for their part in it.

I look forward to working with you for these things in which we believe.

#### ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LUTHER HODGES

It is a pleasure to join with you tonight in thanking Edward Meeman for his many outstanding contributions to the cause of human brotherhood.

You have already heard many things about his constructive leadership as editor of the Press Scimitar and about his dedicated community service activities which have contributed so much to the social and economic progress of this Midsouth region and to the very substantial progress you have made here in Memphis in the crucial area of better human relations.

I want to compliment the people of Memphis for the highly constructive approach they have taken on this difficult problem of race relations.

You have demonstrated how much can be accomplished in a relatively short time when

responsible leaders of both races work together in good faith to serve the best interests of all of the citizens of the community.

As a southerner, I congratulate you on the honorable beginning you have made toward meaningful brotherhood in a highly sensitive area of human relations.

Tennessee has enjoyed progressive leadership in many areas of national policy in the past.

An example is Mr. Meeman's strong, life-long commitment to the cause of freer trade among the nations of the world—a cause which, I feel is closely related to our national goal of an expanding international brotherhood of free men.

Mr. Meeman was one of the most vigorous supporters of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—that bold new instrument of the liberal trade philosophy of another great Tennessean, Cordell Hull, who fashioned the first reciprocal trade act in 1934.

He is also a valued member of the Memphis Regional Export Expansion Council, which is helping the Department of Commerce in its national effort to expand the sale of U.S. products abroad.

I am looking forward to meeting with him and with the other members of this export council at breakfast tomorrow to discuss ways of putting more steam behind this vital effort.

It is essential that we increase our exports from the Midsouth and from every other part of our Nation.

We must sell more abroad to strengthen our domestic economic growth.

But most importantly, we must increase our export earnings to offset the continuing deficit in our balance of international payments—which is serious indeed.

Since 1957 our total payments to other countries have exceeded our receipts by several billions of dollars a year.

In 1960 we were running in the red in our international accounts to the tune of nearly \$4 billion a year.

The result has been a heavy drain of our gold reserves and a massive build-up of dollar claims on our gold by foreign banks, individuals, and governments.

In 2 years, through a variety of measures, we have cut this annual deficit nearly in half—to \$2.2 billion in 1962.

But this reduced deficit is still much too much—so far as I am concerned, \$2.2 billion too much.

To maintain our financial position in the world—and maintain our position of political leadership in the free world—we must bring our international accounts into balance.

Our balance-of-payments deficits result largely from our country's heavy moral commitment to the ideal of a world brotherhood of freedom, prosperity, and peace—an ideal implicit in our great Judaic-Christian religious heritage.

Over the years we have continued to enjoy a substantial surplus of exports over imports in our merchandise trade with other nations.

But these export earnings have been more than offset by our overseas military expenditures to help safeguard freedom, by our foreign aid expenditures, and by our U.S. private investment in the economic development of other countries.

The only practical solution is to increase our exports.

If our exports were at least 10-percent larger than they are, we would go a long way toward eliminating the present annual deficit in our international accounts.

But the required \$2 billion or more increase in our exports will not be achieved easily.

Competition in world markets is getting keener.

And there has been a slowdown in the rate of economic growth in Europe, our largest regional market, so there is a slackening of European demand for imports from

the United States, and we have the uncertainty caused by General de Gaulle's outbursts.

Last year our sales abroad totaled nearly \$21 billion—up about \$1 billion from 1961. Nevertheless, there is plenty of room for improvement in our export performance.

The United States exports only about 4 percent of its total production of goods.

Yet our chief world trade competitors, the six countries of the European Economic Community—the Common Market countries—export 12 percent of their total production.

More American companies must get into the export field, and all of our exporters must work on these export markets as aggressively and as imaginatively as they sell in our domestic market.

The great thrust of this export expansion drive must come from private business and private initiative, but the Department of Commerce stands ready to do everything it can to help U.S. companies enter the export market and succeed in that market.

The Trade Expansion Act, adopted overwhelmingly by the Congress, is designed to open broader markets for U.S. goods, both in Western Europe and in the other countries of the world that account for about two-thirds of our total exports.

But it can do much more than this; it can help to bind the free nations closer together through expanding mutually profitable, international trade.

I have always believed that trade among friendly nations promotes greater understanding and strong ties of mutual interest among the peoples of these nations.

I feel this even more strongly today when trade and understanding are vital to our efforts to create a prosperous dynamic, international economic community.

Such a community is essential.

We must have an international community which recognizes both the value and dignity of the individual and the constructive power of individual enterprise.

I am certain we cannot find lasting peace and prosperity in a world which throws up barriers to enterprise in trade or investment.

We cannot create a strong community of interests if nations or regional blocs become self-centered and adopt policies of "beggar thy neighbor."

I am confident, therefore, that, despite such incidents as General de Gaulle's recent dash of cold water on the prospects for an outward-looking European Economic Community, the postwar trend toward more liberal trade policies in the world will continue.

History requires that Europe look beyond its borders and join with the United States in shaping a viable, prosperous world community of free peoples.

This trend toward closer cooperation and more meaningful brotherhood in the world must be matched by a keener awareness of our responsibilities to our fellow men at home.

That great southerner, my fellow North Carolinian, Clarence H. Poe, pointed out more than 50 years ago that "the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man."

"Every man whose earning power is below par," he said, "is a burden on the community; he drags down the whole level of life, and every other man in the community is poorer by reason of his inefficiency, whether he be white man or Negro."

This wise observation is as pertinent today as it was when it was made in 1910.

It reminds us that what is done to the least of these, our brethren, is a matter of concern to all of us—as practical men as well as humanitarians.

Let me cite a few examples of how these shortfalls in earning power and economic

opportunity affect our communities, our national economy, and even our capacity to compete in markets of the world.

More than 4 million of our fellow Americans are currently unemployed for a variety of reasons.

A prime reason is our slow rate of economic growth and the underutilization of our industrial capacity.

But there are other causes of unemployment that are just as serious, and some of them may be even more difficult to remedy. Last year, young people under 25 accounted for more than one-third of our total unemployment, although they represent only one-fifth of our total labor force.

Many of these young people are being frustrated by the slow growth in the number of available jobs.

But many thousands of them are looking for work without success because they lack adequate education and marketable skills.

Hundreds of thousands of young men and women drop out of school each year before they finish high school.

It is estimated that there will be 7½ million such dropouts during the current decade.

Yet surveys show that the unemployment rate for young people who fail to complete their high school training is twice the rate for high school graduates.

In our present labor force, more than 3 million workers have not even completed the fifth grade.

And among unskilled laborers the rate of unemployment is more than twice the rate for the labor force as a whole.

The shortfall in earning power among Negro workers is especially large—due both to inadequate education and to the pressures which tend to confine nonwhites to unskilled and low-skilled occupations.

On the average, nearly a million non-white workers were without jobs last year.

And, again, the rate of unemployment for nonwhite workers was more than twice that for white workers.

Together, these figures describe a serious unemployment problem which will not readily yield to our efforts to step up our national rate of economic growth.

If we achieve our national goal of a full employment economy, civilian employment will rise from about 67 million to more than 80 million in 1970.

But there will be no increase at all in jobs for unskilled laborers, as we continue to mechanize and automate.

Stepping up production and our rate of growth will not provide jobs for those who lack useful skills or for those who are barred by custom or prejudice from employment for which they may be fitted.

Instead of benefiting as a Nation from the energies and innate abilities of these potential workers, we will have to bear the social and economic costs of their idleness, their frustration, and in many cases their bitterness and hostility to their communities and everyone around them.

To avoid this social alienation and this waste of valuable human resources, we must step up our efforts to improve our educational system and, equally important, to strengthen the motivations for self improvement.

This is a challenge to all of us, as private individuals, as businessmen, as public officials, as people who care about their fellow men and women.

Our economy falls short of its potential when earning power and consumer buying power are inadequate to maintain a higher rate of growth.

The development of our human resources is, thus, a matter of concern to each of us.

And in view of our domestic and international responsibilities and our world competition, it is a matter of pressing national interest.

Our most urgent domestic economic business is, of course, the need to lighten the heavy Federal tax burden which is depressing our rate of economic growth.

The President's tax program includes reductions of corporate income taxes to provide both incentive and the means for greater business investment to create additional jobs.

This will help to bring down the rate of unemployment by creating new jobs for those whose unemployment is due, not to lack of marketable skills, but to inadequate consumer demand.

Further lowering of our jobless rate will depend heavily upon our ability to upgrade our present labor force and to do a better job of preparing the more than 1 million new workers entering the labor force each year.

To do this, we must improve our public schools and stimulate our students to develop their abilities to the fullest.

We must expand our community junior colleges and our special facilities for vocational and technical training.

We must also expand our senior colleges and universities.

Our ablest young people also must be better prepared to deal with the complex problems of this technological age.

And we must strive unceasingly to remove those barriers in every industry and every community which deny Americans the opportunity to obtain the best educations and the best jobs of which they are capable.

To further these efforts, the President has proposed a comprehensive program of Federal assistance for education and vocational training.

This program emphasizes the special areas of need—the expansion of our community college programs, for example, and the improvement of teacher training and teaching research, the expansion of vocational education, the improvement of our public libraries, and the expansion of our adult education and adult literacy programs.

But the greatest responsibility for doing all of these things falls upon our States and our local communities.

The development of our human resources is a matter of national concern, but the obligation to see that this development takes place rests upon each of us in his capacity as a citizen of a community and a State, as well as a citizen of these United States.

This challenge to us as southerners is especially great.

We live in a region that has enormous natural and human resources.

But we are not realizing the full benefits of these resources for ourselves or for the Nation.

We have made great economic progress in the South in the last few decades.

This is reflected in the rapid increase in southern per capita incomes.

Since 1929, when it was only half the national average, per capita income in the South has increased by almost 400 percent.

This compares with a 200-percent increase for the Nation as a whole.

But we cannot let this dramatic progress blind us to the fact that per capita income in the South is still only 75 percent of the national average.

Today, our national economy is operating at about \$35 billion below capacity.

Our consumer demand and investment demand are this much below what is necessary for full utilization of our available manpower and productive facilities.

Yet, if per capita income in the South were raised to the level of the rest of the Nation, this would generate enough additional spending and investment to restore this country to full employment.

The whole country suffers when any part lags in the development of its natural re-

sources, in the education of its youth, or in the earning power of its people.

The South has made substantial progress in its agriculture.

The region, you know, has more cropland than all of the rest of the Nation.

But we are still hampered by generations of inadequate conservation which permitted the depletion of our soils.

Southern farmers have had to pay more than half of the Nation's fertilizer bill to overcome these deficiencies, and they have had to do it out of about one quarter of our total national farm income.

The South has about three quarters of the Nation's commercial forest land, and we have made striking progress in developing this great resource.

But we have to overcome generations of chronic overcutting and inadequate fire protection and restocking which reduced our total timber stand to less than one-third of the national total.

Southern industrial progress in recent years has been a source of justifiable pride for us all.

The trend of modern technology is running in the South's direction—emphasizing wood pulp, petrochemicals, petroleum, and other southern products as basic industrial raw materials.

The South has all of the Nation's reserves of natural sulfur and bauxite.

It has 65 percent of the Nation's petroleum; 75 percent of its natural gas, phosphate, and titanium; half of the Nation's clay and coal; and it ranks very high in the rare-earth metals that are so important in this space age.

Yet, value added per worker in manufacturing in the South lags behind the value added per worker in the Nation as a whole.

And this shows up in the comparable lag in incomes of southern families headed by a year-round, full-time worker.

This lag underscores the vital importance of improving the education and technical skills of our people—to raise their productivity and their earning power, and consequently the level of per capita income in the South.

We have made great progress in our public schools.

But we can and we must do more.

We have further to go than other parts of the country to lift the educational level of our people to the standards imposed by a modern technological society.

The latest census figures show that the median number of years of schooling completed by southerners is a full year below the national average and more than 2 years below the level of the Western States.

Our school expenditures are only 71 percent of the national average—\$285 per pupil, compared with \$375 for the Nation as a whole.

We must invest more in education to overcome our deficiencies in classroom space, in teachers' salaries, and in teaching equipment—to improve the quality as well as the quantity of our educational effort.

We also must be concerned about the quality of the employment opportunities we make available to the young people we educate at such great cost.

I want to be very frank about this last point:

We cannot continue to waste the talents of our Negro citizens if we ever hope to raise the South to its full economic potential.

We cannot afford to employ in menial jobs educated Negro men and women who are qualified for better jobs.

We cannot let the talents of a Negro engineer be wasted in sweeping floors, in sorting mail, or in digging ditches.

We cannot use trained stenographers as maids.

We cannot make trained electricians rake yards, or use as construction laborers men who have the training to be draftsmen.

One of the reasons our per capita income is so low is the widespread underemployment of Negroes in our labor force.

Less than half of our Negro families are headed by persons with full-time, year-round jobs.

Too many Negro men and women are confined to jobs which produce little for themselves or for those who employ them—to jobs which in other parts of the country have been eliminated by machines, with a resulting rise in the average productivity and average incomes of the people in those areas.

The right to seek a job in keeping with one's ability—and have a reasonable prospect of finding such a job—is fundamental to my concept of freedom and equality of opportunity in a free enterprise economy and a free society.

For the South, this matter of better job opportunities for our Negro citizens is an economic necessity, as well as a duty imposed by our sense of fairness and right.

With constructive local leadership such as you have been showing here in Memphis and with growing public awareness of the importance of developing our region's human resources to the fullest, we can make great progress in this area of better job opportunities in the next few years.

The South has a great opportunity to demonstrate to the Nation and to the world both its capacity for orderly change and the extent of its faith in its future.

Those of us who know the South and love the South and its people cannot doubt that this region has a great destiny to lead both in our national economic growth and in the development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood.

Challenging opportunities produce growth, and I am confident that the South has only begun its growth to greatness in our time.

Thank you, and my best wishes to you all.

#### PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], spoke in detail and with great care on the problems involved in our disarmament negotiations and in support of his resolution designed to give the U.S. Senate a voice in the acceptance or rejection of any tentative agreement which might be reached.

A number of our colleagues on this side of the aisle joined in this discussion supporting the need for passage of this resolution. Lest we be accused of partisanship I call to your attention the excellent and documented letter appearing under the name of our distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Connecticut. In this letter which I call to the attention of all Members, a detailed list is set forth of the continuing series of concessions which the United States has recently granted in our disarmament and nuclear test-ban negotiations without a single concession on the side of the Soviets.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter appearing in the Washington Post for March 1, 1963, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

#### DODD AND THE TEST BAN

I would like to comment on your editorial of February 22 which misrepresented my position in several respects.

I have never stated or implied anything so preposterous as that this administration or its predecessor would deliberately imperil the security of the United States. I do contend that the test-ban policy pursued in good faith by both administrations has already cost us our nuclear superiority over the Soviets, and will gravely imperil our security unless soon revised.

My assumptions are these: Such peace as we have is based upon our nuclear parity with Russia; if the Soviets continue nuclear tests, and we do not, they will develop weapons so superior to ours that they can confront us with a choice between surrender or annihilation; the safeguards in our current test-ban proposal are so inadequate that the Soviets can continue testing in secret, after they have disarmed us through the signing of a treaty.

It is demonstrable that in 4 years of negotiations, the Soviets have whittled down our detection and inspection provisions to the point where they are only one-tenth as effective as those in our original proposal. And the whittling goes on.

We once demanded the right to inspect all seismic disturbances of a significant size, i.e., several hundred per year; we then dropped to 20, and then to 12, and then to 8, and then to 7, and now to 5.

We once insisted on 600 monitoring stations, then 180, and now 80.

We once insisted that monitoring stations be manned by nonnationals of the country involved. We now accept the principle that these stations may be manned by nationals, which means that the Russians are to be the judges of whether or not they themselves are cheating.

We once excluded from the treaty, tests so small that they could not possibly be detected. We now include these undetectable shots.

We once proposed a control body on which no nation had the power of veto. We now give the Communist bloc the veto power.

We have made all of these retreats despite the testimony last September of our Disarmament Director, William Foster, that there has been no improvement in our verification capability.

Continued nuclear testing is essential to the perfection of the antimissile missile and to the development of the neutron bomb. The nation which first perfects either of these weapons will decisively overturn the balance of power. The kind of testing involved here is underground testing of small yields, which is precisely the kind most easily hidden. Under the provisions of this treaty, our chance of detecting sneak tests is 1 in 1,000. I am not willing to stake the survival of this country on such a gamble.

The question, then, recurs: Is it possible that any administration would negotiate a treaty as dangerous as I contend this one to be?

The Washington Post answers "No" and its answer seems to be based more on an act of faith than on an examination of fact. As a Senator it is my duty to assume that such a mistake is possible; and the history of all major nations in the 20th century is replete with mistakes of similar magnitude.

There is one supreme question which the Senate must ask about any nuclear test-ban treaty: Does it provide reasonable protection against cheating by the Soviets? If it does not it is worthless, worse than worthless, because it could lead to our national destruction. In my judgment, the present proposal of the United States does not meet that test. And so I am against it.

THOMAS J. DODD,  
Senator from Connecticut.

WASHINGTON.

### THE LATIN AMERICAN SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, one of the most encouraging success stories of the Alliance for Progress is the school lunch program now reaching more than 8 million Latin American children. This is a part of the U.S. food-for-peace program, which it was my privilege to direct during 1961 and 1962.

My successor in this program, Mr. Richard Reuter, expects that within a year, the United States will be assisting in the feeding of 1 out of 3 of Latin America's schoolchildren. This program not only provides a constructive outlet for American agricultural surpluses, but it contributes both to the health of the schoolchildren and to their education.

I know of no other single overseas U.S. aid effort which has had such spectacular results as our school lunch programs.

The current issue of Time magazine—March 1, 1963—carries a special news note on this food-for-peace effort, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

#### THE ALIANZA: FEEDING THE CHILDREN

Despite all the discouraging news about the lagging Alliance for Progress, the United States could find a lift last week in the record of one relatively modest but highly successful program. In 1954, the United States started shipping surplus food stocks to Latin America for use in a free school-lunch program. So far, under the food-for-peace program, the United States has sent thousands of tons of surplus flour, cornmeal, edible oils, cheese, beans and powdered milk. Distributed by private relief agencies and local officials, the food will help feed 8,300,000 children this year, or 25 percent of Latin America's school-age population. Another 5,400,000 babies and pregnant women get at least one square meal a day.

In Washington, food-for-peace officials have coined a name for the project—Allianza para los Niños, meaning Alliance for Children. The food is credited with helping to double Peru's rural school attendance since the program began; school absenteeism in Bolivia has dropped from 38 to 2 percent, and students now make sure to be on time since latecomers go to the end of the lunch line. Each day in Mexico, more than 1 million schoolchildren receive the donated food. "The lunch is the only reason a lot of parents send their children to school," says Djalma Maranhão, mayor of Natal in Brazil's impoverished northeast. In Brazil alone, some 3 billion glasses of milk a year are distributed in 25,000 public schools. At the end of a 3-month period, reports one Brazilian teacher, most of her pupils gained at least 5 pounds. With plenty of surplus food where this came from, Food-for-Peace Director Richard W. Reuter expects that within a year the United States will be helping to feed one-third of Latin America's schoolchildren.

#### BULGARIAN LIBERATION DAY AND COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF BULGARIA

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, 85 years ago, on March 3, 1878, the Bulgarian people were liberated from the yoke

of the Ottoman Turks. That day, coming at the end of the bloody Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, marked the culmination of the struggle for their national independence which the Bulgarians had been carrying on for some 400 years. During all that time they were held down by their powerful oppressors, and hard as they tried to shake off the foreign yoke, they were unable to do this by themselves alone. Finally, when the Russians came to their aid by declaring war against the Turks in April of 1877, their independence was assured. Their success was guaranteed in the peace treaty signed on the historic day of which we take notice today.

Since then fate has not been kind to the Bulgarian people. During the First World War their leaders made the grievous mistake of allying themselves with the Central Powers—with Germany and Austria—and when these powers were defeated, Bulgaria shared their fate of suffering the inevitable consequences. But the Bulgarian people, inured to hardship and adversities, took these in their stride. When World War II came, they once more were fated—forced one might say—to be drawn into fight on the German side. But before the end of the war the Bulgarians succeeded in extricating themselves from the Nazi-Fascist anti-democratic camp. At first it seemed that with their liberation from Nazi-Fascist domination, they could look forward to living in freedom in their homeland. But the evil-minded men in the Kremlin had another design. They decided to capture Bulgaria, force the people of that country into their own camp, and cut them off from the free world, thus robbing them of their freedom and independence before they even had a chance to enjoy it.

This Soviet design was carried out with mechanical precision. At first the British and the United States Governments had been totally unaware of this design, but beginning in September 1944, it became evident that any government installed in Bulgaria had to be subservient to Soviet authorities there. Thenceforth Russian functionaries, with the aid of local Communists, succeeded in eliminating all independent and democratic groups opposing their design. It is true that the last, and perhaps the stoutest opponent of communism in the country, the late Nikolai Petkov, was not put to death until September 1947, but actually Bulgaria had fallen a victim of Soviet aggression even before the end of the last war, and since then has been a mere Soviet satellite. Its liberty-loving and courageous people are prisoners in their homeland, behind the Soviet-imposed Iron Curtain. On this 85th anniversary of their liberation day, we hope and pray for their deliverance from Soviet totalitarian tyranny.

#### TRAINING HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS FOR SPECIFIC SKILLS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, school and government officials as well as employers all over the country

will be watching with keen interest the new experimental programs recently inaugurated under the Manpower Development and Training Act whereby young people, many of them high school dropouts, are to be trained for specific skills that are in demand.

Educators are becoming increasingly plagued by the large and increasing number of dropouts among high school students. City and other government officials are increasingly vexed with a growing pool of untrained, hence unemployable, youth. Yet at the same time many employers are unable to fill job vacancies they have because there are no available trained persons on the local labor market.

The new manpower development and training projects centering on youth stand to help toward solutions to each of these problems.

An editorial appearing in the February 19 edition of the *Kansas City Star* says the programs make sense. I agree, as I believe would most, if not all of our colleagues in Congress. Because the problems are of such general current concern in all parts of the country, I ask unanimous consent that this *Star* editorial, "Another Approach to Job Retraining," be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

#### ANOTHER APPROACH TO JOB RETRAINING

In Kansas City the job retraining program is well underway as a combined effort of the Federal and State Governments and the school district. Motorcar mechanics and welding classes are in progress. Another welding class is scheduled for April and classes in stenography and typing will begin in March. One of the welding students is expected to drop out. Recently he took a test and did well enough on the welding questions to be offered a job for \$2.85 an hour.

Last week a new (experimental) program under the Manpower Development and Training Act was outlined. It will put the emphasis on youth. In New Haven, Conn., 100 to 200 young persons—including high school dropouts—will be trained for specific jobs in laboratory technique, industrial drafting and industrial X-ray uses.

A similar program is being considered for Kansas City in which potential employers would be asked to waive high school graduation requirements. The New Haven project would appear to go a step further by bringing the employers in on the actual training.

Certainly this is a positive approach to school dropouts and the chronic unemployment problem of unskilled youth. Training for skills that are in demand make sense—not only for mature adults who have been hit by automation, but for young persons who have no job specialties at all.

#### AWARD TO SENATOR WILLIAMS OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last Saturday in Kansas City, the National Council for the Spanish Speaking honored our colleague, the junior Senator from New Jersey, for the leadership he has given to legislation affecting migrant farmworkers.

This award, the first Father Raymond A. McGowan Award, was presented to our colleague by a distinguished Texan, the Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, archbishop of San Antonio, who cited the junior Senator from New Jersey as "a champion of social justice and the American way of life."

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Archbishop Lucey on presenting this award, as well as an interesting speech by Rev. Theodore E. McCarrick, president of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking on "The Contribution of the Latin American People to the United States," be printed in the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that a sketch of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] by the Reverend John A. Wagner, executive secretary of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking, and the program, be printed in the RECORD.

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

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY MOST REV. ROBERT E. LUCEY, S.T.D., ARCHBISHOP OF SAN ANTONIO, FOR PRESENTATION OF FIRST ANNUAL FATHER RAYMOND A. MCGOWAN AWARD OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COUNCIL FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING TO THE HONORABLE HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

One of my earliest recollections of Raymond McGowan in our student days was this: A debate was going on in the United States between Father John A. Ryan, a professor in the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., and Morris Hillquit, an economist. The debate had to do with problems of capital and labor, specifically with socialism. It appeared monthly in a publication known as *Everybody's Magazine*. Often I saw the latest issue of the magazine sticking out of Ray McGowan's cassock pocket as we walked in camarata formation to the university. Fifty years ago he was deeply interested in the problems of men who labored for a living.

As a matter of fact, Raymond McGowan was sensitive to all the problems of humanity, spiritual and temporal. He was concerned with the poverty of the masses in many parts of the world. He knew that there was a close connection between the economic order and the field of international relations. He was saddened to behold that greed of gain and lust for power might lead to armed conflict. Europe at that time was seething with unrest. There was rioting in the streets of Rome. Then in 1914 World War I erupted with all its bloodshed and tragedy.

Father McGowan founded the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems at a time when many of our citizens knew little or nothing about good social organization. The gospel which Father McGowan preached about social justice and social charity was not popular always and everywhere but he never ceased to proclaim the rights and obligations of both capital and labor. If he denounced the oppression and exploitation of working men and women, he also recognized that there is a natural right to private property and that a bankrupt employer is no help to employees. He recognized with the great Pope Leo XIII that capital needs labor and labor needs capital.

In 1926, between two world wars, Father McGowan organized the Catholic Association for International Peace in the city of Chicago. He was aware that most of our citizens knew precious little about international re-

lations. This was true of Catholics generally even though they had at their disposal a papal peace program beginning with the magnificent "Message to the Belligerent Nations" published by Pope Benedict XV on August 1, 1917. In that message a League of Nations and compulsory arbitration of disputes were advocated. The pontiff went so far as to say that sanctions should be imposed on any nation that refused to submit a dispute to an international court of justice or would decline to accept the award of the court.

These were the principles for peace proclaimed by Father McGowan in his speeches and writings. Isolationists didn't like those principles but he preached them courageously. With his brilliant mind he saw clearly that our own beloved Nation was a danger to the peace of the world. We had not learned then to play our proper role in the family of nations. Many Americans believed sincerely that isolation and neutrality would alone keep us out of war. Our Government and our people did not seem to realize that neutrality in the face of crime is itself a crime. We encouraged tyrants and despots to attempt unprovoked aggression by assuring them beforehand that we would be neutral; that we would not fight to defend justice everywhere. And, when justice is not defended by the strong, it falls. This was the gospel of peace, justice, arbitration, and conciliation that Father McGowan preached for 40 years. He wanted our great country to take her rightful place in the world community and vision, his courage, and his devotion to humanity have been vindicated in today's United Nations.

During World War II growers were permitted to import some Mexican nationals to harvest our crops of food and fiber. After the war their numbers increased so that up to a few years ago as many as almost half a million braceros were employed in agriculture under Public Law 78. Wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment for citizen migrants had been bad enough but with the importation of braceros a situation which had been desparate became unspeakable.

About 4 years ago a man strode into this scene who is a champion of social justice and the American way of life. He is not fearful, he is not apprehensive. He believes that every American should enjoy the blessings of justice, liberty, and equal opportunity. The courageous man of whom I speak is our honored guest this evening: Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., of New Jersey.

It is not difficult to speak well of liberty and justice because they are popular throughout the world. To pay lipservice to these natural rights involves no hardship, but to make them effective is not always easy. Arrayed against them are hatred and greed. These are controlled with difficulty; they do violence to natural rights and this is the heart of the matter. The little people, the weak, the defenseless are made in the image of God regardless of their color, their hunger, their poverty, and this is what Senator WILLIAMS has recognized in the migrant agricultural worker—he is a human being, a creature of supreme dignity and surpassing destiny. In the Senator's book of life the migrant is a man.

You all know the legislative program of our distinguished guest: A decent education for the migrants; housing that will protect them from the elements; day care for children; a national advisory council which will analyze the problems of migrancy and give necessary information to the President, the Congress, and the general public; health care; better employment service; crew leader registration; control of child labor; and fairer wages.

Neither this legislation nor the Constitution of the United States gives migrant farmworkers natural rights—"They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Senator WILLIAMS proclaims, defends, and makes effective the rights that were bestowed by Almighty God.

Father McGowan spent 40 years fighting for the rights of man. It is peculiarly appropriate that the Reverend Raymond A. McGowan Award should be bestowed first on a courageous champion of human rights: The Honorable HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., a Senator of the United States.

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THE UNITED STATES

(An address by Rev. Theodore E. McCarrick, president of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking, given at the testimonial dinner honoring U.S. Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., of New Jersey, at the presentation of the first annual Father Raymond A. McGowan Award, February 23, 1963, Hilton Inn, Kansas City, Mo.)

This evening as we are gathered together at what we trust is the first instance of a tradition in the life of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking in the United States, I am very conscious that we gather to do a threefold honor. Certainly we are here to honor one of the modern champions of the dignity of man and the rights of labor, the distinguished Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, of New Jersey. It is surely an added tribute to his zeal and interest in this important field of social welfare that he has taken time from a busy session of Congress to be here with us in person this evening. In an equal manner, through the very title of this award, we seek to do honor here to the memory and to the life work of an extraordinary priest of God.

Some men make their mark in life because they fall in love with great ideas, others because they fall greatly in love with people. Father Raymond McGowan was the more unusual because he fell in love with both. Early in his life he became aware of the troubles and yet also of the tremendous opportunities presented to the church and the Nation by the Spanish-speaking community in the United States. He fell in love with their openness, their hearty friendliness, their deeply Catholic faith. His contacts with them throughout the land gave him a people to love. The national council was his great idea.

It is eminently fitting that this organization, which came into being largely through his foresight and his efforts, should have this opportunity to honor his memory in the annual Father Raymond McGowan Award.

Yet, there is another tribute to which I rise this evening, another honor to be paid, another debt of gratitude to be satisfied to the small extent that it is mentioned here on this occasion. I speak of the debt of gratitude that this Nation already owes to the millions of Spanish-speaking peoples who have made and are making a mighty contribution to the life and strength of this Nation.

In our zeal—and this zeal is commendable indeed—to secure for those of Spanish speaking and Latin background the rights that are truly theirs as children of God and participants in the national life of a great democracy, we must not overlook the fact that not only should this farflung community be the object of our interest and concern, but that it has already earned its place as the recipient of our gratitude and in a most substantial way.

I should like to speak very briefly this evening of three contributions which the Spanish speaking have made or are presently making in the United States.

No one of us is so far removed from our history books that we do not recall how

eminent a place in the chronicle of explorations and discoveries is occupied by those who came to these States under the Spanish flag. Columbus himself, the great admiral of the ocean seas, carried the colors of Spain to the New World. It was a Gomez sailing for Spain, who perhaps even before Verrazono sailed into the great harbor of New York. In 1570 a mission bearing the name of Segura existed near the very banks of the Potomac. Who can forget the foolhardy daring of Ponce de Leon, the thrilling story of De Soto crossing the Mississippi, of Coronado pushing into the Colorado Territory, of Cabeza de Vaca who walked from the Texas coast to the shores of the Pacific.

And they have left their mark on the charts and maps of America. Names which sing in lilted Castellano, which testify to their deep faith and their sense of the mystery of Providence. From San Agustin to the sprawling modern metropolis of Our Lady Queen of the Angels, from the city of St. Anthony to the city of St. Francis, the map of America bears witness to their coming and their faith. But this is only one of the major contributions of the Spanish speaking to this land.

The second area of contribution of the Spanish-speaking community in the United States is economic. The scientific American economist has not even yet fully explored and delineated the contribution that immigrant and migrant groups have made to the wealth and productivity of the Nation. How many industries have been maintained, how many resources have been able to be developed, how many essential community services have been dependent on the newcomer and his entrance into the labor market, his contribution to the economic forces of the section to which he comes. New York and the great population centers of the East have good reason to be mindful of the economic value of the tremendous Puerto Rican immigration of the past score of years. The great arc of the Southwestern States of this Nation, from California into the valley of the Rio Grande, would be economically handicapped to a disastrous degree if the economic support in both supply and demand were not forthcoming from the millions of Spanish speaking and their descendants who make their homes in this region. Who can deny that the sudden growth of Cuban and other Latin-American populations in southern Florida has made a tremendous impact on the economic life of that section of the country. Throughout the length and breadth of the Nation, migrant workers of the Spanish-speaking community have provided a necessary support to many industries and thus have reason to be proud of their part in the building up of the wealth of the Nation.

Finally, the Spanish speaking have brought to this country and to its culture a new focus which is specifically different in many important features and which is—of all the moments in our history—never more needed than now. To an American society, which prides itself on its pluralism but is constantly exhibiting the trend to the monolithic, they have brought their own ways of doing things, their own ways of thinking about things, and a deeply spiritual sense of values which transforms the ordinary things of life. To an American society which tends to be characterized by the lonely crowd, they have brought their sense of family and values that do not depend on material things. This is perhaps the greatest contribution that they can make today, and one for which the Nation has reason to be grateful.

As president of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking, I pledge all our constant, our—please God—increasing efforts to serve the community of the Spanish speaking in the United States: to make their real contribution to this Nation better known

and better understood, to strive for the removal of the obstacles which may stand in their way of playing a fuller part in the life of this Nation, and to work for that day when mutual understanding and cooperation will build for the future greatness of the United States a union of the best parts of two cultures, a harmony in nature and in grace, a wholly integral family and community, like wisdom in the Old Testament: One in unity and in beauty, yet surrounded with variety.

THE HONORABLE HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.,  
SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

The National Council for the Spanish Speaking is honored to present the first Rev. Raymond A. McGowan Award to the Honorable HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., U.S. Senator from New Jersey. In him domestic farmworkers throughout the United States have found a champion on the national level through his chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor called for by the Senate Resolution 267 and agreed to by the 86th Congress on March 24, 1960. He has made practically all the problems associated with migratory workers known to the public.

Without public understanding we cannot hope for progress. The Senate subcommittee, through public hearings, field trips, personal visits and extensive studies and analyses, has given to the citizens of the United States the understanding needed for corrective action.

Because of the efforts spearheaded by Senator WILLIAMS the 87th Congress considered more bills pertaining to migratory farmworkers than any of its predecessors. A complete legislative program has been prepared by the Senate subcommittee for the 88th Congress. Specifically, this legislative program includes measures to provide decent housing and sanitation facilities, day care centers for migrant children, improved educational opportunities for the migrant and his family, modification of existing child labor laws, national labor relations coverage, improvement of employment service for migrants, minimum wage, and a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor.

In our judgment, our choice of Senator WILLIAMS for the reception of the first award is justified by the Senator's own words taken from a statement prepared for floor delivery when the migrant bills are to be introduced, "It is often ascertained that prosperous society tends to forget its poor and Congress will not concern itself with a group lacking a political voice, especially the migrant citizen whose very mobility costs him his vote. This myth has been exploded. People from all walks of life have expressed their concern for the migrant citizen and his family. A first step has been taken. We must take many more steps, however, if social justice is to become a reality for the many millions who go through life with the burdens of second-class citizenship."

I know that the thousands and thousands of Spanish speaking found in the domestic migrant stream will cheer our presentation of the Father McGowan Award to Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS.

Rev. JOHN A. WAGNER,  
Executive Secretary.

#### PROGRAM

"Star-Spangled Banner."  
Invocation: Most Rev. Charles H. Helmsing, D.D., bishop of Kansas City-St. Joseph.

#### DINNER

Toastmaster: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur M. Tighe, M. S. S. W., chairman of the arrangements committee.

Welcome: Most Rev. Charles H. Helmsing, D.D.

Remarks: Hon. H. Roe Bartle, mayor of Kansas City, Mo.

Guest Speaker: "The Contribution of the Latin American People to the United States," Rev. Theodore E. McCarrick, president of the National Council for the Spanish Speaking.

Tribute to Father Raymond A. McGowan and presentation of the award: Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., archbishop of San Antonio, executive chairman of the bishops' committee for the Spanish speaking.

Response: Hon. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, U.S. Senator from New Jersey, chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

Appreciation: Rev. John A. Wagner, executive secretary, National Council for the Spanish Speaking.

Benediction: Most Rev. Edward J. Hunkele, D.D., LL.D., archbishop of Kansas City in Kansas.

#### PLIGHT OF DOMESTIC SOFTWOOD LUMBER INDUSTRY

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am concerned about the attitude demonstrated by our Government toward an industry which is so important to my State of Texas. I first want to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, the junior Senator from Idaho, in his clear statement in regard to a need for an immediate and temporary emergency quota on the importation of softwood lumber. However, there were several other matters I would like to call to the attention of the Senate that may be productive in providing parity for our domestic softwood lumber industry on U.S. markets.

Texas has been one of the leading lumber-producing States since the turn of the century. More than one-tenth of the State's manufacturing establishments are wood-using plants. They account for nearly 5 percent of the value of all products made in the State. The output of the wood-using plants is worth more than one-half billion dollars per year. In terms of human beings, something that is far more important to me, nearly 10 percent of the people employed in manufacturing in Texas work in forest industry plants. Many others supplement their income with part-time work in the woods, harvesting the timber crop, or in mills that make trees into some of the thousands of wood articles used every day.

About 9 percent of the total Texas industrial payroll is paid by the forest-dependent industries. This \$138 million income of the forest industry workers finds its way into every part of the State's economy. Barber shops, gasoline service stations, grocery stores, sporting goods shops, movie theaters—all share in the bounty of the forests in Texas.

Some of the best managed woodlands and finest growing pines in the United States are found in east Texas. Lone Star State timberlands grow wood for over 1,000 mills and factories that make a large variety of wood products. Although we Texans are accused of overstatements from time to time, it is true that a single Texas tree farm is almost as big as the entire State of Rhode Island. Texas forests and the industries they support provide full-time jobs for 43,000 persons and, more important, trees are a renewable resource—they grow. In Texas, timberlands today are growing wood faster than it is being

used. I am sure that my good conservation friends will be delighted with this single fact.

Small ownerships prevail in the forest land ownership pattern in east Texas. Nearly two-thirds of the privately owned commercial forest is in holdings under 500 acres each. Farmers own more than 21 percent of the commercial forest lands of east Texas. Forest industries own about 27 percent and other private investors own approximately 45 percent. The governments—Federal, State, and local—own or control less than 7 percent of the total commercial forest land in Texas. However, the Federal Government is the largest governmental owner, with 736,400 acres, mostly in national forests.

The standing sawtimber in east Texas commercial forests measures over 27 billion board feet. As most of my colleagues know, a board foot is represented by a piece of wood 1 foot square by 1 inch thick and when a Texan refers to saw timber, he means a tree 9 inches or over in diameter, breast height. This is enough lumber for a five-room house for every family in the State of Texas plus the schools and churches that they might need. Southern pine accounts for 63.4 percent of this total inventory.

We can reach back into our early days in Texas for the roots of our present lumber industry. Records indicate that one of Texas' earliest sawmills was operating in 1819. By 1869 it ranked 24th among the States with lumber production of approximately 107 million board feet. By 1956, it stood 11th in lumber production—supplying 3.1 percent of the total national production.

Texas forest lands certified as tree farms in the American tree farm system exceed by more than 300 square miles the entire area of the State of Connecticut. For my urban friends, a tree farm is a privately owned taxpaying forest area whose owner has been publicly recognized by his State forest industries committee for doing an outstanding job in protecting and managing his woodlands for the continuing growth of forest crops for commercial purposes.

Mr. President, I give all of this background of the forest industry activity in my home State of Texas to demonstrate the importance to me of the great problems confronting our American softwood lumber industry. I am very concerned when the U.S. Tariff Commission decides that for a very technical legal reason, the fourth largest employer of manufacturing labor in the United States is without recourse under our Trade Agreements Act to mounting imports that are in fact causing serious injury to it.

I am personally convinced that we are going to have to face up to the proposition that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as presently worded, affords no protection from imports for domestic industry and—because the criteria for granting relief to workers deprived of employment by imports is the same as that for industries—large segments of our work force are going to be without a forum to which they can take their problems and expect a reasonable opportunity for relief.

Even more significant, I believe, is the action taken by the administration in its tax proposals which affect this basic American industry. In the face of all the difficulties confronting the American domestic lumber industry, this administration has seen fit to recommend that the tax system applicable to timber for 20 years—a system under which conservation and sound forest management practices have reached their zenith by all worldwide standards—this administration has called for a repeal of the timber capital gains provision first written into the Tax Code in 1944. Mr. President, I consider this to be the height of absurdity. I was delighted to see the junior Senator from Oregon call to the attention of the Senate the provisions in the tax bill recommended by Secretary Dillon as they relate to the forest industry. She performed a great service in pointing out the importance of this single most important provision in the Tax Code in terms of the sound forest industry in these United States. Prior to the enactment of section 631 of the present Tax Code, the tax laws were such that there was an incentive on the part of landowners to cut their timber and not invest in the cost of replanting and forest management extending over the life of a new forest, which can be from 20 to 80 years depending upon which part of the country the trees are growing. Since 1944 there has been a real incentive for tree owners to bear the long-term expense of forest management which has sustained the highest growth of forest lands in the entire world.

Yet, another provision of this administration's tax proposal seems ludicrous when consideration is given to the domestic lumber industry's problem. That is the recommendation that a flat ceiling be placed on deductions permitted to the average taxpayer for interest payments out of income. It takes very little imagination to recognize the inducement for single family housing ownership that is found in the present Tax Code which permits individual taxpayers to deduct from taxable income the cost-of-interest payments on home mortgages. It seems to me the quickest way to encourage rental housing and to discourage home ownership is to limit this interest deduction as is proposed in the administration's tax package. How do I relate this to the lumber industry?

To my associates who are familiar with the lumber industry's economic health, the answer is clear that in large measure it depends upon single family housing starts. In the average single family house approximately 10,000 board feet of lumber are utilized; in rental housing that average drops to below 7,000 board feet per unit. Consequently, the encouragement of rental housing and the discouragement of a single family ownership has a direct and immediate impact upon the lumber industry and its economic health.

Now, Mr. President, I want to make specific reference to a bill that I think the Senate can act on with considerable haste. I am referring to S. 957, introduced yesterday by the junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN].

The U.S. Tariff Commission in the softwood lumber industry case opened the door for legislative action by the Congress by stating:

The withdrawal of the country-of-origin marking requirement cannot be regarded as a trade agreement concession within the meaning of section 301(b) of the Trade Expansion Act.

It also stated:

Concurrently, country-of-origin marking would involve little expenses in addition to that already incurred in complying with the grade-marking requirements instituted in 1960 by the Federal Housing Administration.

Finally, it stated:

It is clear that its restoration (that is, the restoration of the requirement for country-of-origin marking) in recent years would not likely have contributed to a reduction in the level of imports of softwood lumber. On the basis of evidence obtained by the Commission, its restoration might well have had a contrary effect.

What this series of quotations suggests, Mr. President, is that a requirement that all lumber entering the United States be marked as to the country of origin would not be considered a violation of a prior trade concession which would involve us in GATT problems. In fact, the Tariff Commission is saying that to require that lumber entering the United States from abroad be marked as to the country of origin would not be a burden to any foreign producers at all. I am very much convinced that such a marking—now required for every other product entering the United States that I am aware of—would be of immeasurable help to our domestic softwood lumber industry. It could then promote its products in U.S. markets as being domestically manufactured.

Finally, Mr. President, the junior Senator from Idaho introduced a bill (S. 958) requiring the use of domestically manufactured lumber in all FHA-insured construction. His reason for introducing this bill is that much, if not all, of the lumber being imported into the United States comes in, either ungraded or grade marked in the foreign country by agencies over which the United States has only the minimum amount of jurisdiction. That lumber is competing with our own domestic lumber which is grade marked within the United States by agencies regulated very closely by the American Lumber Standards Committee. Because of the volume of lumber going into FHA insured housing these days, I am confident that in spite of the best intentions the FHA is unable to honestly certify that all Canadian lumber being utilized is, in fact, on grade. As a matter of sound administration, it is my recommendation to the Senate that the Congress require that all FHA housing utilize lumber which bears a grade mark from an agency that has inspected the lumber within the continental United States and has graded the lumber as to its quality.

I hope the Senate will act as quickly as it can on this proposal.

#### ST. LOUIS, RIVER TOWN

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the St. Louis Post-

Dispatch calls attention to the tremendous part that low-cost water freight transportation has played in the economic development of the St. Louis area.

The past and future of this great city are inseparably linked with the mighty Mississippi and Missouri Rivers which flow by her boundaries.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point this clear and constructive editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 25, 1963.

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

#### ST. LOUIS, RIVER TOWN

A million and a half tons of petroleum products annually go out of the Greater St. Louis industrial complex by water. A quarter of a million tons of iron ore mined in Peru and Venezuela come upriver by barge from New Orleans, along with 165,000 tons of scrap iron from Minneapolis, for the steel mills and 440,000 tons of finished steel and tinplate move in and out. Of the \$200 million worth of grain moving out, a large and increasing part goes by way of the Mississippi River, much of it to be reloaded into ocean-going vessels for export to Holland, Germany, France, England, Japan, India, and Latin American countries. Ten million tons of coal move out, nearly half of it by water.

These figures indicate only part of what it means to St. Louis that it is a major center of the Nation for water as well as for rail, truck, pipeline, and air transportation of freight. Water transport is a major mainstay of heavy industries here. Its low cost strengthens their competitive position and enlarges their market area—in coal, for example, 42 percent of the delivered cost nationally consists of transportation charges.

What the river means to St. Louis is presently a matter of more than usual concern because of proposals by the Kennedy administration to deregulate most of the traffic of the railroads, which would enable them to cut rates to destructively low levels and possibly drive their competitors from the inland waterways.

So it is a pertinent time to take stock of what low-cost water-freight transportation means to the industrial life and development of our area as part of an integrated transport system.

Many of us whose lives are directly affected by it are little if any aware of the teeming traffic of our waterfront—the quantities of superphosphate barged in from Florida, sulfur from Texas and Louisiana, fluorspar from Mexico, refined sugar from Louisiana, raw sugar from Mexico and the Philippines, barbed wire from Japan, semifinished steel from Belgium, Japan, and Germany; the large and growing traffic outbound in chemicals, one of our major industries; the tinplate for our can factories, another principal enterprise.

St. Louis is headquarters of two of the largest common-carrier bargelines in the country, Mississippi Valley and Federal, each carrying freight over some 4,000 miles of waterways—with regular service to Minneapolis, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Omaha, New Orleans, Chattanooga, Mobile, Birmingham, Fort Myers, Brownsville, and other ports. Here is situated the largest builder of towboats in the United States, the St. Louis Shipbuilding & Steel Co.

Water transport has not only provided low-cost freight hauling on its own account but has also through its competition been the most effective single means of obtaining favorable freight rates. It is credited with reducing rail rates on coal from St. Louis by some 25 percent. It has been a large factor

in the success of the Granite City Steel Co., now the 14th largest steel producer in the Nation, enabling it to compete as far away as Baton Rouge with steel mills at Birmingham, several hundred miles closer to the market—and bringing down rail rates on the haul by nearly a third.

The asset of low-cost water transportation affects our future as vitally as it has affected our present, if not more so. This is best demonstrated in coal and steel.

Southern Illinois across the river from St. Louis contains what is said to be the largest known deposit of low-cost steam coal east of the Rocky Mountains. Until fairly recent years the railroads enjoyed a virtual monopoly on coal haulage and transportation costs were high. Many mines in the area were forced to close. Coal mining was almost defunct when water transport revived a measure of activity. Today an estimated 65 percent of the coal mined there goes out by water.

But the area looks to still further waterway development to realize the potentials of its coal resources by means of the proposed Kaskaskia River and Big Muddy Creek navigation channels and associated projects.

This development would be linked with the large iron ore deposit discovered in recent years 70 miles southwest of St. Louis at Pea Ridge, near Sullivan, which the St. Joseph Lead Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Corp. are jointly preparing to develop.

The proximity of these deposits to enormous coal reserves for use in manufacture into steel creates a remarkably rich opportunity for both eastern Missouri and southern Illinois to reap an industrial development which could be very large indeed—and its realization depends on low-cost water transportation.

St. Louis is not only a river town, it is a two-river town.

It was founded because it was on the Mississippi and near the Missouri.

Because it was a river town, it became the Gateway to the West, as our magnificent arch in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the riverfront will signify.

It thrived until around the turn of the century on the river trade.

But though St. Louis may have lost some consciousness of the linkage of its destiny with the "Meeting of the Waters," celebrated in Carl Milles' memorable statuary, the link has continued and has become more important to us than ever before.

A single towboat now pushes barges containing more cargo than could have been carried by all the steamboats that once lined our waterfront for 20 blocks.

St. Louis and the industrial complex around it in two States reap an indispensable advantage from the Mississippi, mightier today than ever. It is essential to our future progress to protect that advantage from impairment, and to utilize and extend it.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE ASKS ASSISTANCE FOR GOLD MINING INDUSTRY

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. President, in my remarks to the Senate on Monday, I called attention to the critical situation in South Dakota which confronts our gold producers. One of America's most valuable industries has fallen on unhappy days and most of the gold mines in this country have been forced to close in recent years. To help remedy this situation, my senior colleague from South Dakota and I have introduced S. 824, which would increase the depletion allowance for gold produced in the United States.

Today I received a copy of Concurrent Resolution 4, adopted on February 21 by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, which memorializes the Congress of the United States to provide incentive payments by the Federal Government for domestic gold producers. I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 4

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States relative to providing incentive payments by the Federal Government for domestic gold producers

(Introduced by committee on State affairs and public institutions)

*Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein):*

Whereas domestic gold producers have been obligated to sell their product to the Federal Government at the established price of \$85 an ounce since 1934; and

Whereas constantly increasing inflationary costs of mining and milling this precious metal have resulted in closing down the properties of virtually all of the gold producers in the United States; and

Whereas production of gold from domestic sources has remained in the range of 1½ million ounces contrasting to 6 million ounces in 1940 while current industrial use of gold in this country amounts to 3 million ounces per annum; and

Whereas our dwindling national gold reserve is a matter of grave concern to our citizens; and

Whereas it is in the national interest to increase our domestic gold production: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the 38th Legislature of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein),* That the members of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota respectfully request the Congress of the United States to provide incentive payments to assure domestic gold producers a fair economic return on their properties with the objective of increasing gold production in the United States. Such incentive payments would enable gold mines currently operating to survive under current high levels of cost, would aid in reopening closed mines and likewise provide a stimulus for exploration and development of new gold properties. Such incentive payments are essential to prevent complete destruction of our domestic gold mining industry; be it further

*Resolved,* That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of the Congress from this State.

Adopted by the senate February 13, 1963.  
Concurred in by the house of representatives February 21, 1963.

PAUL E. BROWN,  
Speaker, House of Representatives.

Attest:

W. J. MATSON,  
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

NILS A. BOE,  
Lieutenant Governor,  
President of the Senate.

Attest:

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consider executive business, to consider the new nominations sent to the Senate by the President of the United States.

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

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

John Harold Fanning, of Rhode Island, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board;

Dr. Francis Keppel, of Massachusetts, to be Commissioner of Education;

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor;

Howard G. Gamser, of New York, to be a member of the National Mediation Board;

David Frost, and sundry other candidates, for personnel action in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service;

George C. Trevorrow, of Maryland, to be a member of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review; and

Joseph C. Robinson, and sundry other candidates, for personnel action in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further reports of committees the clerks will state the nominations on the calendar.

#### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Roland R. Renne, of Montana, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Roland R. Renne, of Montana, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Philip N. Brownstein, of Maryland, to be Federal Housing Commissioner.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the president be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

#### TRIBUTE TO ROLAND R. RENNE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, before returning to legislative session, I should like to make a few comments on the nomination of a distinguished citizen of my State, Dr. Roland R. Renne, the president of Montana State College. It has been my privilege to know Dr. Renne for approximately 32 years, which comprises practically the entire span of his period of service at Montana State College. He has been an outstanding professor at that institution which, incidentally, is one of the truly great institutions of our country. He has been the president of Montana State College for the past 19 years. He is a man of great integrity and ability. We of Montana are extremely proud that this outstanding citizen of our State has been given this recognition.

We know that he will do a good job. We know that he will be a credit to his State and to the Nation; and no one can expect more of any man.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I join my distinguished colleague, the majority leader, in paying tribute to a distinguished Montanan, whose nomination to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture the Senate has confirmed. He will bring to the Department of Agriculture a vast amount of experience and information necessary to the execution of the duties of that important position. He has already been an outstanding educator in the State of Montana, as the senior Senator from Montana has described. He has been a researcher and an author. He has published books on agricultural economics, and published the most important text on the government of the State of Montana. He is now on leave of absence from Montana State College. His career has contributed to building up that institution into one of the great land-grant colleges of the country.

I am proud to have been able to support the confirmation of his nomination; and I am especially proud because he is an old and valued friend, as well as an outstanding Montana citizen.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in view of the agreement which has been reached, I should like to invite the attention of Senators to the fact that at 12:30, Senators will begin the delivery of eulogies for our late departed colleagues. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to suggest the absence of a quorum and to have the call of the roll terminated at 12:30.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request by the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 12:30 having arrived, under the previous order, the order for the quorum call is rescinded; and the Senator from Montana is recognized.

## HELEN M. JOHNSON

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of order of business No. 7 on the calendar, Senate Resolution 102.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 102) to pay a gratuity to Helen M. Johnson.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the resolution was considered and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Helen M. Johnson, widow of Curtis E. Johnson, an employee of the Senate at the time of his death, a sum equal to 10½ months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

## SON RANKINS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 8, Senate Resolution 103.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 103) to pay a gratuity to Son Rankins.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the resolution was considered and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Son Rankins, widower of Ella M. Rankins, an employee of the Senate at the time of her death, a sum equal to one year's compensation at the rate she was receiving by law at the time of her death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

## REVISION AND PRINTING OF SENATE MANUAL FOR 88TH CONGRESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 9, Senate Resolution 101.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 101) authorizing the revision and printing of the Senate Manual for the use of the 88th Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the resolution was considered and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Rules and Administration be, and it is hereby, directed to prepare a revised edition of the Senate Rules and Manual for the use of the Eighty-eighth Congress, that said Rules and Manual shall be printed as a Senate document, and that one thousand six hundred and fifty additional copies shall be printed and bound, of which one thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate, two hundred copies shall be for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration, and the remaining four hundred and fifty copies shall be bound in full morocco and tagged as to contents and delivered as may be directed by the committee.

## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES RELATING TO LATE SENATORS DWORSHAK, OF IDAHO, CHAVEZ, OF NEW MEXICO, AND KERR, OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I submit a resolution (S. Res. 104) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That, in accordance with notice given on February 25, the legislative business of the Senate be now suspended in order that memorial addresses may be delivered, respectively, on the lives, characters, and public service of the late Senators HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho, DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico, and ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

## TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SENATOR DWORSHAK, OF IDAHO

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, Idaho has been represented in the Halls of Congress by several outstanding people, and one of the most illustrious was the late Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK. Except for a short period of time in 1949, he served the State of Idaho as a Member of the House of Representatives or as a Senator, from January 3, 1939, until his death on July 23, 1962.

Our State of Idaho was admitted to the Union over 72 years ago, on July 3, 1890. For almost one-third of that time—for 23 years—HENRY DWORSHAK was one of the State's most able representatives in the Congress of the United States.

Before Senator DWORSHAK became interested in politics, he had been quite active in civic affairs in Idaho. At one time he served as governor of the Idaho-Utah district of Rotary International, being installed at convention in Nice, France, in June 1937. He was a 33d degree Scottish Rite Mason and Shriner, and a member of the Elks and the Odd Fellows.

During the First World War, HENRY DWORSHAK served overseas as a sergeant in the 4th Antiaircraft Machine Gun Battalion in 1918 and 1919. For many years thereafter he was quite active in the American Legion, serving as the Idaho commander in 1932. He never lost his interest in veterans' affairs and was a Member of Congress who could always be counted on to see that the veterans of this country received proper benefits and treatment. At various times he was on the boards of visitors of the Naval Academy, the Military Academy, and the Air Force Academy.

Professionally, he was a newspaperman. From 1909 until 1918, when he entered the Army, he worked at the printing trade. After his tenure of service in the Armed Forces, for 4 years—1920 to 1924—he was manager of a printers' supply business. Then, in 1924, he became editor and publisher of the Burley Bulletin in Burley, Idaho. This position he held for 20 years, until 1944 when he sold the paper. In 1931, HENRY DWORSHAK was president of the Idaho Editorial Association.

As has often been said about newspapermen, Senator DWORSHAK had printer's ink in his blood, and he was never too far removed from the newspaper world. He was an avid reader of all newspapers, sometimes spending hours going over them. By his side in the Senate Office Building was his ever-present typewriter, and it was not at all unusual to see him sitting there, putting his thoughts on paper by typing rapidly away with four fingers. He used to have a pet saying, and I quote: "You give me the leads and I will furnish the news." All one has to do to appreciate his ability as a writer is to look over his old correspondence files. They are filled with clear, concise, and interesting letters dictated by HENRY DWORSHAK.

He was a vigorous man and a trim man who, with his thatch of white hair, really looked the part of a U.S. Senator. He had a keen sense of humor, and it was often difficult to tell whether he was being serious or was kidding. It was only the twinkle in his eye which usually gave him away.

Senator DWORSHAK was a member of three powerful committees here in the Senate at the time of his death—Appropriations, Interior and Insular Affairs, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, he sat on five subcommittees—Army Civil Functions, which handles development of rivers and harbors and flood control problems; Agriculture, which handles farm and forest appropriations; Defense, which reviews expenditures for the Pentagon and Armed Services; Interior, which deals

which such problems as Indian affairs, fish and game problems, irrigation, public lands, parks and territories; and the State, Justice and Judiciary Subcommittee, which handles the FBI, State Department, and Federal court funds.

Many times two or more of these subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee would be meeting at the same time in separate rooms. But Senator DWORSHAK had an exceptionally good record of attendance at these meetings. Oftentimes he would go from one meeting to another, rationing his time on a clockwork basis. He was a vigorous man whose schedule would often make a much younger man gasp for breath.

He was always considered a staunch supporter of and member of the economy forces here in the Senate. He operated under the idea that the taxpayer should get the most for every tax dollar he had sent to Washington; and, through his work on the Appropriations Committee, he worked tirelessly to cut waste, unnecessary government spending, and duplication and inefficiency in the Federal Government.

Senator DWORSHAK was ranking minority member on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. There he did a great deal of good for Idaho by his work in respect to Indian affairs, land management, reclamation, fish and wildlife, geological surveys, the Bonneville Power Administration, and national parks. Idaho is 65.1 percent federally owned, and a Member of the Senate from Idaho cannot be placed on a better committee than Interior as far as his State is concerned.

He was particularly interested in Indian affairs and the progress of the Indians in Idaho. He felt that Indian affairs should rely quite heavily on the tribal councils, and he wanted to keep the management of Indian affairs as far away from Washington as possible.

Through his diligent work on the Interior Committee, Senator DWORSHAK accomplished many things for the State of Idaho—reclamation projects, dams, and so forth. He served on two subcommittees of Interior—the Public Lands, and the Minerals, Materials, and Fuels Subcommittees.

From 1957 until his death he served as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which supervises operations of the Atomic Energy Commission. He was very helpful in getting the AEC National Reactor Testing Station situated at Idaho Falls and Arco, Idaho, through his work on this Joint Committee. He also served on two subcommittees of this Joint Committee—the Legislation Subcommittee and the Raw Materials Subcommittee. This brought the total subcommittees on which he served to nine.

All of his committee assignments put him in close touch with legislation affecting nearly every facet of the lumbering, mining, and farm industries so important to our State.

Senator DWORSHAK was very active in securing more access roads for forest harvest and recreational use. He worked for adequate tariffs to protect the domestic mining industry and for a good highway program emphasizing

farm-to-market roads. He got through Congress many bills to reclaim desert lands through irrigation. HENRY DWORSHAK was quite an exponent of the full development of flood control, power, and irrigation uses of streams and rivers which flow through Idaho and the Northwest.

He was also a member of the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission.

In addition to all the committee and subcommittee meetings he attended, he was just as diligent in his attendance on the Senate floor. For his many years here in the Senate he had better than a 97-percent attendance record for all rollcall votes. During the 1st session of the 87th Congress and up until the time of his death during the 2d session, he had 100-percent attendance on rollcalls. There are not many of us who can match that record.

I commented earlier that HENRY DWORSHAK was a man with a fine sense of humor and that sometimes the only way one could tell whether or not he was kidding was by the twinkle in his eye. I have heard of one time, however, when everyone close by knew he was quite serious. For some reason, neither he nor any member of his staff heard the bells for a rollcall vote. And, had not a photographer in the office at the time told him of the vote, he inadvertently would have missed it. That day it seems the late Senator DWORSHAK became very agitated and disturbed—and there was no doubt in his staff's minds that he was quite serious. HENRY DWORSHAK certainly did take his attendance here in the Senate with a great deal of seriousness.

But despite his many meetings and conferences and the diligence and seriousness with which he tended to his Senate business, HENRY DWORSHAK always had a kind word for his colleagues and the many employees in the office buildings who were his friends. There are many people here on the Hill who feel his absence besides those who worked directly with him and for him. At times there may have been a gruffness about him, but this was just to cover up the innate gentleness of the man.

Also, he always had time to help individuals with their separate problems. Many people from Idaho appealed to him over the years for help on many things, and he always saw to it that he gave them whatever help he could through his contact with the Government agencies and bureaus.

One outstanding case where Senator DWORSHAK virtually changed the entire life of an individual was brought to my attention just this week. A young man came into the office to meet me, and I quickly learned that several years ago Senator DWORSHAK had gone out of his way to help this young man with his problems.

This young man had been a native of China and a citizen of Spain, and had been born in Shanghai, China. He had first entered this country in 1948 as a seaman, but had departed again with his ship. Later, in 1949, he came into the port of New York as a seaman and became ill enough to be hospitalized in New York. While he was hospitalized,

he was advised to make an application for adjustment of his status under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. However, not knowing all the provisions of the law, when he got out of the hospital, he went to Idaho where his two sisters lived. In all good faith, he entered Idaho State College, feeling sure that his application would be approved. This was not the case. His application was returned to him by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as unaccepted because he had not arrived in the United States prior to April 1948, as required by the act. Consequently, the Immigration Service had no other course to follow than to start deportation proceedings.

At this point this young man's case was brought to Senator DWORSHAK's attention and, because of the very strong recommendations concerning the young man's intelligence and ability, his earnestness of purpose, and good character and dependability, Senator DWORSHAK introduced a private bill for his relief. This bill provided him with permanent residence in the United States.

But that was only the beginning. This private bill received an adverse report from the Department of Justice. Therefore, Senator DWORSHAK took it upon himself to make several personal appearances before the proper committees in behalf of this young man. In the end, despite the obstacles involved, this private bill was finally passed by the Congress and approved by the President, giving this young man his citizenship.

Soon thereafter this new citizen graduated from Idaho State College with high honors, went on to get his master's degree, and later served for 6½ years as a commissioned officer in the Air Force Reserve and as an intelligence officer in the Regular Air Force. Ten years after the enactment of this private law, this young man, who speaks six languages fluently, is an outstanding citizen of these United States. He is now executive vice president of a college which trains electronic technicians and has some 1,000 students enrolled at this time.

I think this one instance is a good example of Senator DWORSHAK's great humanity and goes far to show what this country might have lost had HENRY DWORSHAK not been a Member of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, today I have not mentioned any personal contact of mine with HENRY DWORSHAK. I would simply like to say this—and I do not think there is a higher tribute that can be paid to any man by any other man—he was my friend.

Mr. President, the people of Idaho loved HENRY DWORSHAK for his fine qualities. I join with them and with my colleagues in the Senate in paying my deepest sympathy to his wife and the members of his family on this occasion.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, when our late colleague, Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho, was removed most suddenly from our midst, an outpouring of sympathy for his family came from people of all walks of life. The concern for the State's loss in the death of this good man was manifold and widespread.

One unquestioned theme found in all of these expressions of sympathy was

that HENRY C. DWORSHAK was a person of great sincerity, character, and dedication; that he was one whose warm, outgoing personality had created and kept for him the friendship of thousands of people. I can think of no warmer tribute.

This was the hallmark of his service, that in the increasingly complicated society of today, and in a position subject always to the arrows of criticism, he kept his friendships intact down through the years. Even those people who disagreed with his political creed found that their friendship and respect for him never faltered.

This, I think was HENRY DWORSHAK'S rule for dealing with people: be candid, be sincere—a rule, written in all our halls of learning, spoken from every rostrum—but few have practiced it with the same fidelity as he. Even though the Senator had many accomplishments to his credit, they pale beside this memory of an honest man.

I knew Senator DWORSHAK only slightly when I first came to the Senate in 1957 as the youngest member. In the forefront of those colleagues who were anxious to help me and to make my reception a warm and gratifying one was HENRY DWORSHAK. Even though he sat on the opposite side of the aisle for his nearly 24 years of dedicated public service to the people of Idaho, Senator DWORSHAK gave me much kindly advice. I shall always remain indebted to him.

HENRY DWORSHAK was such a forthright man; dedicated to the public service, ready to fight for his ideals, impatient of pretense, and unswerving in his course. Such was the habit of this man, directly a product of a pioneer western culture which sent him back to Washington for four terms as a Member of the House of Representatives and three terms as Senator. HENRY DWORSHAK looked like a westerner; he looked like a Senator. He was, as the Twin Falls Times-News said, "the big Idahoan." Big of stature, big of heart, Senator DWORSHAK was truly a man of the West. He spoke the language of the Main Street businessman, understood the problems of the homesteader, appreciated the rough humor of the logger. His own views were solidly grounded in a conservatism that often cast him in the role of opposition to much of the legislation offered by four administrations under which he served. After Eisenhower became President, a friend once wrote to him, pointing out that he had long been a member of the opposition during the years of Democratic administration, and, now that a Republican administration had arrived, he might be more charitable to its President who "looked ahead." Senator DWORSHAK wrote back: "If I did look back, it would be in order to look forward."

Regardless of how one viewed his political philosophy, Senator DWORSHAK was honored and respected by his fellow Idahoans. Nearly everyone in Idaho counted Senator DWORSHAK as a "personal friend," commented the Emmett Messenger-Index. His perseverance in the pursuit of his goals and his fairness

to everyone were characteristics of this man of Idaho.

He was "never one to seek the limelight," said the Caldwell News-Tribune, "he was one of the hardest workers in the Senate; he was active in committee work as well as on the floor and still had time to listen to a constituent or a representative of a Government department before making his decision."

HENRY C. DWORSHAK—the big Idahoan—a man with the courage of his convictions. A gentleman we shall long remember. If we serve our constituencies as well as he, democracy will ever flourish.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I served with Senator DWORSHAK when he was a Member of the House. I had the privilege of serving with him here in the Senate. I very much appreciate and subscribe to the eloquent statement made by the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] on behalf of the late Senator DWORSHAK.

As a Member of the House, I was chairman of the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, of the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining, and finally chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In each one of those capacities I had occasion to work with Senator DWORSHAK when he was a Member of the House, and also when he was a Member of the Senate, and I can subscribe wholeheartedly to all that has been said on his behalf by the senior Senator from Idaho.

He was a hard worker. He diligently represented the interests of his State. He had an intense interest in the mining industry, which over the years we tried to save and which over the years we have seen slowly decline into almost complete oblivion as a national industry, not only in my State, but also in Idaho and throughout the Far West.

In addition, he had a great interest in the development of the water resources of the Far West, and he worked for his State in the development of water resources within his State.

I recall appearing in Idaho for hearings at the time the junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN] was Governor of the State. Some of those projects were in the interest of the State of Idaho, and we were encouraged by Senator DWORSHAK. I am happy to join in these tributes to him, and I concur wholeheartedly in what the Senator from Idaho has said, that as long as we have men of that kind of diligence and that kind of devotion, and that kind of adherence to the fundamental principles of our country, whether they are on our side of the aisle or on the other side of the aisle, this Nation will be better off.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on January 3, 1939, nearly a quarter century ago, I was sworn in as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. I was in a new place, and had not yet had the opportunity to become acquainted with the rest of that body, but on that occasion, which I shall always remember, I was looking in particular for one Representative.

The late Senator Hugh Butler, of Nebraska, had told me to be on the look-

out for the new Congressman from Idaho, Mr. HENRY DWORSHAK. The late Senator Butler was very active in Rotary International, and so was our distinguished colleague whose memory we honor today. HENRY DWORSHAK had served as Governor of the Idaho-Utah District of Rotary International. He had been installed as such at the convention in Nice, France, in June, 1937. Many of my fellow Rotarians who had served as Governor of Rotary or who had attended national conventions either knew HENRY DWORSHAK or knew of him. HENRY'S broad outlook, his intense patriotism and his dedication to the principles in which he believed had made him a very much admired man. I met him on that day.

Through all the years that followed, it was my privilege to have the friendship of HENRY DWORSHAK. The friendship of HENRY DWORSHAK was not a fair weather friendship. If HENRY had a fault, it was that he believed so deeply in the sound principles that he embraced that he burned inside when those principles were violated. It put a strain on his heart and at times it was necessary to urge him to take it easy and to slow down, but everyone who came in contact with HENRY DWORSHAK could honestly say: There was a man of courage; there was a man who represented stability. HENRY was an individual to whom yes meant yes and no meant no. Reliability and dependability were his creed. Honesty and integrity were rigidly adhered to. Loyalty and devotion were part of his makeup, and sham and meanness and untruths found no place in the life of HENRY DWORSHAK.

His first speech in Congress as a freshman Member of the 76th Congress began with these words:

Mr. Chairman, the wholehearted support accorded the national defense measure last week in this House indicates that no trace of partisanship was permitted to influence Members in their desire to provide adequate preparedness for our Nation. Such expenditures and policies are predicated upon the theory that, instead of being Republicans or Democrats we are Americans with a single objective of preserving peace.

In these days, when thoughtful people are concerned about the fiscal plight of our Government, we remember Senator DWORSHAK with gratitude. He was an aggressive champion of Government economy. He was thorough, hard-working, and effective as a member of the Appropriations Committees of both the House and the Senate. One of his early votes, in 1939, was against an authorization for an additional \$100 million for an artificial work program which was not bringing about real recovery.

His patriotism is attested to by his record in support of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives and his support of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate.

HENRY DWORSHAK was an example of what I like to refer to as the American dream coming true in the life of a man. He was born in Duluth, Minn., on August 29, 1894. There he went to the public schools. His background taught him the necessity of hard work. It was

in his home city that he learned the printing trade and entered newspaper work.

In the First World War he left his printing press, laid down the tools of his trade and served with distinction in the Armed Forces of his country. He was a part of the American Expeditionary Forces that brought victory to the country and its allies. He served as a sergeant in the 4th Antiaircraft Machinegun Battalion.

HENRY DWORSHAK, upon being discharged from the service, returned to Duluth and managed a printers' supply business. In 1924 he adopted his beloved Idaho as his home and he became editor and publisher of the Burley Bulletin of Burley, Idaho.

HENRY'S force of character, his dedication and his hard work, took him to a place of prominence in his chosen field. In 1931 he was elected president of the Idaho Editorial Association. In 1932 he was Idaho Commander of the American Legion. He served his community and State in many capacities and, as I have mentioned, was district governor of Rotary International for Idaho-Utah shortly before his election to Congress.

His affiliations were many, his friends were legion, and he commanded the highest respect from all who came in contact with him.

HENRY DWORSHAK possessed true humility. He embraced a faith that recognized the Great Architect of the Universe as the one in charge of the lives of men and nations. He entered that Eternal City, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, on the 23d day of July, 1962.

Mrs. Curtis joins me in extending to Mrs. Dworshak and to her fine family our most sincere sympathy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the sudden death of our friend and colleague, Senator DWORSHAK, was a grievous loss to the Senate and to me personally. We had been good friends for many years. We were neighbors in the Northwest and I was fortunate to be his colleague in both the House and the Senate.

Senator DWORSHAK was a determined champion of his ideals and fought fiercely for what he regarded to be in the best interests of the people of his State and of the Nation. The Senate may not have always agreed with him, but it never questioned his personal dedication, his integrity, and sincerity.

The voters of Idaho chose Senator DWORSHAK to represent them on six different occasions, three times as a U.S. Representative and three times as their spokesman in the U.S. Senate.

During his 16 years in the Senate, he rose to the position of ranking minority member of the important Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. From this vantage point, he wielded considerable influence on measures dealing with the West in general, and with his State in particular.

In addition to this assignment, he also held a position on the Appropriations Committee where he could project his philosophy to a national constituency.

Senator DWORSHAK was a man of humble origins and he rose to great

heights of public achievement. But he never lost his basic simplicity. He conducted his Senate work out of the public spotlight and with little fanfare.

I had the opportunity to get to know Senator DWORSHAK well because of our mutual interests in developing the Rocky Mountain Northwest. I often found him to be a valuable ally in this endeavor, particularly as affecting certain public power projects. Shortly before his death, I had an opportunity to travel with him to Latin America on behalf of the Appropriations Committee. He worked indefatigably on that trip, revealing his great concern for the public purse and the public interest not only at home, but in our farflung activities abroad.

Mr. President, Senator DWORSHAK was an honest, sincere and dedicated public servant. I shall miss him. Mrs. Mansfield and I wish to extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dworshak and her family in their time of sorrow.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a good man.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, at the beginning of the 76th Congress, I stood in the well of the House of Representatives, together with the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], to take the oath of office as a Member of Congress. At my side on that day was another freshman Congressman, from Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK. Our work in the House of Representatives marked the beginning of a warm and lasting friendship which I shall forever cherish.

We not only served together in the House, but, for some time, we shared adjoining suites in the House Office Building. Many a night, after the day's work was done, HENRY and I would sit together, pondering the problems with which we were faced, comparing notes, trying to fit ourselves into the role in which the fortunes had cast us. There, in those quiet times, I came to know him well—and to appreciate those qualities which served to make him a man to remember, a name to honor, and a model to follow.

How do we describe a man like HENRY DWORSHAK? What words can we comb from the language which we speak which will paint the picture of his character? Only two that I can summon up seem to fit. These words are "rugged honesty."

One never had to worry about HENRY DWORSHAK'S intentions or plans. There was never a doubt about his motives. He could not be devious. He could not stoop to chicanery. He could only say what he thought and felt—and he did it face to face.

HENRY and I came to Congress during troubled times, and all his service to our country was in those days when the world was caught in a cauldron of hate, fear, and turmoil. There were never any easy answers. Some of them were heart-breaking, but HENRY DWORSHAK always approached his duty like a good soldier. It was not always possible to say, "This is the answer" or "That is the answer." There was no clear blueprint to follow. Nevertheless, we could always be sure that when HENRY DWORSHAK made a decision, cast a vote, or wrote an opinion, he did it after an abundant search of his conscience, making sure that he did

not violate any of the high principles for which he stood.

During our service in the Senate we served together on many Senate committees. He and I were companion members of special committees, assigned to untangle some of the most unpleasant problems ever to face the Senate.

For example, we worked together during the harrowing times of the Army-McCarthy hearings. There was at times considerable hurly-burly in the hearings. Participants in the hearings were vigorously persistent in their contentions. Sometimes the atmosphere was supercharged, tension was high and there were heated exchanges. During those times, HENRY sat quietly, patiently, and unharried. Once he had made up his mind, he was vigorous and forceful in his presentations. He was an example for all Members and witnesses. His work was judicious and without rancor, and serving with him was a genuine pleasure.

HENRY DWORSHAK served on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the Senate. He was anxious to help preserve the natural resources of the West, to develop other resources which would benefit the Nation, and to expand the opportunities for his people. His State of Idaho, and my native State of South Dakota had many of the same problems. We always felt that we had a kind and understanding friend in HENRY DWORSHAK when problems relating to the preservation of our natural assets were before Congress. The mountains that he loved, the waterways that he explored, the parks and treelands that he helped save, will stand as his monument before God and man in the years ahead.

HENRY DWORSHAK and I served on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, where HENRY was always one of the most thorough and meticulous members. He firmly believed in trying to operate this Government within a balanced budget whenever possible. He disliked waste, overindulgence, carelessness, or squandering in the handling of public funds. He thought the Government had the right and duty to demand full return for money spent.

He made a full study of budget requests, even to the point of traveling abroad to see for himself whether there was a need for the money which was requested, or to determine whether the policies which were being followed were safeguarding the welfare of our Nation.

For HENRY DWORSHAK loved his country, and he loved serving that country. He believed in the freedom of man, the freedom of enterprise, the freedom of expression, and the freedom to grow. Like William Cowper, he believed that:

Freedom has a thousand charms to show,  
That slaves, however contented, never know.

HENRY DWORSHAK opposed efforts to change the basic concepts of our Government, and he worked, to the last hours of his life, in an effort to keep this country strong and free.

A short time ago, I heard the "Freedom Pledge" of the American Heritage Foundation recited. As I listened to it, knowing that I would soon be speaking in eulogy of Senator HENRY DWORSHAK,

I thought how well the following words bespoke his own philosophy:

I am an American. A free American.  
Free to speak—without fear  
Free to worship God in my own way  
Free to stand for what I think right  
Free to oppose what I believe wrong  
Free to choose those who govern my country  
This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold  
For myself and all mankind.

Those words could well have been written by HENRY DWORSHAK himself, for they set out the things in which he deeply believed.

I want to offer the deepest expressions of sympathy of Mrs. Mundt and myself to Mrs. Dworshak and to her four fine sons. All of us who knew the late Senator from Idaho, remember him with affection. We shall cherish that memory, as we know his family will cherish it. They can be comforted in the knowledge that they have shared with those of us in this body—and with all the citizens of our Nation—the life and work of one of the finest and most noble men ever to come out of the West.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, one of my close friends, although we sat on opposite sides of the aisle, was Senator HENRY DWORSHAK, of Idaho. For many years we worked together in efforts to improve and promote the natural resources of our country.

Senator DWORSHAK was particularly interested in the fish resources of the Pacific Northwest and worked effectively to the end that this great resource would be preserved. The construction of dams across the great rivers in that area affected the spawning grounds of a variety of fish and he was always on hand to offer suggestions as how best to protect them.

As I said, Senator DWORSHAK was always very sympathetic to resource development while sitting with me on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works. He was particularly active in promoting the Bruce's Eddy project on the banks of a fork of the Salmon River in his home State of Idaho. It will be recalled that some opposition to this project arose from the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior.

Senator DWORSHAK was one of the prime movers in suggesting and authoring proposing legislation to make possible extensive surveys and planning for this project. He wished to insure that it would not impair the salmon runs which are so important to that section of the country.

After his death last year I made strenuous efforts to have the Bruce's Eddy project named for my good friend, the former Senator from Idaho. I think it would have been a most fitting monument, and I still believe that it should bear his name.

In 1960, Senator DWORSHAK and I, as well as other members of the Subcommittee on Public Works, made a boat tour down the Mississippi to inspect the various installations and public works projects along the river. We started at Memphis and ended our trip in New Orleans for a 2 days' stay, where we attended meetings with representatives

of the Lower Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association.

I believe that I knew Senator DWORSHAK as well as any other Member of the Senate, and counted him as among my closest friends. His and my interests were much the same, and they transcended the fact that we came from widely separated areas of the country. His loss was a great one not only to the State of Idaho, the Pacific Northwest, and the country as a whole, but to me, as well. I hope that I may continue to carry on this work in which he was so interested.

I extend to his wife and family my deepest sympathy.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, it is easy for me to understand why the people of Idaho chose HENRY DWORSHAK to represent them, first in the House for 8 years, then in the Senate for 15. HENRY was more than a representative; he was the living symbol and personification of the people of his State.

Idaho is a big State filled with small towns. Burley, on the eastern edge of the great irrigated middle empire, is such a small town. For 20 years before he came to Congress, HENRY DWORSHAK was the editor and publisher of the Burley Bulletin. In that period, he became both the mirror of his community and the repository of its hopes, fears, and secrets. A man who lives with such a responsibility is either loved and trusted or hated and endured. That the people of Burley took HENRY to their hearts when he came from far-off Minnesota as a young man, there is no doubt. That he was trusted, first in Burley, then in the State, and finally in the intermountain region, was demonstrated by the ever-widening circle in which he became the ambassador and voice of his hometown. First, he became Idaho's State commander of the American Legion, and then district governor of Rotary International for both Idaho and Utah.

I met him first while he held that high office in Rotary, and I was filling a lesser responsibility in the Salt Lake club. I was very much impressed by his down-to-earth effectiveness; and I was thrilled to meet him again when I came to Congress, where he had preceded me by a dozen years.

Before I came to Congress, I had been doing business in Idaho for nearly 30 years. Therefore, I feel that I know the people of Idaho, and therefore know why they sent HENRY here in the first place. All of us who have worked with HENRY know why they kept him here so long. Rural Idaho and HENRY DWORSHAK were well matched in background, in philosophy, in character, and in devotion to our traditional principles of government.

There are so many forces that play on men in Congress that too frequently many of us give way and change, and not always for the better. In the important ability to mirror and represent his people, HENRY did not change.

Life is not easy in a town like Burley. People have to work hard both for a living and for the thing we call success. HENRY matched that characteristic here in the Senate. He never stopped work-

ing. He was always ready to do more than his share of the unglamorous, tiresome daily jobs that kept the stream of legislation moving. The people of Idaho are not the kind who look for easy answers to their problems. They hope to solve them by the wise application of trusted truth. In these, too, HENRY was their counterpart. He built his congressional career on the same time-tested principles on which he ran his Burley newspaper—courage to live by the simple virtues, public and private, that cannot be faked in a small town where everyone knows everyone else, courage to speak the truth as he saw it, plus a wisdom which reflected a sound scale of human values.

HENRY did not speak often on the Senate floor; but when he did, frequently it was with a rush of words like the breaking of a dam—words which released his pent-up anguish and impatience with ideas and programs that he thought unworthy of this great body. If he suspected that anything like that might be happening, he could be roused to strong denunciations, always followed by periods of deep self-criticism which reflected his natural self-effacing modesty; but never did he abandon his faith in the rightness of his position.

It was a sad day for the Senate when HENRY's voice was stilled. It was also a sad day for all the people who live in little towns like Burley, Idaho, no matter in what State those towns may be located.

Today, there is a tide of power running against people from little towns and there is a strongly voiced demand for increased power for those who live in great metropolitan centers. We must not seek to satisfy this demand by silencing the spokesmen for scattered millions in the hinterlands. Both groups are Americans, and both must be well represented here. For all these reasons, the passing of a man such as HENRY DWORSHAK is a tragic loss, not only to the people of Idaho and to his family, but also to the little people in the little towns everywhere in America. God grant that there will be others like him who will work and speak with courage, as he did within these hallowed halls.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I desire to say a few words about HENRY DWORSHAK, whom I regarded as one of the finest men ever to serve in the Senate during the few years I was privileged to serve with him.

I met him in the organization known as Rotary International, long before either of us thought of coming to Washington, D.C. He loved the ideals of Rotary, and found it a body of expression for both his own life and his actions.

I came to the House of Representatives in 1941, and found HENRY already there. He was helpful to me as a newcomer in the House of Representatives, and was kind and courteous at all times. We had many problems on which we worked together; and I found him then—as I always did—courteous, decent, and helpful.

Subsequently, we served on the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives. His attitude toward

the expenditure of public funds is well known to Senators. He had strong convictions on the need to be careful with the budget of the United States and the expenditures of this country. I always found him a very fine person with whom I could deal.

Later, we both came to the U.S. Senate; and here he was assigned to the Interior Committee, on which I have served during all the years I have been here. Toward the end, he became the ranking Republican member of that committee. Then I had a new test to apply to the things he did. There were daily conferences to be held and joint actions to be taken. I found how fair and how undemanding a person he could be.

Subsequently, he was appointed to a committee on which I served for a good many years—the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. One of the members of the committee said:

You are going to have some tough times, because HENRY will oppose all the programs which you may want to sponsor.

We took particular pains to make sure that the able Senator from Idaho was made familiar with all the projects, particularly the ones to which he might have had objection. It was interesting to me to watch the expression of his views. Every day that he was on the Joint Committee and was called upon to cast votes, I think that in voting on the majority of the proposals which came before that committee he acted with probably better tolerance than did most of the rest of us who served on the committee. I was proud to be associated with him in that endeavor.

Mr. President, I can testify to the fact that there was no proposal brought before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy which involved the security of the United States and its welfare in the family of nations on which HENRY DWORSHAK did not vote as a true patriot with the finest interests of the country at heart.

Therefore, Mr. President, Mrs. Anderson and I extend to Mrs. Dworshak our sympathy and our love, as we praise the character of Senator DWORSHAK, who exemplified the fine traits that a Member of the U.S. Senate should have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying brief tribute to the memory of HENRY DWORSHAK. I was a Member of the House of Representatives when HENRY entered the House. I came to know him early. I came to know him as a courageous man of deep convictions, and one who could always be depended upon to stand by his convictions.

Later I came to the Senate, and not too long thereafter HENRY also came to the Senate. In the Senate HENRY displayed the same strength of conviction and character.

He served his constituency well. It was a sad day when his voice was stilled in behalf of his constituency and the principles for which he stood.

Mrs. Sparkman and I extend our sympathy to Mrs. Dworshak and members of the family.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, one of the best opportunities to judge the

worth of a fellow Senator is to serve with him on committee assignments—especially on those assignments where issues are of a highly controversial nature. It is during this time that judicious decisions, even temperament, and balanced judgment are needed and appreciated.

I had the privilege of serving with the late Senator from Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK, on two different Senate committees. We served together on the Government Operations Committee from 1951 through 1954. Also, as Senators will remember, we both served on the committee that conducted the famous Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954. His calmness during stormy sessions and his ability to sift the kernel of fact out of a barrage of charges and countercharges were valued assets to the committee.

He was always a hard-working Member. He was prompt and thorough. He had a keen insight into legislation and rendered his decisions after careful and thoughtful study and preparation.

During the time he served on the Government Operations Committee, we had a number of historic hearings, at which difficult decisions were hammered out. HENRY DWORSHAK never shirked his responsibilities. He served with a quiet determination in an effort to arrive at the truth.

We also served together on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. Here he exercised caution and care, and showed concern for the welfare of the taxpayer. He was interested in maintaining fiscal responsibility in this Government. He was careful and precise in his inquiries in an effort to make sure that for every dollar spent, the Government got a dollar's worth of services or goods in return.

One of the last great labors in which the late Senator from Idaho and I were jointly engaged was a special study trip through Latin America in late 1961. We served on the State, Justice, and Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. I had the honor to serve as chairman of our group, which consisted of the majority leader, Hon. MIKE MANSFIELD, and Senators MARGARET CHASE SMITH, ALAN BIBLE, ROMAN HRUSKA, and HENRY DWORSHAK. We traveled through 7 Latin American countries, covering 14,000 miles during the 19 days we were on the trip, examining our foreign aid programs, the Alliance for Progress and other international programs. Every day we worked long hours in our search for information.

I believe that the report which we made to the Congress, following our investigations and research, has been valuable as a guide to our oversea operations in the Latin American countries. Our committee tried to do a good and careful job. We worked as a team—a bipartisan team—and HENRY DWORSHAK, in the tradition and pattern he followed during his long years of service, undertook his share of the assignment, always contributing a positive and practical viewpoint on the problems we had before us.

He was an honest man—straightforward in his dealings with others. He knew no other way to operate in the

Senate than in a down-to-earth, practical manner.

He served with a conscience. He did not shirk his assignments. He believed, with Thomas Paine, that:

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

He always dealt with issues and did not engage in personalities. In debate he fought hard for the things in which he believed—and whether he lost, or whether he won, he was gracious and kindly to his opponents.

HENRY DWORSHAK has left this body, but the imprint of his character will remain and the impact of his work will be felt for long years ahead.

Mrs. McClellan and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dworshak and members of the family.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the Senate lost a valuable Member with the death of HENRY DWORSHAK. The Appropriations Committee particularly will miss him, for he was a vigorous advocate of economy. He attacked waste and misuse of funds at every opportunity, and was a strong opponent of back-door spending that would bypass the normal appropriations procedure.

Senator DWORSHAK labored unremittingly for a balanced budget and for the curtailment of swollen bureaucratic payrolls. He was a hard and earnest worker and a man of sterling character.

He was a newspaperman of distinction and ability, leaving this work in his youth to volunteer for service in World War I, and returning to the newspaper business after the war as editor and publisher of the Burley, Idaho, Bulletin, which he continued to operate until 1944.

HENRY DWORSHAK's first congressional service was in the House of Representatives, which he entered in 1938. He then came to the Senate in 1946 and, with a brief interruption in service, remained here until his death.

All of us will miss HENRY DWORSHAK, a distinguished conservative and an admirable gentleman.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, the longer one is a Member of this body the more he becomes aware of the bond of fraternalism which exists in an area that could, because of its very makeup, be a setting for dissension and acrimony. The pervasive warmth of that bond is always present, yet it becomes even more pronounced during those times of tragedy when death removes a colleague from our ranks.

HENRY DWORSHAK, of Idaho, one of the three great Senators who have passed to their reward recently, and whom today we eulogize, was a stalwart defender of the highest traditions of this great body. Significantly, he, as did the other Senators whom we shall eulogize, had a humble beginning. He plodded industriously to scale the ladder of success, and if there is any validity to the term "a self-made man," the appellation would fit him whose memory we honor today.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a journeyman printer as a young man and rose to become editor of one of Idaho's prominent weeklies. He served in the House of

Representatives prior to entering the U.S. Senate in 1947. It was my pleasure to serve with Senator DWORSHAK on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and we shared many interests common to Senators from the western region of the United States. HENRY DWORSHAK was a hard-working legislator, ever mindful of his responsibilities to the people of Idaho yet equally cognizant of his responsibilities to the Nation as a whole. He was a fine Senator in the fullest sense of the word.

In conclusion, I point out that the Senate has benefited immeasurably from the presence in this Chamber of Senator HENRY DWORSHAK. He has left the mortal scene, yet he has left an imprint on this body which will not be eroded with the passage of time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, HENRY DWORSHAK was a real, true conservative in the finest meaning of that word. I had the pleasure of serving with him on various committees, but especially on the Appropriations Committee and on several subcommittees of that committee. I found him always interested in economy, always willing to express his views on how we could save money here, there, and elsewhere. Many times he had to regret the fact that others would not go along with him in saving money where he wanted to save it, but I found him to be perfectly willing to look forward and take a position for new expenditures which were manifestly needed as our country and its people progressed.

I respected him very greatly indeed. In the work for veterans, on the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee, I found him always taking particular interest in their welfare.

In talking with him at one time, I think he told me he had been commander of the American Legion for his fine State, the State of Idaho. At any rate, he showed great concern and interest in the welfare of veterans who needed help from their country and for their dependents.

There is not much I can add to the many tributes that have been properly paid to this fine American. I merely wanted the RECORD to show that I regarded him as one of our finest Americans, a patriot in the fullest tradition of that word, and that we shall ever miss him.

We in Florida were happy that Senator DWORSHAK and Mrs. Dworshak found occasion to come to our State for such infrequent vacations as the work of the Senate would permit. We found him always popular in the areas where he stayed; he always had kindly words about the people he met there. I want to assure Mrs. Dworshak and the children that no one who has gone to our State from the Senate was more genuinely admired than was HENRY DWORSHAK.

Mrs. Holland wishes to join me in offering at this time this meed of our sympathy, respect, and affection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, in 1947, when I came to the Senate for a 2-year term, I met the Senator from Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK. He also came to the Senate that year for his first term.

Throughout the years as we served together, I came to know him better and better. I agree with those who have spoken today, that he had strength of character, courage, and convictions.

Even in disagreement, as occurs often in this body, we knew his great sense of humor and his tolerance.

I considered him a friend. His death was a loss to this body, to his State, and to our Nation. I, too, join in expressing to Mrs. Dworshak and to his family the sympathy which I know all of us feel.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, it was my pleasure to serve in the U.S. Senate with the late Senator HENRY DWORSHAK, of Idaho. I served with him on two committees, the Appropriations and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees. There, in the close contact of legislative examination and discussion, I had the opportunity to observe the day-to-day actions and interest of this notable Republican. His hard work, his unerring frankness, his keen concern for legislative integrity as he saw it, all provide a warm background for our personal remembrances of the late Senator from Idaho, for, in agreement or in disagreement, HENRY DWORSHAK wanted to keep his friends.

During his more than 20 years of service to Idaho and America, he labored for fiscal and administrative integrity in the Federal Government's complex operations. This belief that Government should serve the individual, and not itself, was best illustrated by his untiring efforts on the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

HENRY DWORSHAK's legislative endeavors were also marked by his special and unique competence and interest in natural resources, especially in mining and in the public lands of the West.

I was fortunate to have served on the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs while my esteemed colleague was the ranking minority member of that committee. I think he would consider his successful efforts in that committee to realize the construction of the Palisades Dam on the South Fork of the Snake River in Idaho as perhaps his greatest personal triumph for the people of his State. I am glad to recall that I supported him in that endeavor.

For a word I wish to touch on Senator DWORSHAK's other dedicated service as spokesman for the people of Idaho. He worked to establish the Arco Atomic Reactor Testing Plant, which stands in vivid contrast to the mines and lumbering industry in Idaho, and will open up a new era of technology for the State. As a former newspaperman and editor, Senator DWORSHAK was responsive to the requests and problems of his constituents. Yet he maintained a constant and vigilant interest in national and international affairs.

His courage was unique, and it typified the rugged character of Western America. His distinguished appearance matched that of the rugged mountains of his native Idaho. He looked like a Senator, and a Senator he was.

Mr. President, I join my colleagues in expressing my very real sorrow in the passing of the late HENRY DWORSHAK, a

Senator from Idaho. Yet I am sure we know that the warmth of the Senate's affection here in Washington for our late colleague and our respect and esteem for him will never equal the esteem, and now the regret in his untimely passing, felt by the people of the State which he served so long and with such never-ending devotion.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, it was my good fortune during most of my years of service in the Senate to serve on a committee with the late Senator DWORSHAK. No man was ever held in higher esteem than he was, or was more respected; or whose opinion was valued more than his. We liked him for his good, strong, rugged, honest qualities, which were always in evidence without any pretense whatsoever. He was fair and conscientious in his consideration of public matters.

I know that on the Appropriations Committee very frequently we would say, "Well, let us see what HENRY has to say." We always knew that he was a student of the problems of that committee, always honest and sincere, and nonpolitical in his thinking and in his presentation of matters under our consideration. He was an unusually valuable member of that committee, whose work is never completed and is ever increasing.

I saw in him not only the qualities of a man that one would want for a friend—and I am honored to have been his friend—but also the qualities that one wants to see in anyone who can be considered a real American, with all the qualities of patriotism, not for show, but from a sense of sincerity, the qualities one looks for in a good neighbor, the qualities one would look for in a man who was a true servant of the people.

I believe he set as high an all around standard for these fine qualities as anyone I have ever known in public life.

I know that on our committee there was and still is a very strong feeling that we miss him, and miss his work. At the same time we feel that his contribution to our country does continue to live. In that way he is still with us and will continue to be with us and with this Nation for many decades, and we will continue to feel the strength of his character and the contributions he made to the Nation in both public and private life.

Mrs. Stennis and I have been close neighbors of Senator DWORSHAK and Mrs. Dworshak. Mrs. Stennis joins me in the expression of these sentiments of friendship and feelings of great respect and esteem for him and his memory, and for Mrs. Dworshak and their fine family.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I feel a special loss in the passing of Senator DWORSHAK because of my long and pleasant association with him in the Congress.

We served together in the House of Representatives before coming to this body. In the Senate, we worked together on the Committee on Appropriations. He was always courteous and thoughtful toward me and other members of the committee, regardless of party. Moreover, he always did his homework and

did it well; he was one of the best informed members on whatever subject might be before the committee.

Some years ago I had the privilege of visiting Moscow with him. I found him to be a delightful traveling companion. The Nation has lost a dedicated public servant who will be missed by many.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, to have served with HENRY C. DWORSHAK in both House and Senate for a great many years was a rewarding experience.

As soldiers in World War I we had the kinship and the fellowship which comes from wearing the uniform in the same war.

As a newsman, editor, and a publisher, HENRY DWORSHAK had a sharp capacity for accurately appraising men and events.

His leadership in Rotary International and his election as the State commander of the American Legion for the Department of Idaho both proclaim a deep gregarious instinct which was the basis for his love for people.

His long years in the great open West gave him that expansive spirit which actually reflected the great outdoors.

All this compounded in him a deep conviction and a sense of fidelity to his country which expressed itself in the deep earnest, thundrous speeches which were like the rolling thunder coming down from the sacred mountain top. It was the voice of the patriot speaking from the depth of his soul for a land he truly loved.

But in him also was a rare gentility and a sense of humor which was as refreshing as a morning breeze perfumed by the thousand-year-old cedars of his State. To see his huge frame roll with appreciative laughter on hearing the recital of a whimsical anecdote or a humorous incident was truly an energizing tonic to a tired spirit.

For more than a score of years he served the Republic in House and Senate with vigor, with diligence and ability. And truly it could be spoken of him as was spoken in an ancient day:

Thou good and faithful servant, enter unto the joy of thy Lord.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, back when I was a daily nationally syndicated columnist I expressed myself in print in newspapers throughout the Nation about Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK. On July 10, 1953, my column was devoted completely to my appraisal and opinion of him.

I am thankful that I publicly acclaimed my respect and admiration for him while he was alive. Ten years later and after he has passed away, I wish to repeat those words that I wrote by reading that column today—or in the 10 years that followed that column my admiration and respect for him grew even greater and deeper.

DWORSHAK OF IDAHO A HARD-WORKING SENATOR

(By Senator MARGARET C. SMITH)

WASHINGTON.—Right across the hall from my office in the Senate Office Building is the office of one of the hardest working and most conscientious Members of the U.S. Senate—Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho. I have worked with him more

than most Members of the Senate, as we are members of the same committees. We are both on the Appropriations Committee and the Government Operations Committee. My third committee is the Armed Services Committee, while his third is the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. He is also a member of the Senate Reorganization Subcommittee of which I am chairman.

Several times I have met the Senator in the hall in the evening as we both left our offices after working much later than those in most of the other offices. If we run into each other leaving for the day as early as 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening, we joke good-natured sarcasm and ask each other if we are working half days.

#### DEVOTED TO DUTY

I don't believe that there is any Senator more devoted to the duty of his committee work than Senator DWORSHAK. He always faithfully attends the meeting of my Reorganization Subcommittee and does a very effective job. But he is that way about all of the committees and subcommittees on which he serves. Indicative of the seriousness with which he takes his committee and subcommittee work is the fact that one month he attended more than 60 committee and subcommittee hearings and meetings.

We have more than just our committee and subcommittee work in common. Both of us have consistently been rated as economy champions in the Senate—both of us have been in the newspaper business—both of us have been members of the military forces—both of us started our service in Congress in the House of Representatives in the 76th Congress. Senator DWORSHAK has been elected to the Senate twice and appointed to the Senate once. We both come up for reelection to the Senate next year.

He takes his duty of attendance at Senate sessions just as seriously as the committee work. The record proves this conclusively, as it shows that during the 82nd Congress he has the best record of the Senators for attendance at roll call votes. The then Senate majority leader praised his attendance record by observing that the Senate would complete its work and adjourn much sooner if all Senators were as cooperative and faithful as Mr. DWORSHAK.

#### ON POLICY GROUP

There is another Senate Committee of which he and I are both members. It is the Republican Policy Committee which sets the Republican policy in the Senate. It is headed by able Senator William Knowland of California, who succeeded Senator Robert Taft in the post of chairman. If the people of Idaho could attend the meetings of this committee, they would surely swell with pride at the forceful and intelligent contribution that Senator DWORSHAK makes to the work of this all-important Republican committee in the Senate.

All in all, there is no harder or more conscientious Senator than HENRY DWORSHAK. Whatever the Senate accomplishes, it is because of faithful public servants like him who refuse to work by the clock. Their only interest is in making this a better country for all of us.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, it is difficult to believe that 7 months have passed since these Senate halls saw the happy hurrying of HENRY DWORSHAK. His pleasant smile seemed always a headlight of friendliness as his mighty figure moved about at a pace which seemed to find the day all too short—and finally found life all too brief.

HENRY DWORSHAK was termed a conservative. His Idaho neighbors endorsed his spirit of caution and his col-

leagues of our Senate Appropriations Committee respected his sincerity. He stood his ground—and lost no friends.

Newsman, journalist, editor and publisher, soldier, and statesman, his life was one of discipline and dedication. Through the dragging days of last July no Senator was more faithful in attendance than he. Within the week of his passing, here on the floor of the Senate by his presence and his words, he declared his readiness at any sacrifice and at any hour to stay here to consummate the Senate's business.

Here in the morning hour of the very day of his passing, his response to a live quorum call was further proof of his constancy.

Those were days that continue to take their toll of our membership.

Because HENRY DWORSHAK's life was that of a man who hearkened to their meaning, I would like to borrow some phrases from our Chaplain's prayer of that Monday, July 23, 1962.

We live too much in the shallowness and shabbiness about us and in the rush and clash of busy hours, too often we forget the heavenly vision that lifts our eyes to far horizons.

Whatever this new day may hold for us as it commandeers our strength of mind and body and heart, send us forth girded by Thy might, until by patience, persistence, and enduring courage we become sufficient for the tasks we must accomplish.

Beside the life of HENRY DWORSHAK his Creator has written "Task accomplished."

And we add our prayer: "May he rest in peace."

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the passing of our late and beloved colleague, Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK, is a grievous loss. HENRY was one of the few Senators left of the old truly conservative school of thought. He believed in this with all his heart and he practiced daily what he preached. He was an honorable, dedicated, and valuable public servant.

I came to know HENRY DWORSHAK very well through our many years of service together on the Senate Appropriations Committee. The more you knew of HENRY DWORSHAK, the more you admired and respected him. He had a deep sense of loyalty and dedication to our system of Government and all it stood for.

HENRY was a tremendously hard worker. He went about his duties in such a serious way that he sometimes appeared to be stern and harsh. Actually, at heart HENRY DWORSHAK was a very kind and friendly person. He would not have intentionally harmed anyone if he could help it. He was a rugged individualist so typical of the great statesmen of old who made possible this great Nation.

HENRY DWORSHAK served the Nation well in many capacities from the battlefields of World War I to State commander of the American Legion, as a Member of the House of Representatives and as a Member of the U.S. Senate. He left his mark on much of the better legislation that was enacted during his service in the Congress of the United States. He was a highly respected

Member of the Senate and a friend I will long remember.

In attending his funeral services at Arlington Cemetery, I could not help thinking how fitting it was that a man of his dedication to our Nation and its ideals should have a final resting place in this beautiful cemetery dedicated to our great heroes and the preservation of our country.

May I extend to Mrs. Dworshak and all the family my most sincere sympathy.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, in honoring the lamented Senator from Idaho today, I join in paying tribute to a colleague, but also to a Senator from a neighboring State who was my friend. We did not always agree, but there was never any doubt where Senator DWORSHAK stood on issues before the country. There was never any question as to his integrity and his devotion to America. He was the ranking minority member on the Interior Committee where we served together. He was faithful in attendance and was forthright in his defense of our western resources and contribution to development of our neighboring States.

His record as a distinguished and valued citizen of Idaho and his devoted service in both Houses of the Congress of the United States leaves a void that will take long to fill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I considered HENRY DWORSHAK a warm friend. Above all, I knew him as an untiring and selfless worker in the cause of his honest and strong convictions on what would serve best our Nation. It was always a fine sight to see HENRY rise from his seat to take up the cudgels for a cause. When he was through, no Senator and no spectator could ever doubt where HENRY DWORSHAK stood and what he believed. While we could hardly have disagreed more on a number of issues, I cannot imagine having disagreed with a nicer or finer person.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the Nation lost a fine public servant with the passing of our late distinguished colleague, Senator HENRY DWORSHAK, of Idaho. Outstanding among his excellent qualities were his sincerity, his integrity, his dedication to hard work, and his capacity for far-ranging friendship.

I had the pleasure of serving with HENRY DWORSHAK, first in the House of Representatives, and then in the Senate. He preceded me by 4 years in the House. When I was elected to my first term in the House—that was to the 78th Congress—I soon became closely acquainted with HENRY DWORSHAK, and he was of immeasurable help to me in my freshman days. He was always thorough in his work, and one could accept his advice as one would accept the advice of an acknowledged expert in the field. We served together during the 78th and 79th Congresses, before he left to take his seat in the Senate.

Again, in entering the Senate, I followed HENRY DWORSHAK by about 4 years. We served together in the Senate through numerous Congresses—from January 1953 until his death in the fall of 1962. The years of association were rich for me. It was my pleasure to cosponsor

numerous bills with Senator DWORSHAK. On most matters we saw eye to eye.

HENRY DWORSHAK's service in the Senate was marked by his particular interest in the field of natural resources. As the ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, he was an authority on matters of water, land, mineral, and forest resources. I was especially impressed by HENRY DWORSHAK's consistent advocacy of close cooperation between the States and the Federal Government in planning and developing needed projects.

HENRY DWORSHAK's capacity to make friends resulted from his warm personality, his humility, and his sincere interest in the problems of others. He was loved and respected by all—regardless of political affiliation. Everyone knew HENRY DWORSHAK as a fair and honorable gentleman in all his dealings.

HENRY DWORSHAK's passing was a personal loss to me. It was a loss to this body, to his State, and to his Nation which he so dearly loved.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, HENRY DWORSHAK and I served together on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate for over 10 years. We sat beside each other. We became friends and discussed committee problems together. I found him to be frank and outspoken, with a sound, practical knowledge of the questions that face us in our Government. He was not partisan in his point of view. He was objective and made his judgments realistically in the way he felt to be most helpful to his country and to the section of the country which was involved. He was absolutely sincere in doing what he considered to be the right thing under the circumstances. He fought hard in behalf of the interests of his State of Idaho. There was his home. There he raised his family, and there were his friends.

He always expressed his beliefs vigorously and sometimes with a feeling of exasperation, but that was his way. With all his forcefulness of expression, he was considerate of the feelings of others. He was good natured, thoughtful, friendly, and always fair. He was conscientious in his attendance at hearings of the Appropriations Committee and his questions were always pertinent. Altogether he had a firm philosophy of government and he fought vigorously to uphold it.

After the war, Senator DWORSHAK and I were among those on the Appropriations Committee who went to Europe to study the conditions there as they involved our aid to those countries in a military and economic way. He was opposed to spending the taxpayers' money in ways that he believed were not in the best interests of our Nation's security. He believed that our resources should be spent as far as possible in building up our own country, though he realized the necessity of cooperating in rebuilding the free nations of the world which had suffered from the calamities of war and revolution.

HENRY DWORSHAK and his good wife were friends of Mrs. Saltonstall and myself. We enjoyed their company on

many occasions and always knew we would be received in a friendly, sociable way that made for greater happiness and greater comradeship in the busy life that surrounds us here in Washington. He was proud of his family and of the life and activities of his sons in the war and after.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a good citizen in war and in peace and a patriotic public official in the fullest sense of the word. I miss him as a colleague who sat close by me on the Senate floor. I miss him as a fellow member of the Appropriations Committee whose judgment I respected. I miss him as a friend.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, on this day we engaged in one of the saddest rites which our body enacts. The U.S. Senate has set aside this day for those of us who wish to speak to the memory of our late brother in this body, HENRY C. DWORSHAK.

In this day when cynicism too often surrounds the individuals who see public service as one of the highest forms of service to mankind, the life of HENRY DWORSHAK was a challenge to all of us. He was completely aware during the last few years of his life that he had certain physical disabilities which should have been cared for, and which indicated the need for a slowing down of the personal load which he carried as ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and as a member of the Appropriations Committee. Notwithstanding this, he continued to give the same zeal, devotion, and attention to his work, which he had done as a younger man, when he would not have been limited by the physical disabilities which took him later. His work and his devotion to public service were a direct, contributing factor to his decease. All men should know that here was in fact a man who was a public servant to his own detriment and to the great loss of his own family.

In a more personal vein, HENRY DWORSHAK was probably the closest friend I have ever had in the U.S. Senate. No death could have shocked me more, nor left a greater void in my daily responsibilities here. I found that when HENRY opened up his great heart to you, his friendship was as wide and encompassing as anyone could ever wish or ask. It was a gift he bestowed—and we the recipients appreciated it.

Both Mrs. Allott and I want to extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dworshak and their four sons and hope that his contributions to our country and the warmth of his friendships in the Senate will help to diminish by some small amount the loss of this wonderful person.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve 8 years in the House of Representatives and 12 years in the U.S. Senate with HENRY DWORSHAK.

During these many years we were closely associated in sponsoring and working for legislation in the interest of the people of the West and the Midwest. We became close personal friends.

HENRY DWORSHAK was truly a rugged individualist, a conservative and a man

with great character. Once his mind was made up on an issue or a piece of legislation, you never need question where he stood.

He was a kindly man and I know personally of many instances of his generosity to individuals and to institutions. He was a man of courage that typifies the great West. All of these qualities are needed in the U.S. Senate and we miss him greatly.

Mrs. Carlson and I extend to Mrs. Dworshak and the family our sincerest and deepest sympathy.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, all of us are saddened by the passing of a respected and capable gentleman whose service to the State of Idaho was long and faithful. HENRY C. DWORSHAK was a diligent and forthright addition to this body whose dedication to the public interest brought credit to himself and to his native State.

As a Member of the House of Representatives, it was my privilege to serve with HENRY DWORSHAK in the 76th through 79th Congresses. Later, from 1960 until his death, we were colleagues in the U.S. Senate.

Though we were occasionally aligned on opposite sides of issues brought before this group, the late Senator from Idaho was at all times straightforward and reasonable in debate and willingly gave careful attention to the views of those who differed with him.

Senator DWORSHAK was an influential and highly respected member of the minority as his responsible committee assignments will attest. We shall miss his robust and hearty personality as well as his steadfast efforts in projects designed to benefit citizens of Idaho and of the United States.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I knew HENRY DWORSHAK as colleague and friend, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. His service and devotion to his home State of Idaho, and to the Nation as a whole, place him firmly and well in history, and in the hearts of those who knew and worked with him. His conception of his role as a U.S. Senator was in the very finest tradition, and he filled that role with unique distinction. Neither political partisanship nor possibility of personal gain swayed him from the path of principle as he saw it. And though his efforts and action certainly bore the mark of a statesman, I believe that he himself would wish to be remembered as a U.S. Senator who represented his people well.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I was not privileged to know the late Senator DWORSHAK as a close colleague. We did not serve on any committees together and our legislative interests were not similar.

During my years in the Senate, however, I had an opportunity to observe his hard work and firm commitment to those causes in which he believed so deeply. I pay tribute, today, to his memory and to his record as a Senator who stood up for his point of view without flinching and without fear of opposition.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, today we pause to pay a heartfelt and richly merited tribute of remembrance to our

departed friend and colleague, the distinguished and able son and servant of the great State of Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK. Since his election to this body in 1946, HENRY DWORSHAK contributed the full measure of his outstanding gifts to the advancement of his State and Nation toward an ever richer fulfillment of freedom and security. He was a man who gave stature and dignity to every office he held during his long an eminent career. We who were privileged to call him friend, and to work at his side, were ever impressed by the integrity of character and the depth of understanding he brought to the duties and responsibilities entrusted to him. Even those who might find themselves in disagreement with him could not but admire the sincerity of his convictions and the vigor with which he expressed and defended them. As we deeply valued HENRY DWORSHAK as a friend, so, too, we esteemed him as a man who lent distinction to this body in which we proudly serve.

His beloved State mourns a son. His Nation salutes him for his contribution to the better, fuller national life toward which he worked so zealously. His friends turn to his family in this sorrowful hour and share with them the grief of a loss so deeply, so personally felt by each of us privileged to know the warmth of HENRY DWORSHAK'S friendship.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, today we honor the memory of the late HENRY C. DWORSHAK and express our profound appreciation for the opportunity to be associated with him.

Senator DWORSHAK was an unusual man. Trained in the newspaper craft, he was not content merely to observe events and to write about them. He insisted on doing something about them. That is why he left his desk as editor and publisher of the *Burley Bulletin* to run for the House of Representatives in 1938.

His service in the House and later here in the Senate were marked by the newsman's inquisitiveness. He seldom accepted statements at their face value. He wanted to know who, what, where, why, and how much.

I will long be in HENRY DWORSHAK'S debt for his kindly advice and assistance to me on the Appropriations Committee. His thorough knowledge and general competence in this field were of great help on many occasions.

It was my pleasure to visit several Latin American countries in 1961 in company with Senator DWORSHAK. I was particularly impressed with his intimate knowledge of the mining operations we observed in some of the countries we visited and with Senator DWORSHAK'S keen awareness of his responsibility to the mining industries of the section he represented in the Senate.

Senator DWORSHAK served Idaho and the Nation with a devotion and purpose which all of us might well seek to emulate. And yet despite his strongly held convictions and his fierce fights for that in which he believed, he never lost the essential quality of dignity which he wore like a bright jewel.

We shall miss Senator DWORSHAK. Too few of his kind of men are in the public service.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, HENRY DWORSHAK was my good friend. He was, in a real sense, an ideal against which one could not hesitate to measure his own worth.

Politically, he was a conservative. And, because he had espoused the cause of conservatism, adherents to that philosophy increased in number and respect for it was increased among those who take issue with it.

Others of my colleagues in this eulogy to HENRY DWORSHAK will mention specific accomplishments of his career. They are many, they are important and they shall endure. But, from the time of our first acquaintance, I was struck most forcefully by his personification of those qualities possessed by great and good men.

Physically, HENRY DWORSHAK was a big man. Looking at him, one was immediately reminded of the grandeur of the mountains which surround his home in Idaho. To know this man, was to recall the gentleness of the beautiful valleys among those mountains—equally an important part of that magnificent sector of this great country.

This combination of great mountains and beautiful valleys is the West. So, also, this combination of physical strength and gentle nature merge to form magnificent men.

But, there were yet other fine qualities which HENRY DWORSHAK possessed in great measure. He, as much as any man I ever knew represented a personal geography of the State he so ably represented:

He possessed the freshness of pure mountain air.

His was the swift pace of a cold, clear mountain stream.

His humor was a chipmunk on the lofty crags and buttercups in a high meadow.

Ardor for his causes, tempered by good judgment, was as the evergreen relieved by warm golden aspen at late fall in the high Rockies.

One can stand alone in the silence of high mountains, gentle valleys, vibrant wildlife, and become irresistibly an humble man.

HENRY DWORSHAK was all of that, too.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, HENRY DWORSHAK will always live in our memories as one of the stalwarts of the U.S. Senate. His rugged features, his square jaw, his snow-white hair, his broad shoulders, and massive stature marked him as a man of iron will. I always had the feeling that the pioneers who conquered the West must have resembled him in appearance.

In the case of HENRY DWORSHAK, these physical characteristics were not deceptive for he was endowed with a moral courage and an unflinching devotion to his ideals that won and held the respect of all who knew him. He was a man who took with deep seriousness the responsibilities of his high office. He loved his country with a passion and feared for its welfare with an anxiety that left its marks upon him and shortened his years.

He believed in what he believed with all his heart and he fought for it with all his might.

No more dedicated man ever served in the U.S. Senate.

We sorrow with his loved ones in his passing, but we share with them the solace that he was one of that band of noblemen who have given of themselves unstintingly and have truly passed to their reward.

Why pity them? Full well they lived  
Their God-appointed plan, died joyously,  
And left a golden memory! Pray who  
Could ask a fairer rate for them, or me.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, we who knew our able and esteemed colleague from Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK, regarded him with utmost respect and warmest affection. The shock of his sudden and untimely passing last year saddens us still. It was all the more sorrowful because his robust appearance and his vigorous manner gave outward promise of far longer tenure on this mortal planet. A mighty oak had fallen, leaving a gaping void in the tall timber.

When I first met HENRY DWORSHAK less than 3 years ago, I was impressed by his physical stature, his magnificent white hair and his handsome visage. To me, he looked every inch a Senator.

As I subsequently learned through working with him on the Senate Interior Committee and in the Senate Chamber, he was every inch a Senator.

Able, hard working, diligent, dedicated, sincere, straightforward, HENRY DWORSHAK brought honor to this body, honor to his State, and honor to his country.

His rugged appearance and sturdy independence were characteristic of the pioneer people who settled in the West from whence he came. And so, it is easy to understand that, in any struggle for what he believed right, he was a man of dogged determination and unswerving tenacity. An exponent of conservative thinking, he had a prudent man's high regard for fiscal soundness in government, a reasonable man's zeal for steady progress, and a conservative man's faith in the people to govern themselves in States and local areas and a corresponding horror of overcentralized Government in Washington.

We often drove together to our Washington homes at the close of a long day in the Senate, and in our conversations I soon discovered his booming voice belied his warm and compassionate spirit and his kindly and considerate manner.

I am sure I echo the sentiments of every Member of the Senate and of the many employees of the Senate when I say we miss him sorely.

At this sad time, there are no words adequate to assuage his dear one's sense of loss. But I do hope they may derive some measure of comfort to know that we honor and esteem in the highest his memory.

My wife Ellyn and I convey our deepest sympathy to his wife and family in their bereavement.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, the late Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK first applied his voice to the problems of his

State and Nation through the pages of his newspaper, the *Burley Bulletin*. In 1944 he came to Congress where he served ably until his death.

Senator DWORSHAK and I frequently disagreed on the issues debated in this body, but I could not disagree with the devotion he displayed to duty and country. He put his very real talents to the job of representing his State and serving his country as he thought the job should be done, with all the energy at his command.

Mr. President, it is indeed a sad fact of life that the laws of God and nature make these eulogies necessary. But I am proud to have had the privilege of serving with the three Senators we honor today and I am confident that their record in the eyes of historians of the future shall reflect the utmost honor and credit upon the United States of America and the U.S. Senate.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Idaho, HENRY DWORSHAK, is no longer with us. He was a beloved and respected Member of our body. His loss will be felt by his friends in the Senate for a long time to come.

Senator DWORSHAK was a Member of the Senate for many years, having come first to this body in 1946. Over the years his interest, his knowledge of the problems of the development and conservation of our natural resources came to be known and respected by all. As ranking minority member of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, the Senator made a substantial contribution to the cause of intelligent use of the resources of our Nation.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, with the passing last year of the distinguished Senator from Idaho, Mr. DWORSHAK, the people of the State of Idaho lost the services of a courageous, capable, sound, and devoted public servant. Senator DWORSHAK was a man who possessed all the basic qualities which are so vital in winning and holding the respect and confidence of his fellow man. He was a man of great intellect, wisdom, judgment, industry, integrity, sincerity, and courage. Because of these qualities, the people of Idaho elected him to the House of Representatives four times and also to a seat in the U.S. Senate on four occasions.

Of all the qualities I have mentioned in describing our deceased colleague, there is one upon which we must place a premium in our country today, especially for public servants. That quality is courage. Winston Churchill has well said that "courage is rightly esteemed the first of all human qualities, because it is the quality which guarantees all others."

HENRY DWORSHAK demonstrated this priceless quality on many occasions in performing his duties as a Congressman and Senator. He had the courage to oppose the demands of special interest groups, when their demands were not in the public interest or in the best interest of the preservation of freedom—which to me runs parallel to the public interest. He fought to correct the corrupt practices of big union bosses in the interest of the working people, realizing

the power of the union bosses to work their will in election contests. He fought to preserve freedom when conformity appeared to be the order of the day. He promoted programs and ideas to help our farmers be more competitive and prosperous, but jealously guarded their freedoms in doing so. He stood up for the Constitution and the rights of the States as against usurpation of power and the centralization of government in Washington. He spoke up against deficit financing and in his voting record he hewed to the line in favoring fiscal sanity and a balanced budget.

HENRY DWORSHAK defended our great free enterprise system against the rising tide of socialism, and he supported bold, firm foreign policy proposals designed to win the cold war which the forces of world communism have forced on us. And, he advocated a program of national defense which would insure a supremacy of military power and full readiness to cope with the aggressive intentions of any enemy power.

I count it a high privilege to have been able to serve in this great body with the distinguished Senator from Idaho, and I join my colleagues in extending my deepest sympathy to the people of Idaho and the members of the Dworshak family in the incalculable loss they have incurred by his passing.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the West lost a good friend in the sudden passing last summer of HENRY DWORSHAK. I served with him for 3½ years on the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and I found him at all times thoroughly dedicated to the development of the West and its natural resources in the way he felt was in the best interests of the people.

We did not always agree what was in the best interests—we had many lively discussions on the merits of various proposals and measure—but I never doubted that Senator DWORSHAK always acted with honest conviction, and with unquestionable integrity. He was industrious, high principled, and eminently fair.

His length of service in the Congress—from 1939, when he first came to the House—on through 8 years there and almost 16 years in the Senate, indicate the high regard in which he was held by the people of Idaho. He won and held their confidence and respect, and his death was a great loss to them.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in paying deserved tribute to the late Senator HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Idaho. It was my privilege to know him for some years before I joined him as a colleague in the Senate. Our friendship developed during our mutual service in this body and his death was a great personal blow to me as well as a loss to the people of his State and the Nation.

There was no more dedicated Member of the U.S. Senate than HENRY DWORSHAK. I know of the long hours that he spent in the hearings and executive sessions of the Appropriations Committee. No one was more tireless in his devotion to duty or more conscientious in the discharge of his responsibilities as a Member of this body.

It was my privilege to visit Idaho with him on several occasions. I traveled throughout the State with him in 1959 and 1960. I know from firsthand the very high place that he had in the hearts of the people of Idaho.

I take this occasion to extend to Mrs. Dworshak and her wonderful family my deepest sympathy. We shall all miss him.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, no man who worked with and knew HENRY DWORSHAK could have anything but the highest respect and regard for him.

HENRY DWORSHAK came from a rugged part of our country, and he was a rugged individualist. He always lived by the highest principles and he believed strongly in individual and governmental integrity. He was deeply devoted to the conviction that individuals and groups of individuals should make every effort humanly possible to solve their own problems rather than to turn to the Federal Government for help and oftentimes what turned out to be expensive assistance.

In his long years of public service in the House and the Senate HENRY DWORSHAK brought to the Halls of the Congress the true spirit of the West. As a newspaperman and as a public servant he believed in hard work, and he proved time and again that honest labor and unwavering conviction are among the best qualities man can possess.

In many respects Senator DWORSHAK was a quiet man, but when he spoke everyone listened and respected his views. In the legislative body no higher tribute can be paid to a man.

I know that Idaho will miss him, and I know that the Senate and the Nation will miss him and all of the unselfish work he did so willingly and so effectively.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is impossible to express adequately the sense of loss which all of his colleagues in the Senate feel on the death of HENRY DWORSHAK.

My acquaintance with Senator DWORSHAK began in 1945 when I first came to the House of Representatives. From the beginning I was attracted to him particularly as a warm human being, and our friendship was a very close one for all of these years.

Senator DWORSHAK was a highly respected Member of this body. His colleagues especially knew and admired his diligence and his comprehension of the problems affecting the Nation and, particularly, his own great Northwest. Most of all, they knew and loved him as a man.

Mrs. Case joins me in expressing to Mrs. Dworshak and all the members of their family our deepest and most affectionate sympathy.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to our late colleague, Senator HENRY CLARENCE DWORSHAK, of Idaho.

When HENRY DWORSHAK came to the Senate in 1947, he brought with him the experience of four terms in the House of Representatives as well as two decades as editor and publisher of the Burley Bulletin in his home State.

He also brought to this body his high ideals and an unparalleled pride in our country.

Senator DWORSHAK was a rugged individualist, in every good sense of the word. He was respected and admired as much as anyone in the Senate.

We will miss him deeply, as a close friend and a devoted public servant.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I am privileged to join in the justly deserved tributes to the late Senator from Idaho, HENRY CLARENCE DWORSHAK, who served his State and Nation with dedication and distinction.

The Senate has lost an outstanding Member, and it is fitting that we honor his memory in eulogies here where he had so many friends and where his service for many years was so well known to all of us.

All who knew our late colleague valued his friendship and respected his devotion to duty. It was a great pleasure for me to serve with him in the Senate. I deeply regret his passing, and shall miss his presence.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, it is a sad occasion when we rise in this Chamber and undertake to express our feelings upon the passing of one of our colleagues. Words mean little to me, for I find them inadequate to define my feelings.

I believe this more so in speaking of a man like HENRY DWORSHAK. Here was a man of character, a man of honesty, of tolerance, and of patience. He was a rugged son of the West who was a dedicated public servant not only during his illustrious career in the Senate, but also in the years when he served with distinction in the other body.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a great American. He was an American in the old tradition, a man who was solid on the inside. He was a man of great integrity. You would not find HENRY DWORSHAK cutting fancy political capers on the floor of the Senate in an effort to win either publicity or acclaim. He was a man of principle and high ideals.

He was a great Senator and one who made many great contributions to the welfare of his country, both in the active military service of the Nation and in the Halls of Congress. Death laid a heavy hand upon the Senate when he was taken from us. Believing as I do that there are eternal rewards for men of honor and decency who live justly and show tolerance and forbearance, I have no doubts as to where HENRY DWORSHAK will spend eternity.

It is always difficult to fill the void left by a man of great character, and HENRY DWORSHAK had character. He was an easy man to know and love. One could communicate with HENRY DWORSHAK. Perhaps that was because his earliest training was in communications. He entered newspaper work and later became editor and publisher of the Burley, Idaho, Bulletin in his hometown.

His philosophy was grounded on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and he recognized the Senate of the United States as the forum of States. No public act of his ever demeaned the Senate or diminished the high purpose of the Founding Fathers that in this Chamber

the representatives of proud States were entitled to the fullest of freedom to voice the hopes, the aspirations and the desires of those who sent them here.

He was a champion of sound federalism, with the National Government confined to its proper functions. HENRY DWORSHAK was a practical man. He was not beset by illusions. He was a genial man whose friendship was warm and whose compassion was deep. He was a man of dignity and simplicity, and when he spoke you knew there was something worthwhile to be said.

He was a man of courage and action, and when there was something to be done, he acted promptly and forthrightly. I felt a great sense of personal loss in the passing of HENRY DWORSHAK, and I share the grief of his family in the loss of a loving father and husband. I understand the grief of the people of Idaho who are deprived of his wise counsel and devoted service.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in expressing my sympathies over the sad and untimely death of a good friend, Senator HENRY DWORSHAK.

His loss was not a family sorrow alone for it was felt by his colleagues here in the Senate and the citizens of Idaho.

By training and experience HENRY DWORSHAK was well prepared for the giant task of representing the West that he knew and loved so well.

Mr. President, I extend my deepest sympathies to the family of Senator DWORSHAK, and I want to express a special regret of the State of Nevada at the loss of a stalwart son of its neighboring State.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, as a freshman Senator, I found myself assigned to the Interior Committee, where our late beloved Senator HENRY DWORSHAK was the ranking Republican member. Senator DWORSHAK quickly took me under his wing and provided me with the warmhearted, friendly, and helpful guidance which he always offered to new Republican members of the committee. I can say that his kindness meant a great deal in enabling me to adapt myself to my new surroundings.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a great fighter. Sometimes one hears it said that younger men are needed in the Senate to engage in debate and to fight hard over principles. However, that is not entirely true. Among the older members of the Senate, there was none who fought harder for his principles and who really enjoyed a battle on the Senate floor more than did Senator DWORSHAK. In this, he will continue to be an inspiration to me and to all younger Members who had the privilege of serving with him.

Mrs. Miller joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dworshak and the rest of the family. We shall remember HENRY in our prayers.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, this speech is a most unhappy occasion for me. The people of Idaho and the Nation were saddened on July 23, 1962, by the sudden death of Senator HENRY DWORSHAK.

I had known Senator DWORSHAK for many years. It is true that although we sat on the opposite sides of the political

aisle, and we disagreed on many policies and issues, I always had the greatest respect for his integrity and energy as a legislator on the national scene.

HENRY DWORSHAK was a kind man, a dedicated man. He was the type of man that you could always count on for a helping hand. He had an extraordinary way of dealing with people. He always looked and acted the part of a distinguished Senator. He had a friendly, humble, homey manner; yet he was always dignified, courteous, and always businesslike.

During his lifetime, Senator DWORSHAK was a printer, a sergeant in a machine-gun battalion in World War I, a newspaper editor, and a legislator. Before coming to the U.S. Senate, he served four terms in the House of Representatives. After the people of Idaho elevated him to the U.S. Senate he served in this great body for 14 years. During the 22 years that he served in the House and Senate, he remained a devoted public servant. He voted his conscience and his duty, as he saw it, for the American people.

During his tenure of 22 years he was on many important committees and was the sponsor of legislation of national importance. He was a member of the House and later the Senate Appropriations Committee, where he gained a vast knowledge and understanding of all the operations of the Government. His particular interest was in the field of natural resources. He worked closely with those agencies which manage our water, land, mineral, and forest resources. He was ranking minority member of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee at the time of his death. He always advocated close cooperation between the States and the Federal Government in planning and developing new projects.

To his good wife, and to his four sons, I would like to say that I miss him in the Senate; however, I would like to add, that a grateful Nation shares in their great loss.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I am sure the members of the Dworshak family would desire that at this time I express their appreciation for the thoughtful statements which have been made by the late Senator's colleagues and friends.

#### TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SENATOR CHAVEZ, OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I rise today to honor in words a man whose deeds speak far more eloquently of his dedicated service over four decades to his Nation and his State—our late colleague, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, a man whom I knew very well. We had associated ourselves in public affairs for some 40 years. We had campaigned together back and forth across New Mexico for 30 years. We had been colleagues in the Senate for 14 years. I can speak of him with authority, with conviction, and with deep respect.

When Senator CHAVEZ died last November 18, former President Harry S. Truman observed that he was "a good

public servant, and that's about the highest thing you can say about a man."

Another measure of our colleague's devotion to the public's cause was the way in which thousands of his friends, the humble and the high, paid their final respects to DENNIS CHAVEZ when he was laid to rest in his native soil of New Mexico.

DENNIS CHAVEZ came from a family whose roots lay deep in that soil. His ancestors were Spanish and more than 300 years ago first settled in New Mexico on land granted by Philip II of Spain.

He was born on April 8, 1888, at Los Chavez, not far from Albuquerque, into an impoverished household, the oldest of eight children. He went to work as a youngster to help put bread on the family table. When his formal education had to be laid aside in order to help his family, he began the process of self-education through extensive reading, a process which continued to the very day of his death. It was years later before he was able to obtain a law degree from Georgetown University. DENNIS CHAVEZ was 32 before he was able to hang out his lawyer's shingle in Albuquerque.

In 1920, DENNIS CHAVEZ was elected to the State legislature, where he sponsored a bill to provide free textbooks to school-children, a recognition of his own love for learning. He began his service in Congress in 1931 when he was elected to the House of Representatives. He came to the Senate in 1935 and served here continuously until his death.

Mr. President, in a time when this Nation is increasingly concerned about conditions in Latin America, DENNIS CHAVEZ was one of the best of good neighbors. Perhaps that was due to his Spanish origins; perhaps it was due to the fact that New Mexico shares a common border with the northernmost of the Latin American nations. One of his landmark efforts to more closely link the United States with its hemispheric neighbors is the Pan American Highway. He strongly supported the construction of that road, and diligently sought to have the project completed. Although many difficulties remain along that road, his intentions were of the finest.

When the Ambassador of Mexico presented Senator CHAVEZ with that country's highest medal in 1961, our colleague observed that the award "was the culmination of years of effort to better relations with our vital neighbors to the south."

Mr. President, most of us in this Chamber know of the struggle Senator CHAVEZ had with his health over the last 10 years of his life. A number of years ago a large part of his stomach was removed to arrest cancer. But he remained with us, effectively working for the causes he believed in. Toward the end, he underwent prolonged treatment for cancer of the throat. It became necessary for him to master the technique of speaking through a special tracheal tube. But with persistent courage that was typical of this man, he learned to use it. Although he was confined to the National Institutes of Health, Senator CHAVEZ announced that he would attend the opening of the second session of the last Con-

gress. And attend he did—despite a snowstorm—and we gave him a warm welcome when he appeared on the floor.

It is one of those circumstances of fate that on this day when we pay homage to DENNIS CHAVEZ, he is also to be honored by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States for his service in behalf of the military strength of this country. Had he lived, DENNIS CHAVEZ would have personally received the honor of Minuteman of 1963, but that award, which will be made tonight, regrettably will be posthumous.

As chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator CHAVEZ was an untiring advocate and architect in the construction of a stronger free world. The citation which will accompany the award reads in part:

Few men have shouldered the burden of deciding the preparedness course of this Nation, and have done so with wisdom, dedication, and resultant effectiveness as has Senator CHAVEZ. The degree of our Nation's strength has been subject to his judgments. We are convinced history will demonstrate that to Senator CHAVEZ is due a goodly portion of the security every American shares today.

I only wish that Senator CHAVEZ were still here to hear those words. But I am sure, Mr. President, that he would have accepted them with characteristic modesty, for while he had achieved a degree of eminence in legislative affairs which few men do, he never lost the close touch with the people.

I well recall the evening in Albuquerque when many of DENNIS CHAVEZ' friends gathered to commemorate his 25th anniversary of service in the Senate of the United States. On that occasion it was observed of our colleague:

He succeeded where other native sons of New Mexico have failed. He stood foursquare to every wind that blew. He has faced life with courage and fortitude. He has never lost the common touch. He has never forgotten old friends and loyalties. He has never allowed politics to interfere with the dictates of his conscience. He is an illustrious son of New Mexico.

Mr. President, Senator CHAVEZ was the devoted friend of groups in this country who sometimes found themselves without an articulate spokesman. In a memorable statement of his fundamental faith in democracy he once declared:

It matters little if the Congress appropriates hundreds of millions of dollars to check the erosion of the soil if we permit the erosion of our civil liberties, free institutions, and the untrammelled pursuit of truth.

DENNIS CHAVEZ, who had delivered groceries in a horse-drawn wagon to help his family, was witness to an amazing transformation of his State and helped to engineer that change. Works to control the ravages of flood, impoundments and canals to bring water to parched lands, military bases vital to the defense of freedom, highways to link rapidly growing centers of population: these are some of the markers DENNIS CHAVEZ left along the route he traveled.

It can be said that the story of DENNIS CHAVEZ is another chapter in the continuing story of America. It is a story worth the telling to the generations that succeed him.

To Mrs. Chavez and the other members of the family of Senator CHAVEZ, Mrs. Anderson and I extend our affection as we today express our reverence for his memory and our appreciation for the life he led and the contributions he made to the welfare of the people of the land he loved.

Mr. President, at the time of the illness of Senator CHAVEZ, the able Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] took on the great burden of handling the military appropriation bill. I yield the floor to him for his kindness to my colleague.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the kindness of the senior Senator from New Mexico in yielding the floor to me at this time.

Senator CHAVEZ rendered to the Senate, to his home State, and the United States long and valuable service; and in his death, I felt a keen personal loss.

He became a Member of the House of Representatives in 1931 and a Senator in 1935. During these three decades the Congress has met many crises—the depression, World War II, Korea, the atomic age. Senator CHAVEZ contributed much to the Nation in all of these years.

Senator CHAVEZ brought to his service in the Senate a culture and courtesy for which aristocratic Spaniards have been known throughout the world, an intimate knowledge of the great Southwest, a zeal for the perpetuity of democratic institutions, and a capacity for friendship which endeared him to his colleagues.

It was a real pleasure for me to serve with him on the Senate Appropriations Committee for nearly 14 years, and especially to have been a member of the very important Subcommittee on Defense, of which in recent years he was the distinguished chairman.

Although the parents and grandparents of Senator CHAVEZ were all Republicans, he became a Democrat by conviction. All his life he was a staunch supporter of the doctrine of States' rights. One of the great-uncles of Senator CHAVEZ was a colonel in the Confederate Army, and a picture of General Lee and his officers occupied a place of honor in Senator CHAVEZ' office. Because of his connections with our region, he had the particular affection of those of us who come from the Southern States.

Senator CHAVEZ was a genuine and friendly man and truly democratic in his personal contacts with everyone. We miss him.

Mr. MECHEM. Mr. President, it is with deep conviction that I rise on behalf of the people of New Mexico and myself to express our respects and pay tribute to Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ.

It is good for us to pause, as we now do, to view with new perspective the recent past, for it is difficult to see a man such as Senator CHAVEZ, while still with us, for what he really was.

He was the very epitome of the "American dream."

Born in a dignified but poor farm family which did not speak the English language, he raised himself by sheer exercise of will to become one of the most influential and able figures in the United States.

What other nation can produce such a self-made man?

What other form of government encourages and rewards such a climb?

Senator CHAVEZ endeared himself to hundreds of thousands of New Mexicans—who felt great affection and trust—simply because he was a symbol of hope, a shining example for his fellow man.

He walked among the mightily, but he never forgot his humble roots, deep in the soil of the sunshine area of this Nation.

He was never too busy with urgent national problems to stop and give a hand to the downtrodden and friendless.

He fought all of his life for individual equality, for the equal opportunity our Constitution promises Americans of every race and creed. He knew—as we all must learn sooner or later—that only eternal and unflagging effort can make this goal come true.

This is why New Mexicans loved DENNIS CHAVEZ and returned him for more than a quarter of a century to a seat in this body.

They knew him as a faithful friend.

They knew him as a man with courage—a tough fighter.

And they knew him as a man with the human touch—a man with an open mind and a warm heart.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, one of the joys of Senator CHAVEZ was his close and continuing friendship with the distinguished senior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], the minority whip. I now yield to him.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the sad news of the passing of the late DENNIS CHAVEZ came to me last November when I was in West Berlin as an American delegate to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Conference. West Berlin represents man's struggle for freedom. In a very real sense, the life of the late, respected DENNIS CHAVEZ also represented, in all its many facets, a successful struggle for freedom and for equality of opportunity in our own beloved America.

Humble product of our common soil, this gallant Christian man attained a pinnacle of responsibility in the U.S. Senate. It was he who guided through the Senate its enormous and crucial pieces of legislation designed to strengthen our country, its security, and its role of leader in the cause of freemen everywhere.

The Nation has lost the services of a great American. New Mexico has lost a distinguished son who fought the good fight, and did so successfully, for Americans of all races and creeds, and he was sustained in his fight by the proud and noble blood of Spain. His family had lost a loving and devoted husband and father; and we who were honored to know him and work with him have lost a beloved friend.

Like my colleagues in the Senate, I cherish the memory of DENNIS CHAVEZ, lawyer and statesman, great leader, loyal and devoted, possessed of an unbounded courage which carried him through all manner of crises and pain, and which sustained him to the very end.

I served under DENNIS CHAVEZ on the Senate Committee on Public Works. If I may say so, I came to know him intimately. I remember the great public works projects which came from his committee, on their way to the White House, to become law. They were fashioned under his leadership. The good of the country was his guide. I remember all the compassion and all the sympathy which he brought, side by side, with his legislative responsibilities and power. Rich or poor, great or small, all stood equal before him and his committee. Equal treatment under law for all our people, the high American gift of liberty, and our resolute duty to maintain it, formed the basis of his official life. And as simply a human being, with his family and with his legion of friends, sweetness, generosity, and a sense of unselfish devotion and of faith ever guided him. I know, Mr. President, for a year ago, with pride, I took with me to my State of California his faith, freely and publicly given in a fashion which may well be unique in the political history of our Republic.

I treasure fond recollections of the years I spent with him here in the Senate.

With my wife, I send once again to the Chavez family, son and daughters, and particularly to his dear widow, our never-ending condolences. DENNIS CHAVEZ will live in our memory, as he will live eternally in the minds of his family and in the minds of all his many, many friends in the Senate, in his native State, and across the great breadth of America.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, many times I have heard our late colleague, Senator CHAVEZ, speak of his affection and genuine friendship for the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] and I now yield to him.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the Senate has been most unfortunate to lose the services of Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ of New Mexico. I served beside him for many, many years on the Senate Committee on Appropriations. I knew him to be a public servant who was devoted to serving the people of his State and the country as a whole.

Senator CHAVEZ was one of the first men of Spanish extraction to come to Washington in the service of his country. He was beloved by his constituents, as can easily be seen by his long term of service in the Senate.

Senator CHAVEZ had a most difficult assignment on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, serving as chairman of the Subcommittee on Armed Services. Well over 50 percent of all funds appropriated each year by the Congress during the last 10 years were handled by him.

Mr. President, let me add that as chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Works, he did noble work in authorizing the funds for important projects in order to assist in protecting and preserving our water and land resources. I served as chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, whereas his committee authorized the projects; and it was my business to see to it that the funds necessary in order to make them effective

were appropriated. Therefore, we were very close, and on many occasions discussed many of these projects. I know the Senate has lost a great leader in that respect.

I was truly saddened when I was informed of his death while I was traveling in the jungles of Africa, last year. I regret his passing; and I extend my deep sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues in a brief tribute to our late colleague, DENNIS CHAVEZ of New Mexico.

Before I came to Congress, I became familiar with his name. I came to know him personally when I entered Congress. He had moved from the House of Representatives to the Senate.

Shortly after coming to the Senate, I was named to the Committee on Public Works and had the privilege of serving under the chairmanship of Senator CHAVEZ. He was a wonderful chairman whom all members of the committee, Democrats and Republicans alike, respected. All the members enjoyed working on the committee under his guidance. It was also my privilege to serve under the chairmanship of Senator CHAVEZ on the Senate Office Building Commission.

I have had the pleasure of campaigning across the State of New Mexico with DENNIS CHAVEZ. I greatly enjoyed the experience of riding with him and having him point out the historic home site of his family through many generations. Many historic sites were pointed out as we went from place to place, and many interesting stories of his own campaign experiences were related.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was a serious and hard-working public servant. He was dedicated to his work, devoted to his family, and intensely loyal to his country. I am glad to have enjoyed his friendship.

Mrs. Sparkman and I extend our sympathy to Mrs. Chavez and the other members of the family.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I do not know what I can add to the eloquent tributes that have already been paid to our late departed colleague, DENNIS N. CHAVEZ. But I wish to express the sadness I feel at his passing.

Senator CHAVEZ and I served and worked together on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. I also served with him for a period of time, during my early days in the Senate, on the Public Works Committee. It was a rewarding experience to serve on a committee with him. He exercised caution and care, and approached his duties with sincere dedication to the welfare of the people of the United States and of the people of the State of New Mexico, whom he loved.

We in the Senate will long remember the years of service he rendered to the Nation as chairman of the Public Works Committee. Throughout this great country, projects initiated by the Public Works Committee under his leadership stand as monuments to his achievements and to the contributions he made to the welfare and progress of our Nation. Many such projects in Arkansas will serve to remind the people of my

State of his important contributions to its growth and development.

He was a man of sympathy and understanding, and he was a man of courage, who continued over a period of years to discharge his duties here with distinction while enduring much pain and suffering. Many weaker men would have given up the effort and quit in such circumstances of disadvantage. But not Senator CHAVEZ. He fought on unwaveringly with a manifestation of fortitude, strength, and devotion to duty seldom matched and unexcelled, and which we might all do well to emulate.

Mrs. McClellan and I both express our deepest grief and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Chavez and the family.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senate was deeply saddened by the death of Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ. This quiet and kindly man served in this body for nearly 30 years with distinction to himself, to his beloved State of New Mexico, and to our country. During those years, he made a great many friends and set an example for unassuming and unpretentious public service.

I pay homage to our late colleague, whose ancestors came to this country, not decades, but centuries ago. He was truly, and in the best sense a descendent of the real first families of our country.

Senator CHAVEZ was close to his people. He was close because he remained one of them even as he rose to high office. He knew their problems. When only 13 years old, he had to leave school to contribute to the support of his seven brothers and sisters. He later worked as a newsboy and delivery boy. But he continued to study at night and later passed a special college entrance examination. With personal determination and the encouragement of his wife, he went on to earn a law degree and begin his career in politics.

Because of his Spanish-American background, Senator CHAVEZ was intimately aware of the problems facing minorities in this country. His history of public service was one of constant support of his people and other minority groups. In fact, he first gained national prominence because of his leadership in support of a permanent Fair Trades Employment Commission to combat job discrimination.

Another area of special interest was that of national defense. As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense Funds, he championed a strong military posture during the critical early years of the cold war. Both in this position, and as chairman of the important Public Works Committee, Senator CHAVEZ left his mark on the Nation.

Yet valuable as his contributions were in these fields, his ultimate reputation will rest on his unflinching fight for human freedom and human decency. His finest hour came on this floor when he protested in simple, yet eloquent, terms against an atmosphere which he termed would have "quietly shackled the growth of men's minds." Prefacing this remark, he said:

I should like to be remembered as the man who raised a voice . . . at a time in the history of this body when we seem bent

upon placing limitations on the freedom of the individual.

I am sure that Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ would have been proud to know that a grateful Nation and constituency have accorded him this honor after death.

Mr. President, in spite of the late date of these remarks, I want to express again to Mrs. Chavez and her family, and to the people of New Mexico, the profound sympathies of Mrs. Mansfield and myself.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, many Senators are admired. The late Senator CHAVEZ was not only admired, but also actually loved. I was among those who appreciated and loved him.

For almost the entire time I have been in the Senate I had the privilege of serving on a committee with him. First, I served with him on the Committee on Public Works, of which he was chairman. Later I served on the Appropriations Committee, at a time when he was chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

In the brief time available to me I wish to speak of him primarily as an individual, and to laud him for his human qualities.

I think first of his unflinching kindness. He was a man of great human appreciation. He was truly a great humanitarian. Simple in his manners, sincere in his friendliness, he did not wear those qualities on some days and leave them at home on others. He had them with him at all times.

As has already been said, his name as a legislator, will forever be linked with major forward-looking and constructive legislation having to do with many subjects. I mention only a few. First, the public works program of our Nation has felt the impact of his great strength. He worked on it year in and year out. Second, our defenses and the national security of our Nation have been greatly strengthened by his attention and his unflinching effort.

Mr. President, Senator CHAVEZ sat almost within reach of me for the past 15 years. I know that he was a man of great courage, both political and physical.

He was also a man of great gratitude. Many years ago I had an older brother who lived in New Mexico. In their early days my brother and Senator CHAVEZ were friends. When I came to the Senate, Senator CHAVEZ put his arm around me and said, "Welcome." And he really meant it. For years he went out of his way in efforts to help me or to befriend me. He encouraged me as well as others in our committee work, where he gave unflinching attention to matters that might concern me. It is one of the happy thoughts of my life that I really tried to reciprocate.

I was with Senator CHAVEZ for a week in his home State during one of his campaigns. I spoke with him in the daytime and at night. I then had an opportunity to see the real warmth of heart, the gratitude and the love exhibited there for his own people, with whom he had lived, for whom he had worked so long, and to whom he felt so dedi-

cated. That feeling of interest, appreciation, and friendship was fortunately reciprocated by those people a thousandfold.

I wish to extend to Mrs. Chavez, who is a great friend of humanity, my feeling of utmost appreciation for her in her own character and personality. She has been a favorite of Mrs. Stennis and myself for many years.

Mrs. Stennis joins with me in this short but strongly felt tribute to a man who had a great record and a great soul. I bow with the rest of my colleagues in appreciation of his great life and work. We miss him, but we continue to love him.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to speak briefly about our late colleague Senator CHAVEZ, this fine man, this gentleman, this good friend whom we lost a few months ago. I speak not so much of the great work which he did—though I watched him with admiration as he did it—but more of his personal qualities.

As one who sat next to him in the Committee on Public Works for a long time, I saw his great interest and effective action in the development of our country in all those fields in which public works mean so much in developing our great Nation. He served our country loyally in that capacity. He served it greatly in the husbanding of the defense of our Nation. But it is of his personal qualities that I must speak.

First, I speak with reference to his intense interest in Latin America. Along with him, and after him, I had some small interest in the Inter-American Highway and in those nations which, as he believed intensely, that highway would enable to develop to much greater heights of independence, of security for their people, and of advanced living standards. We talked of that field many times. His compassion toward those weaker Latin American neighbors I shall always remember.

When I made several visits to that area, I found that he was beloved in that area as few Americans probably ever have been beloved there. It is my feeling that somehow and in some way, when the highway is completed—as it will shortly be—we should find an opportunity, in conjunction with our friendly neighbors who are so greatly affected by that highway, to memorialize Senator CHAVEZ' great interest and effective participation in moving ahead with that development.

The second thing I wish to speak about is his friendship, his comradely qualities, on trips when we were together. I remember one trip we took to the Columbia Basin and to Alaska. I believe his distinguished colleague [Mr. ANDERSON] was there with another committee at the same time, and we happened to see each other briefly. I recall that the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], who has just spoken, was a member of Senator CHAVEZ' committee, and went with us on the trip I mentioned.

Not only was he intensely interested in all public works going on there—and that was at a time when Alaska was a territory, and there was perhaps even

more interest than now in providing the public works required to gain greater stature—but also he knew the background of each project, wherever we went, in a way which was amazing to me. I found the people there very grateful for his continuing interest in their development.

Again it is about a personal thing I wish to speak. When we were ready to come home—we were living at the officers club on Elmendorf Air Force Base—he told me he had to find a way to bring some flowers to Mrs. Chavez. He left us that morning and later showed up at the plane with a great paper package of the flowers of Alaska, much bigger than similar flowers in this more southern latitude. He brought sweet peas and pansies. We kidded him all the way home, and it took 18 hours on the plane, for we came by way of Rapid City. He made sure that those flowers stayed moist and were in as nearly perfect condition as possible when he delivered them to his good wife, whom he loved so dearly.

I think I shall always remember him best for that indication of the deep affection and undying love which he felt for his wife and family.

Mrs. Holland and I will always grieve because of his passing; and we want his widow and children and the other members of his family to know that they have our deep and affectionate sympathy.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the late Senator CHAVEZ had many, many friends in Tennessee, and I am proud that I could count myself among them.

When DENNIS first came to Washington, he worked as a clerk in the same Senate office as one of my fellow Tennesseans, Pride Tomlinson, who later became a justice of the Tennessee Supreme Court. We talked very frequently of his relationships with Justice Tomlinson and many mutual friends in Tennessee.

Senator CHAVEZ was also admired by many in my State because of his concern with resource development in the Tennessee Valley. As chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, he conducted many hearings on the annual budget for the Tennessee Valley Authority. He was always fair and just.

It was a great privilege for me to serve with him on the Appropriations Committee. He was never too busy to talk with any younger Member of the Senate or the House about any problem, and always was willing to help them if he possibly could.

In the passing of Senator CHAVEZ, the Nation has lost a genuine humanitarian, a very effective Member of Congress, and a great statesman. We have all lost a wonderful friend.

Mrs. Kefauver and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Chavez and to all members of his family.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I had the opportunity to serve under the late Senator CHAVEZ on the Committee on Public Works for a number of years, and I admired and respected him.

I do not think it is necessary for me to dwell upon his work as a member of and chairman of that committee, or upon the service he rendered our country as

chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations. Yet the country should know that his work as chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations contributed greatly to the defense and security of our Nation.

As a member of the Committee on Public Works, I know that his leadership had much to do with the development of our Interstate Highway System, and the growth of the Federal-State system. As the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] has truly said, it was his initiative and his persistent support which has made possible the Inter-American Highway.

There were many things which made all of us respect and love DENNIS CHAVEZ. It always seemed to me that among his many unusual qualities three were joined—his dignity, his simplicity, and his courage.

Early in my service in the Senate I had occasion to visit his home city of Albuquerque, N. Mex., in 1947. There I found him exactly the same in his own city, among his own people, as we knew him in the Senate. He was loved and respected by the people of his State, by those who had known him throughout the years.

His dignity and simplicity were always evident in the Senate. His dignity led him to express his pride in his ancestry—the fact that his family was among the first of those who lived as the new Americans upon this continent. Yet always he spoke the greater pride that he was an American and a citizen of the United States.

We also admired his dignity and his courage in those latter days when all of us knew of his illness. Again and again he came to the Senate and to the committees, and until the very last he was engaged in the work of the Senate.

He had great dignity, great simplicity, and great courage. We have noted these same characteristics, in the members of his family, in Mrs. Chavez and his children. I shall always remember DENNIS CHAVEZ as a friend, and for his qualities of courage and dignity.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, DENNIS CHAVEZ, one of the three great Senators who have recently passed to their reward, and who today we eulogize, was a stalwart defender of the highest traditions of this great body. Significantly, he, as did the others, had a humble beginning. He plodded industriously to scale the ladder of success, and if there is any validity to the term "a self-made man," the appellation would fit him whose memory we honor today.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was truly a man of the people. His unswerving devotion to the cause of his constituents was a testimony to his depth of feeling and understanding. He was a fierce fighter for the underdog, and his more than a quarter of a century in the U.S. Senate is studded with instances where he did battle for those he felt needed his voice, his courage, and his implacable dedication to justice.

The people of New Mexico loved DENNIS CHAVEZ. DENNIS CHAVEZ loved the people whom he served. The Senate has benefited immeasurably from the presence in this Chamber of Senator DENNIS

CHAVEZ. He has left the mortal scene; yet he has left an imprint on this body which will not be eroded with the passage of time.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, all the Nation does, and should, feel the loss of the late distinguished senior Senator from New Mexico, DENNIS CHAVEZ. My acquaintance with this man began long ago, when I first came to the Senate. DENNIS CHAVEZ befriended me when we served together on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and we remained close throughout the years. Working with him in committee and in the Senate afforded me an opportunity to know him well, and witness firsthand his distinguished service to his State and Nation, his unflinching courtesy and kindness to every person he met.

His great mark was the quiet, easy-going manner in which he went about his work in the Senate. Never loud or boisterous in his endeavors, he won support for himself and his causes through the power of sincerity of purpose and friendship.

As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, DENNIS CHAVEZ was endlessly helpful in passing authorizations for projects vital to South Carolina's development. There is hardly a county in my State that has not benefited from legislation he fostered as chairman of the Public Works Committee.

Extremely dedicated to public service, even his painful illness did not stop him from attending to his business in the Senate. He was loyal and sincere, and lived and died a friend of the people.

At all times he was trying to do something that would make life easier for the people of this Nation. Long will he be remembered and loved by all who were fortunate enough to have known and worked with him.

Mrs. Johnston and I feel the loss of DENNIS CHAVEZ, and we sympathize with Mrs. Chavez and his family in the loss of this great family man, for he was, in the true sense of the word, very close to his family and thought of them on every occasion. For that reason we all must admire him.

At this time our sympathy is extended to Mrs. Chavez in the loss of her fine husband.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, while the Senate was in adjournment, death came to one of our most beloved and honored colleagues, a man whose memory will shine brightly and enduringly in the minds of Americans everywhere. I know of no Senator who was held in greater affection than DENNIS CHAVEZ.

Indeed, Mr. President, I am sure that each of us feels keenly and in a deep personal sense the absence of our late colleague, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico. It can truly be said of him that he lived with an abiding faith in the democratic process which he zealously guarded. By doing so, he provided a ringing affirmation of our way of life in this age of challenge. He said in 1960, in answer to critics when a subcommittee of which he was chairman recommended the appropriation of \$1 billion more for

defense than President Eisenhower had requested, "There can be no price tag on freedom."

A sense of dedication to his office and the people he represented illuminated his nearly 28 years of fruitful service in the U.S. Senate and his almost 4 years of service in the U.S. House of Representatives.

To us who knew him well DENNIS CHAVEZ was a generous, warm, and understanding, gentle man. Above all, he was a fighter for the causes in which he believed. Possibly because of his own Spanish heritage, and certainly because he knew the needs of our neighbors to the south, he was one of the earliest supporters of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's good neighbor policy. More recently he was one of the great champions of President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress.

Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ in many respects was a very predictable man. He was always with the underdog. He was for the little fellows whether they were struggling farmers fighting debts, drought, and low farm prices; underprivileged and forgotten American Indians; or workingmen seeking to better their lot and provide a more secure future for their children. At all times he was the champion of the poor and the humble, a fervent advocate of our Nation's defense, a protector of our national resources, and a voice for the oppressed.

Though a most lovable and friendly man, he was a resolute and unyielding battler from his early manhood to the time of his death for the principles and causes in which he believed. He served his country well.

He exemplified the spirit of individual courage and conviction, which, unfortunately, is more and more becoming absent in American life. As he took his position in the front line of combat for his cause, he never looked behind to count the supporting troops. He cared not if there were many or there were none, but moved forward in the just belief of the rightness of his cause.

About 30 years ago I first served with him in the House of Representatives. I was Representative at large from Ohio, and he was then a very well-known Representative from New Mexico. I became acquainted with him at that time.

Upon being elected to the Senate in 1958, I requested that I be appointed to serve on the Committee on Public Works, of which he was chairman. I knew within a few weeks, when we began holding hearings, that DENNIS CHAVEZ was a great chairman of that vital committee. I considered myself fortunate in serving with him and in being associated with him. No one served under him; we served in association with him.

He was good to me, and I followed the advice that he gave me. I was glad as a member of that committee to follow the leadership of DENNIS CHAVEZ. It will always be a happy personal recollection of mine that some time later I was permitted to accompany him on a study mission of all the Central American countries. It was a thrilling experi-

ence to see the affection and love with which the leaders of these proud Latin American countries greeted him, particularly for the part he played in their receiving the great public works projects and public roads that were built in part through the generosity of the people of the United States. I hope that some appropriate plaques will be placed there by the governing officials of Nicaragua, Guatemala, and the other Central American countries.

Our Nation will miss Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ. He was my close personal friend. I feel a deep personal loss at his passing. He was, as I said, a great, good man, and he will be remembered by all of us who served with him or knew him.

Quite frequently, even now, from my seat in the Chamber I look over to the desk that he occupied. I still expect to see him sitting there. I feel a twinge of sadness because he is no longer with us.

To his lovely wife, Ymelda, to his two beautiful and extremely talented daughters, Mrs. George Dixon and Mrs. Jorge Tristani, and to his son, Dennis Chavez, Jr., we express our deepest sympathy. Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ was one of the noblest men ever to be sent from the great West to serve his country in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ was my trusted personal friend. He aided me in my efforts to come to the Senate. I shall miss him and I do miss him. He is a friend of the State of Texas. He was a friend to the people. He was regarded as "their Senator" by the nearly 1½ million Spanish-speaking people of Texas. He was called El Paso's third Senator. As chairman of the Public Works Committee and third ranking Senator on the Appropriations Committee, he proved that he was a friend to all the navigation and reclamation progress of Texas. But in a wider field, Senator CHAVEZ was a broadminded friend of all Americans, of all people. He was a Senator, not for New Mexico alone, but for all Americans.

The Albuquerque Journal, on November 19, 1962, stated about Senator CHAVEZ:

But overall, Senator CHAVEZ will be remembered as the true friend and defender of the poor man. He never wavered in his long senatorial career of more than 27 years in battling for legislation that benefited the people who needed help.

Senator CHAVEZ knew well what was poverty. He was born in poverty, but of rugged, honest, and humble stock. His strong and persevering character was molded early in life when he strove valiantly for an education. He won that uphill contest as since he has won other battles, politics or otherwise, in which he became engaged.

He was tenacious and never compromising in fighting for what he thought was right. As any man in public office, he had his political foes. But never did such political differences prod the Senator into other than ethical conduct.

As the Senator's career extended into the years his seniority enabled him to wield great influence on powerful committees which went far toward giving New Mexico its rightful share of appropriations covering many types of governmental projects, including military and defense installations.

In the field of racial and cultural relations the Senator was always a dominant and effective figure on the side of tolerance.

The Senator's long and heroic fight for life, while enduring great suffering after he had been stricken with cancer, followed the pattern of his whole career in never yielding without a fight to the finish.

We could sum up Senator CHAVEZ' outstanding characteristics with this: He had the human touch.

The Senator's passing is a distinct and distressing loss to his family, and the State and his country.

Our sincere condolences to the Chavez family in their time of great sorrow.

Mr. President, this editorial, a sincere and stirring tribute to a great man, expresses my view. May the memory of this great life console the loving family he leaves behind.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an article from the Albuquerque Journal entitled "A Fighter, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ Battled to Top Post," describing something of the life of this distinguished leader.

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

A FIGHTER, SENATOR DENNIS CHAVEZ BATTLED TO TOP POST

(By Wayne S. Scott)

He was a fighter, the lad who was born 74 years ago in a poor adobe home in Los Chavez and was baptized DENNIS CHAVEZ. He fought his way out of the poverty of his early days, battled his way to one of the most powerful posts in the U.S. Senate, kept on fighting to better the conditions of those who had not been able to work their own way above poverty.

He was uncompromising in his beliefs—even to the point of giving up a needed job rather than deliver groceries to strikebreakers. He early broke from his father's political party because he didn't think it had the interests of the common man at heart—but was not adverse in later years to withholding support from the nominee of his own party. He was beloved by thousands of his fellow New Mexicans—and hated by almost as many.

His political fights were savage—but he won most of them. He twice fought, and licked, that dreaded ailment, cancer. Death was due at last to a heart attack.

CHAVEZ served 27 years in the Senate, becoming one of its most colorful and powerful figures. He was fourth in seniority in the entire Chamber, and held the powerful chairmanships of the Committee on Public Works and the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

He will be remembered chiefly for his Senate service. But before that he was a U.S. Representative and served in the State legislature. He was an attorney, had been an engineer, newspaper editor, deputy game warden, and grocery store employee.

Senator CHAVEZ was born April 8, 1888, in a small adobe house in the village of Los Chavez, north of Belen in Valencia County. The land on which the house stood had been granted to his direct ancestors by King Phillip II of Spain in 1597. His parents, David Chavez and Paz Sanchez de Chavez, were members of families which had lived in the community for generations.

His boyhood was typical of that of a rural New Mexico boy of that time. The family spoke only Spanish. Young DENNIS worked long hours in the fields, tending the crops that were to furnish the family's food and watching the cattle and sheep on the pastures.

In 1895, the family moved to Barelás—that part of present-day Albuquerque just east of the Barelás Bridge.

The move was made to give the children better educational opportunities. Young DENNIS attended a Presbyterian mission school which then stood at Second and Trumbull SW. He later attended the old third-ward school.

But the family's finances, which had never been good, became even worse. Young CHAVEZ was forced to quit school when in the seventh grade, to aid his father in supporting the family. There were eight children.

His first job was as a delivery boy for Charles Conroy, at the Highland Grocery Store. Work hours were 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. daily—11 p.m. on Saturdays.

During this time CHAVEZ pursued his education by the aid of books from the public library.

His grocery career ended abruptly when he was 18. He was instructed by his employer to deliver groceries to a group of strike breakers. He refused. He was promptly fired.

It was about this time he made his decision to join the Democratic Party. His father had been a Republican, a peace justice and GOP precinct chairman at Los Chavez before moving to Albuquerque. He was Republican chairman of precinct 5 after moving here.

The Senator used to recall he "had many a hot word with my father" over politics. The younger CHAVEZ hated the so-called patron system—which set up landowners as virtually omnipotent people in their communities. They owned the land and houses and—in effect—the people themselves. Most were Republicans.

A DEMOCRAT

So when the younger CHAVEZ turned to politics himself, in 1916, he entered through the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, about the time he was fired from his grocery job, CHAVEZ made the acquaintance of Jim Gladding, a young engineer who had just moved to Albuquerque. Under Gladding's guidance, he studied engineering at night and qualified as a surveyor. When Gladding became city engineer of Albuquerque, in 1906, CHAVEZ became his assistant. As such, he aided in designing and supervising construction of the old part of the present city hall and 33 miles of sewage system. He later worked for the territorial engineer, Jim French, and built the first highway in Rio Arriba County, between Espanola and Albiquri.

In 1911 he married Imelda Espinosa, a member of another longtime and prominent New Mexico family.

For the next few years, CHAVEZ worked at a variety of occupations. He edited a Belen newspaper—until he wrote an editorial which did not match the owner's views. He was fired again. He then worked for the territorial engineer, operated a construction firm in Albuquerque in partnership with the late Rafael Garcia, became an assistant State game warden in 1917.

In 1916 he had his first political fight—and lost. He became Democratic nominee for Bernalillo County clerk and attempted to unseat the incumbent, Don Nestor Montoya. The latter, an experienced orator and public official, president of the New Mexico Press Association, and member of the then-dominant Republican Party, won easily.

In 1917 came a big chance for young CHAVEZ to continue upward. The late Senator A. A. Jones, Democrat, offered him the post of assistant clerk of the U.S. Senate. He jumped at the chance—mainly because he could continue his education in night school. In 1920 he graduated from the law school of Georgetown University and returned to Albuquerque to practice law. Two years later he was joined in that practice by

his brother, David Chavez, Jr., now a justice of the State supreme court. He was elected to the State legislature in 1920, where he sponsored a bill to provide free textbooks for schoolchildren.

In 1930 he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, defeating the incumbent, Albert G. Simms, Republican. During his first term in the House he unsuccessfully fought for a public works bill, but successfully sponsored a bill granting a moratorium on construction assessments of reclamation districts. During his second term, he successfully sponsored a measure which allowed longtime settlers on lands to which Indians had title to keep the lands, with the Indians receiving payment.

HEADED THE PARTY

CHAVEZ became Democratic national committeeman for New Mexico in 1933.

The next year, he opposed the incumbent, Republican Bronson Cutting, for the U.S. Senate. Cutting was declared the winner. CHAVEZ filed a contest with the Senate. This was pending when Cutting was killed in an airplane crash. The late Clyde Tingley, then Governor, appointed CHAVEZ to the vacancy. He was elected in 1936—defeating the powerful Miguel A. Otero, Jr., of Santa Fe, Republican. He was reelected in 1940, 1946, 1952 and 1958. Every election was a tough fight.

In 1940, he was opposed for the Democratic nomination by the late John J. Dempsey, former Congressman and former Governor. CHAVEZ won by about 3,000 votes. But recounts demanded by Dempsey went on for weeks, without changing the results. The 1946 primary was a repeat. CHAVEZ defeated Dempsey by about 10,000 votes in this contest—but was opposed by Republican Patrick J. Hurley in the general election. Hurley tried again in 1952 to wrest the Senate seat from CHAVEZ, and when the incumbent was declared the winner, filed a contest of the election with the Senate itself. This dragged on until March 1954, when the Senate confirmed CHAVEZ winner.

PLANNED NEW CAMPAIGN

His renomination and reelection in 1958 was relatively easy. He had announced, about a year ago, he would seek reelection in 1964. He repeated this intention in an interview during his last visit to Albuquerque, shortly before the general election.

The Senator always kept a close watch on the political pulse of New Mexico—and frequently tried to influence the course of its elections. He had frequent "breaks" with leaders of his own party.

In 1942, CHAVEZ backed his friend, Bryan G. Johnson, in the latter's unsuccessful attempt for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Dempsey won the nomination. Clyde Tingley—who had appointed CHAVEZ to the Senate originally—was among those who fought Johnson in this primary.

He carried on open feuds with John E. Miles and Thomas J. Mabry, during their terms as Governors. When Miles was defeated, in 1950, for a return to the Governor's office, there were many rumors CHAVEZ had given support to the winner, Republican Edwin L. Mechem.

DOUBTS REMOVED

There is no doubt as to the Senator's role in the defeats of Gov. John F. Simms in 1956 and Gov. John Burroughs in 1958, by Mechem. Dennis Chavez, Jr., son of the Senator, in a recent campaign talk in New Mexico said his father had withheld support from Simms and Burroughs in their bids for reelection because he had not liked their administrations.

In 1948, CHAVEZ had his first serious bout with disease. He became quite ill with cancer of the stomach and had about two-thirds of his stomach removed in an operation at St. Joseph's Hospital.

He suffered cancer of the throat about 2 years ago. He came to Albuquerque for treatment, had an operation and in Washington took cobalt treatments. Between hospital stays, he continued to actively work in the Senate and on its committees. His death was attributed to a heart attack.

CHAVEZ received many honors during his long career. Among them, and its bestowal was ranked by the Senator as one of the top events of his life, was the Order of the Aztec Eagle, First Class, the top award of Mexico. It was presented by Mexican Ambassador Antonio Carrillo Flores in September, 1961.

#### TOPPED EFFORTS

"For me it was the culmination of years of effort to better relations with our vital neighbors to the south," CHAVEZ himself said.

Toward the end of his life, he looked backward in a series of articles for the Journal. He made this comment:

"It was the early years, the hard years of growing up in a poor country, that made the difference. They were years rich in human warmth. They taught me a knowledge of New Mexico, her people and problems, that has enabled me to serve effectively through more than 30 years in high office.

"I like to think I've repaid New Mexico in some small measure for the favors she did me as a child."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the tributes paid to the late Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ today are appropriate and well deserved. I have never known a senior Senator of this body to be more generous and more helpful to a very junior Member than Senator CHAVEZ was with me as a new Member of this body. Senator CHAVEZ, then chairman of the Public Works Committee, made me chairman of the Public Roads Subcommittee. It would have been easy for him to exercise the power of chairman, to take the leadership in the enactment of the super-highway program. Instead, he referred it to the subcommittee.

As chairman of the full committee, he accorded to me the full support and the full confidence of which he was capable—and this was powerful. This program ultimately came to enactment and is now the largest public works program in the history of the world.

Not only did Senator CHAVEZ demonstrate generosity and comradeship to me, but this was the pattern of his conduct toward all members of the Committee on Public Works. A man possessed of great ability, enormous capacity for loyalty, and devotion to friendship, DENNIS CHAVEZ also possessed an unusual degree of moral, political, and physical courage. Many of his colleagues recall his appearance on the floor of the Senate after many months of suffering and travail, rigors which might have discouraged men of lesser faith and courage. He rose in the Senate and spoke representing the people of New Mexico. I thrilled at this demonstration, a demonstration of indomitable spirit.

DENNIS CHAVEZ loved life, and he loved it to its fullest. He loved his friends and his family, and they in turn loved him in full measure.

To his wife, who was ever constant and ever loving, and to his children, I extend sympathy and condolence, but also I extend to them congratulations

for having been the wife and the children of a great husband and father.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, when Senator CHAVEZ died last November, the State of New Mexico lost a devoted servant, and the Nation lost a steadfast defender of human rights.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was born to poverty in New Mexico. He was truly and in every sense of the word a self-made man. He made himself what he was—a great, strong American. He was the first American of Spanish origin to serve in the Congress of the United States. He served 2 years in the House of Representatives and 27 years, until his death, in the U.S. Senate.

He was loved by Spanish-speaking people all over the world, especially in this country, and particularly in California, where there are 1,750,000 Spanish-Americans who live in Los Angeles and in other areas of the State.

He was an authentic hero to the Mexican people, in every sense of the word. He gave them hope, he gave them encouragement, and he gave them dedication. For more than three decades, Senator CHAVEZ dedicated himself to the needs of the underprivileged and those who are discriminated against.

He was a quiet, soft-spoken man; but when our civil liberties were threatened, he could speak with great eloquence and vigor. Senator CHAVEZ will long be remembered for a statement he made on the floor of the Senate in 1950. It has been alluded to before. It appears in the tribute to Senator CHAVEZ in the House, some weeks ago. Our distinguished majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] referred to that statement. He did not read all of it. I should like to read into the RECORD the entire statement of Senator CHAVEZ:

I should like to be remembered as the man who raised a voice—and I devoutly hope not a voice in the wilderness—at a time in the history of this body when we seem bent upon placing limitations on the freedom of the individual. I would consider all the legislation which I have supported meaningless if I were to sit idly by, silent, during a period which may go down in history as an era when we permitted the curtailment of our liberties, a period when we quietly shackled the growth of men's minds.

That is one of the greatest and most eloquent statements ever made on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

Some time ago the late beloved Robert Frost said that he thought the people should be more patriotic than partisan. Senator CHAVEZ was a good example of this philosophy. As chairman of the Committee on Public Works and of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations, he held a position of great influence and power in the Senate. However, he did not use that advantage for selfish political or sectional purposes. His country always came first.

DENNIS CHAVEZ served his State and his Nation with distinction. His colleagues will never cease to miss him on the floor of the Senate. The people of New Mexico will never forget him. As a personal friend, I will never forget him.

I am proud today to join with Senators who are paying tribute to a man

whom we loved and respected, the tribute to the service he rendered to his country.

Lou and I extend our deepest and most heartfelt sympathy to the wonderful members of his family, who are in the gallery today, most especially to the wonderful lady, Mrs. Chavez, who stood by him all the years of his life and during his public service.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, we who knew Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ in his late years as a Member of the Senate knew him primarily as a man dedicated to the Senate and particularly to the work of the committees on which he served. We knew him as one who was ever ready to help the other Members of the Senate, especially those of us who were new in this body.

At the time of his death, it was noted by commentators that few Members of Congress were more closely identified with the States which they represent than was Senator CHAVEZ, of New Mexico. Born at Los Chavez, Valencia County, N. Mex., he was of Spanish ancestry and became a spokesman in Washington not only for his State but also for Spanish-speaking Americans in the United States, in Puerto Rico, and in the countries of Latin America.

As a Senator, he was a quiet and efficient workman, and served long and skillfully as a legislative and political technician. He was more than a technician.

It is my opinion that Senator CHAVEZ will be best and longest remembered, at least in public life, for two public positions which he took during the course of his long Senate career. One of these in political terms might be described as a popular one, in the sense that it might be charged that it might have gained him votes. The other position was, at the time, a most unpopular one, with respect to public attitudes of the time.

Senator CHAVEZ was the first sponsor of fair employment practices legislation during World War II. This was the popular position.

He was among the first to issue a clear warning 13 years ago of the dangers to America in unjustified charges regarding disloyalty and security.

His battle for fair employment practices legislation was unsuccessful, so far as obtaining the passage of specific legislation was concerned, although his effort came very close to success. This early effort brought the issue to the front, and the demonstration of support provided a base upon which modern civil rights legislation has been developed.

The second great public position for which he should be remembered was, at the time, for him and for every man in public life a most unpopular and dangerous one.

In a speech delivered on the floor of the Senate on May 12, 1950, Senator CHAVEZ warned against the dangers of demagoguery in America.

That was a time when there had been raised in this country voices of discord and voices of misunderstanding and mistrust. It was a time when voices of accusation and suspicion were heard in many quarters. It was a time when

truth—which should be honored and guarded—had been redesigned and contracted by some; it was a time when many were called upon to prove in the marketplace whether truth was more effective than falsehood; a time when doubts, which should be isolated, guarded against, and contained had been expanded; a time when words, which should be cherished instruments of communication and repositories of meaning and thought, had been misapplied and misused; a time of confusion, agitation, and appeals to the emotions. All of them had been developed in their full force and flow. It was a time when patriotism, which should be the badge and shield of honor, was being forged into a weapon to be used against all who might disagree with one. It was a time when unwarranted and unjustified appeals to religion, to support a political position, were being used to serve ignoble aims and objectives. In that speech, Senator CHAVEZ stated the simple fact, "My ancestors brought the cross to this hemisphere"; and he denounced those who, as he stated, were "using this cross as a club." That was a time when betrayal, the greatest natural fault which could be charged against a fellow man, was freely charged; and it was a time when treason—the last word which should be used against a good man—was readily on the tongues of many.

Under those circumstances, DENNIS CHAVEZ stood and spoke for all America and for the dignity and value of every man. That action, together with his actions in the area of fair employment practices, indicated, in my judgment, in broad strokes the real measure of the character and the contributions of DENNIS CHAVEZ to the U.S. Senate and to the United States.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, with a heavy heart at the loss of our beloved colleague, DENNIS CHAVEZ, I wish to join in the tributes to him and to his great service both as a public servant and as a citizen.

Much has been said and much will be said about his public service in the 32 years—nearly one-third of a century—during which he served in the Congress, 28 of them in the Senate. Those services, numerous and important, deserve permanent chronicling for which a trained historian, a qualified biographer, could find no better subject. I have no doubt that this recording will be made.

I can think of no better project for the University of New Mexico than to turn some of its political scientists to work on such an assignment, for no man from New Mexico ever served as long in the Congress as did DENNIS CHAVEZ, and few men from any State have served so long through a period of such great change and such import in the history of our Nation and in the history of the world.

Occupying—as Senator CHAVEZ did in the latter years of his life—the extremely important positions of chairman of the Public Works Committee and chairman of perhaps the most important subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, that dealing with the Department of Defense, it would be inevitable that he

would contribute importantly to national policy. He did contribute importantly to our internal economy, through the multitude of public works and highways, river and harbor developments, public buildings, and power dams—all these great contributions to our national economy and growth which recently have received the appellation of infrastructure. No less important were the tremendous achievements, for which he was in a large measure responsible, in strengthening the defenses of our Nation by providing adequate appropriations, and thus not only preserving our own liberties, but also striking telling blows, in behalf of all mankind, for both the nations that are free and want to remain free, and also those whose people were emerging from colonialism or were seeking to escape totalitarianism and wished to be free.

It is probable that few men had so great an opportunity to serve effectively in the national interests, both at home and abroad, as did DENNIS CHAVEZ; and he served effectively. The results of his attitudes and actions will be indelibly inscribed in the history of our country's growth, progress, and strength.

Others will develop fully, I have no doubt, these aspects of DENNIS CHAVEZ' illustrious career. As I said, I hope his public service, as well as his fruitful and happy private life, from its humble origins, will be made the subject of a book-length biography.

What I would like to stress, however, are the outstanding traits which I think above all distinguished DENNIS CHAVEZ among his fellow men. Those traits were his personal kindness, his warm human sympathy, his friendliness, and his helpfulness. They were inevitably part of his love of his fellow men, his feeling for the common man, his sympathy for the underprivileged, the poor, the needy, the sick, the disadvantaged, the victims of any kind of discrimination. In his early days he had experienced poverty and want, and he could understand the problems of those who had similarly undergone the experiences and trials of humble surroundings.

His kindness was, of course, notable to his colleagues, and particularly to those newcomers to the Senate who needed the cooperation, friendly assistance, and guidance of those who, like DENNIS CHAVEZ, had both the experience and the position and power to be helpful.

I, myself, recall most gratefully some of these experiences. I wish to recall, in the first place, DENNIS CHAVEZ's great help to the cause of statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. It could scarcely be otherwise with one so deeply imbued with basic American principles, especially the most basic American principle—that of Government by consent of the governed. He was old enough to remember when New Mexico was a territory; and both his personal recollections and his knowledge of American history made crystal clear to him that the disadvantageous status of being a territory was not one that could permanently be consistent with the

basic aspirations and professions of America. So he vigorously supported statehood for Alaska and Hawaii—in which, I may say, the other Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] was also a tremendous force, having led the fight on more than one occasion, and also in seeing it through to a successful conclusion. Indeed, DENNIS CHAVEZ supported every worthy cause, every cause that made life better and nobler for his fellow men.

I recall another episode for which we Alaskans must be and are grateful. In Alaska we have a unique episode related to the Matanuska Valley, which was the scene of a project in 1935 initiated with the imagination characteristic of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. When I first saw him at Hyde Park, in September 1934, just prior to my appointment as the first Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior, President Roosevelt reviewed the conditions and needs of our outlying areas over whose Federal relations this newly created Federal agency would have jurisdiction. In regard to Alaska, he said:

Alaska needs more people and we should also do what we can to stimulate agriculture there.

He recommended that the following spring a thousand people be moved from our stricken agricultural areas, victims of the dust bowl droughts and other natural calamities, and be given a chance to start life anew on "the last frontier."

One of the problems which these settlers faced was that of developing their farm economy. They did so by starting a dairy industry. They were encouraged to do that when, 5 years after their settlement in the Matanuska Valley, in 1935, defense belatedly came to Alaska, and Fort Richardson and Elmendorf Field, Army and Air Force installations, respectively, were established near Anchorage. It was then that encouragement was given to the farmers to develop their dairy herds and supply the military, furnishing not only a market and a livelihood for the settlers, but helping to develop the economy of Alaska and getting the military to use healthful locally produced dairy products.

Our congressional delegation, my colleague BOB BARTLETT, and I, however, found that for some reason or other the quartermaster department of the military preferred to import reconstituted milk from the other States, which, upon investigation, proved to be grade C milk with a high bacterial content. An effort to change this by buying locally produced fresh milk met with firm opposition from the military purchasing authorities. My colleague and I appeared before the Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of which Senator CHAVEZ was the chairman. He was presiding on that occasion. After we had testified, his attention was called to a pertinent aspect of this issue, which was that the officers on the bases were furnished with grade A fresh milk but the rank and file received the reconstituted grade C milk with the

high bacterial content. That was enough for DENNIS CHAVEZ. He promptly espoused the cause which we were supporting and provided that in the subcommittee's report, the Army and Air Force were ordered to give the GI's precisely the same treatment that the officers were getting.

I think this example is illustrative, and there are many others which could be cited, of DENNIS CHAVEZ' great feeling not merely for the rank and file, but for equality—political, social, and economic—of all Americans.

One aspect of DENNIS CHAVEZ' life was unique in the Senate. Being of Spanish origin and of Mexican descent during the period of Mexican independence, he naturally had warm feelings for our neighbors to the south. He represented the people of that culture in the Southwest with a warmth and understanding which did much to improve and strengthen our relations with our southern neighbor.

I recall what a magnificent contribution he made during the first meeting of the Interparliamentary Union with Mexico two years ago, at Guadalajara. He could and did speak as a representative of both the Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic cultures, and his democratic ways, kindness, and knowledge of our neighbor's ways contributed greatly to the success of this important new undertaking, which was designed to strengthen the bonds of our two neighboring Republics. In this respect, as in many others, his place cannot be filled.

And so, we shall miss him—but say to his family, in offering our deep, heartfelt condolences, that he has left them a legacy of which all of them, and his children's children, and their children, through the coming generations may always be proud.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise to add my few words to those that have already been expressed. I knew Senator CHAVEZ well enough to admire him as a leader. He was a fine and honorable man who exemplified courage and an inspiring concern for his fellow men.

I did not know Senator CHAVEZ as long or as well as I would have liked. But I knew him well enough to admire him as a brave and fine man who exemplified the practice of courage. He was a fighter for what he thought was right, and a crusader for civil liberties. He worked hard and successfully for the welfare of his native State and was its great benefactor.

He combined the fire and spirit of his distinguished forebears with a very real concern for his fellow man.

To my mind, he demonstrated triumph of spirit over body. I extend my condolences to his family who, indeed, can and should be very proud of him.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, after the adjournment of the 87th Congress every Member of the Senate was shocked when the news came that one of the most lovable and best loved Members of this body was summoned on the final rollcall to that vast confraternity in the domain of eternal rest.

When I first met DENNIS CHAVEZ in the 73d Congress in 1933—which as you will note is 30 years ago—I was deeply im-

pressed by the fact that a somewhat weatherbeaten Spanish-speaking citizen from distant New Mexico should be among the lawmakers of the Nation. This was, perhaps, hard testimony to the fact that I was not a very well traveled citizen in those days.

He intrigued me immensely and I made it a special point to cultivate his friendship. That friendship soon ripened into an affection which continued to grow with the years and continued without interruption through our long association in both the House and the Senate.

It must have been a rugged and determined spirit which brought him across country to the Nation's Capital, which carried him through a law school course, which brought him to the U.S. Senate as a clerk, which took him back to New Mexico to establish a law practice, which impelled him to successfully seek a place in the legislature of his State, which later made him successful in his first bid for a seat in the House of Representatives and which finally brought him to the U.S. Senate, where he served for more than a quarter of a century. Few members of this body had so varied, so successful, and so influential a career.

His contributions to the Nation in the field of national defense and public works were notable indeed and what comfort and pride his family can find in that record.

I have said before that to me he was an amazing person. Consider for a moment the long affliction which kept him in the hospital; his determined struggle to survive and continue in the public service; his long handicap for expression and how frustrating it must have been on many an occasion when the spirit cried for expression but the physical instrument for expression could not respond. Seldom will one see such tenacity for life and for the purpose of carrying on the work which he began when his congressional career was first established.

I have said of him on many occasions that he was one of the most colorful people I ever knew. This one can quickly define from the variety of his service, his great popularity in Spanish-speaking lands where he engendered good will for his own country; his campaigns in a bilingual State—all these made him a truly colorful person.

I said he was so deeply beloved. It was that spirit of helpfulness which was always evident in him and one of his great attributes that endeared him to his colleagues. I for one must confess a deep debt of gratitude to him for the generous way in which he dealt with a number of measures in which I had an abiding interest.

Today in reverent tribute I salute his service and his spirit. That service was long and devoted. The spirit was humble and helpful and he shall always be enshrined in our remembrance. So across the months since the eternal finger touched him into eternal sleep, let me say "buenas noches," gentle friend.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve on the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense during the time that Senator DENNIS

CHAVEZ was the chairman of that subcommittee.

I saw him in action. No Senator was ever more dedicated to his duties and to his country's defense and national security than DENNIS CHAVEZ in his untiring efforts as chairman of that subcommittee.

Several years ago when a move was made to unseat Senator CHAVEZ because of alleged irregularities in a New Mexico election, I was one of five Republican Senators voting against unseating him. I did not see how we could single out Senator CHAVEZ when in the very same election New Mexico had given a majority to President Eisenhower and elected a Republican Governor.

I have spoken of how the late Senator ROBERT S. KERR, even though he was a Democrat, offered campaign contributions to me in 1954 and 1960 and desired that I be reelected.

I know that Senator CHAVEZ felt that way too. It is not important that he felt that way about me—the importance is that he was not controlled by narrow political partisanship. I am sure that had I asked him for a letter of endorsement of my candidacy for reelection in 1960 he would have unhesitatingly given it to me even though we were of opposite political parties.

For he did that very thing in 1962 for the Republican assistant leader in the Senate—the senior Senator from California. This was an act of considerable political courage—and act of political statesmanship.

But it was typical of DENNIS CHAVEZ.

Political courage was one of the many outstanding traits of Senator CHAVEZ. He had it in abundance. One of the many times that he demonstrated that courage was back in 1950 when our Nation was plagued with a mental sickness in which neighbor began to distrust neighbor—in which name-calling became the vogue of the day—in which the Senate was debased with unrestrained vilification and character assassination—when there was a silence of fear that almost completely paralyzed the Senate—and when heretofore leaders became mental mutes afraid to speak their minds lest they commit political suicide.

It was back in those fear-ridden days of 1950 that DENNIS CHAVEZ risked political suicide and with extraordinary political courage declared his moral conscience against the tactics that had gripped the Senate.

If DENNIS CHAVEZ is remembered by historians for any one act above all other acts on his part, I am confident that it will be this.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, one of my first friends, as a new Senator in these Halls, was the gracious DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico. His was a chivalry of true Spanish origin with the humility of a man who loved America as he cherished his own State as the Land of Enchantment, where out of his earliest responsibilities he fashioned his own opportunities.

Out of his own memories of difficult days, it was the character of DENNIS CHAVEZ to befriend the friendless. Out of

his own boyhood experience of insecurity, he demanded that his land be secure and strong. Out of a preeminence in statesmanship earned and proved in this Senate, he was understanding and generous to the newcomer.

DENNIS CHAVEZ could be restrained on this floor with the eloquence of a man who did his homework and knew whereof he spoke. DENNIS CHAVEZ could be eloquent on this floor with the indignation of a man who hated chicanery and pretense.

And my friend from New Mexico could be courteous to my friends—and to my family as he was and would be to yours—and leave them all with the lovely impression that our Senate must, indeed, be a courtly place, for men like DENNIS CHAVEZ made it so.

There was a pleasure in serving here with him. There is a sadness since these Halls will know him no more. May he rest in peace.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, one of the first Members I met when I came to the U.S. Senate in 1950 was DENNIS CHAVEZ. I shall never forget his first statement to me. He said, "You and I represent States from the great West and Southwest and I am sure we will be working together."

One of the real joys of working with the Senator was the fact that he knew and understood the problems of that area and the people.

We were associated in many public works programs for the conservation of water for beneficial uses, in an area where water is so important.

One of DENNIS' outstanding characteristics was his kindness and his friendliness. He always had a kind word and a friendly greeting for everyone. His many years of service in the U.S. Senate had endeared him to everyone he came in contact with. I miss him very much. The Senate just does not seem the same without him.

Mrs. Carlson joins me in extending our sincerest and deepest sympathy to Mrs. Chavez and the family.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, it was with a feeling of deep personal loss that I received the news of the death of Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico.

My long and pleasant association with Senator CHAVEZ dates back to January 1955 when I first entered the Senate and had the good fortune to be assigned to the Committee on Public Works, of which he was the chairman.

It was my privilege to serve with Senator CHAVEZ on that committee for almost 8 years—until his death on November 18, 1962. Senator CHAVEZ always treated me with unfailing courtesy and consideration and with eminent fairness. He was my good friend.

Senator CHAVEZ was a great and distinguished American. His many battles on behalf of the underprivileged and the unfortunate earned him the title of "Champion of the Underdog."

He served the people of his beloved New Mexico and of the United States for many years with great devotion. It is a tribute to the wisdom of the people of New Mexico that they early recognized his great potential for public service, first electing him to the Senate in 1936, con-

firming his earlier appointment to this body by the Governor. They then proceeded to reelect Senator CHAVEZ four times. At the time of his death, he was serving his fifth term.

As chairman of the Public Works Committee and as chairman of the Military Affairs Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, he made many great and lasting contributions to the physical development and the national security of his country.

The knowledge of these achievements, plus the high regard in which he was held by his colleagues of the Senate, will, I hope, be of some comfort to his bereaved family to whom I extend my most sincere condolences.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, DENNIS CHAVEZ was first elected to Congress in 1931. He became a Member of the Senate in 1935 and served as a faithful Senator from New Mexico until his death in 1962. I came to know Senator CHAVEZ from our service together on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. For a number of years he served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and I was the senior minority member of the same committee. So we sat beside each other. We discussed the questions that were important to our country's security. We respected each other's opinion and thus became good friends. Senator CHAVEZ' decisions on questions that involved the security of our country were always without partisanship. We differed at times—not on a partisan basis—but on what we believed to be in the best interest of the military services of our country. These differences, always without partisanship, brought us closer together in our work.

Senator CHAVEZ was always insistent on making it possible for men who were intelligent, energetic, and hard-working to make a career of the military service which would be of value to our country and at the same time a career of which such men could be proud and in which they would be happy to serve. Hospitals, housing, proper pay for services rendered were thus matters on which he stressed and exercised the full weight of his position as chairman of our subcommittee.

In his efforts to improve the military services and thus the security of our country, he gave the best of his experience, his knowledge, and his zeal, but at the same time he never forgot to help, in ways that the Federal Government could help, the people of his own State of New Mexico. He fought to get better roads and to build up the conservation resources of his State. He never forgot the Indians who were resident in the State of New Mexico.

Many times we argued pleasantly over whose ancestors came first to our country—his, who came to our country through Mexico, or mine, who came to New England at Plymouth and Salem and elsewhere. We never did reach a conclusion, but we enjoyed our discussions.

On the floor of the Senate, he stood up for what he believed, and on military questions as they came from our committee he backed forcefully the decisions reached by the committee.

Senator CHAVEZ and his wife and family were very close to each other. It was a happy sight to see them together.

His friendly presence on the Appropriations Committee, his wise judgment on its decisions, and his pleasant personality on the Senate floor will be missed by every Senator no matter what his partisan faith. And I personally have lost a colleague whom I came to respect and with whom I became friends.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I pay tribute, today, to the memory of Senator CHAVEZ, whose courage and attention to his responsibilities even in the depths of a painful illness will always be an inspiration to those of us who were privileged to be his colleagues.

Senator CHAVEZ, though he spent many years in Washington and rose to a place of high responsibility and national prestige in the Senate, never forgot his State or the citizens who elected him. His record as a Representative and a Senator stands as a monument to a responsive and responsible career in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, DENNIS CHAVEZ was a friend and a colorful figure in the Senate. His Spanish-American heritage lent a piquancy to his important position in the Senate over so many years. His success in great office made him one of the shining symbols of what a man can do in our Nation when given the opportunity; and his physical and moral courage in the face of terrible pain and adversity cloaked his figure with the mantle of human greatness.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, a western Senator who left his mark upon this body was the late DENNIS CHAVEZ. Senator CHAVEZ represented the blend of cultures and backgrounds that gave variety and distinction to the settlement of the West. His is also the story of attaining cherished goals through hard work and determination. And when he had reached his goal, when he saw success in his efforts for advancement he did not choose to rest on his laurels. He worked hard for the people of his State and Nation.

The extent of his devotion to duty was easily observed by those of us in this body who saw him at his desk and in this Chamber even after he was cruelly attacked by the illness that ultimately caused his death. Lesser men would have given up, would have retired to their sickbeds. But DENNIS CHAVEZ continued his lifelong habit of hard work. His was an example for everyone's benefit and his determination should give courage to those who would hesitate in the face of formidable obstacles or retreat in the face of pain and suffering.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, as Members of the U.S. Senate, we share a deep and common sense of loss in the passing of our distinguished colleague and esteemed friend, DENNIS CHAVEZ. Although it is a shared loss, this does not lighten the burden of sorrow for any who proudly and affectionately claimed DENNIS CHAVEZ within the circle of their friendship. In his long and eminent career of public service, this outstanding

American gentleman brought the highest qualities of dedication, of intellect, of energy, and of leadership to the tasks and responsibilities which his fellow citizens entrusted to him. He was a fighter in spirit, in mind, in body—ever prepared to commit his full self to both the defense and the achievement of the ideals, the principles, the convictions which he found in his heart.

Valiant in his long and grievous illness, his spirit unyielding in the daily battle against pain, DENNIS CHAVEZ died as he had lived, a man of singular and indomitable courage. Our deepest expression of sorrow and sympathy goes today to his beloved family, to the people of the great State of New Mexico whom he served so well, and to the Nation he ennobled by his life and his work.

To me the friendship of DENNIS CHAVEZ was ever a valued personal treasure, and so too, will his memory remain the precious, inspiring legacy that friend leaves to friend.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, it is well that we take this time to voice our tributes to the memory of Senator CHAVEZ. It is a time for quiet and solemn reflection. It is a time to repledge our efforts to carry on with the heritage which DENNIS CHAVEZ left.

He was a proud man. He was proud of his noble ancestry. He was proud of the State of New Mexico where he was born 24 years before it became a State and he was proud of the Senate of the United States which he first served as a clerk while working for his law degree at Georgetown University.

He was proud of the Senate, both as an institution and proud of us, his colleagues. I was privileged to serve under his chairmanship of the Public Works Committee. No chairman could have been more fair or more considerate of the rights of the committee members, whether they towered in seniority or were the most recent of newcomers.

I well recall his describing the Public Works Committee and its role.

"We are builders," he said. "We are building America, harnessing its rivers, developing its resources, making it a greater Nation."

He insisted that partisan politics play no part in the consideration of a project before his committee. It either had merit or it did not. He had a discerning eye for projects which lacked merit.

The true character of DENNIS CHAVEZ is best illustrated, I think, by the last several months of his life. Although he had been in failing health for some time, he never sought sympathy. Instead, he always endeavored to have a word of cheer and encouragement for others.

It was my great and good fortune to have had him as a friend.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ served 27 years in the Senate. In these 27 years no man in the Senate was more loved or respected than he was. He worked long and hard. He worked with intelligence and devotion, with honor and integrity, for his Nation and his State.

Senator CHAVEZ was chairman for many years of the Public Works Com-

mittee. His work and that of his committee make a fitting memorial to this beloved man. There is no State in our Nation in which evidence of his wisdom and foresight cannot be seen—embodied in our great dams, our highways and our public buildings.

Of Spanish-American origin himself, he was deeply sympathetic to the injustices which are done to the racial and religious minority groups of our Nation. Time and time again he used the authority of his office to see that right was done to individual citizens who had been unfairly treated by the officials of our Nation. He was, I know, greatly loved by the people of New Mexico. He was no less loved by the Members of the Senate.

In the last months of his life in spite of intense pain and discomfort, he continued to served his State, his Senate and his country. His presence among us last year was a moving example of high courage and selfless devotion.

His loss is a heavy burden for us. His death is a great personal loss to me.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the first committee assignment that I received upon entering my duties in the Senate in 1959 was membership on the Committee on Public Works. DENNIS CHAVEZ was chairman of that committee at that time.

He was one of the first friends I made in the Senate, and I have profited greatly from his good counsel.

Senator CHAVEZ occupied in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Public Works a position of prestige—and of great power. His grasp of his job and his wise conduct of the affairs of his committee were qualities to provoke admiration from an observer such as one becomes as he enters the Senate.

One other quality which I remember in Senator CHAVEZ endeared him to many of his colleagues. While on the floor of the Senate, I have seen him, perhaps more frequently than most other Members, spontaneously offer his congratulations to a Senator who had made an important point in a speech.

In this way alone, he constantly offered encouragement to his colleagues. Any new Senator needs such kindness. And Senators could have only great appreciation for the author of such welcome gestures.

For a long time, Senator CHAVEZ was afflicted with an illness which would have caused lesser men to despair. But he lived with it, fought it, and as was characteristic of his fortitude, conquered it.

I am glad that the opportunity presented itself for me to have known and worked with this fine man.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, with the death of the Senator from New Mexico, Mr. CHAVEZ, the Senate lost one of the kindest men that ever graced these halls.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was interested in people. He liked people. The heat of the battle never prompted him to do or say an unkind thing.

Senator CHAVEZ was first and always an American. He was proud of his nationality background but his devotion to this country was the important thing in his life. He shared the American dream

and he wanted all of our citizens to have an opportunity under it.

Senator CHAVEZ had grit. He would hang on when others might give up. His successful struggle with serious illness will be an encouragement to everyone and no doubt will even add to medical knowledge.

I endorse all of the fine things that are being said today concerning our late friend. I wish to extend to Mrs. Chavez and to all the family the sincere sympathy of Mrs. Curtis and myself.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, we in the Senate who worked with DENNIS CHAVEZ are better Senators as a result of our associations with him. Without him, we are without a very warm friend and a true patriot who put the good of his country above all else.

DENNIS CHAVEZ loved people and people loved him. He was a great believer in democracy and government with a heart that responded to the needs of the people and the demands of the times.

The U.S. Senate was very much a part of DENNIS CHAVEZ and his life, and he had a unique career in this body. He came to Washington and to the Senate as a clerk as just a boy, and he was a part of the life of the Senate and the Federal Government during the most crucial periods of our Nation's history.

I often called on Senator CHAVEZ for advice and counsel. He was always understanding, and above all, reasonable and fair. I know that the other Members of the Senate also looked to him for guidance, and I am sure they found in him the same qualities.

Senator CHAVEZ looked upon the vast Southwest as the new frontier of the United States. He worked most effectively to develop the tremendous resources of that region, because he believed, and rightly so, that what was good for the Southwest—or for any other area for that matter—was good for America.

For many years to come, we will see the work Senator CHAVEZ did in the field of resources development bear fruit in the form of a growing, stronger economy.

Even in ill health, DENNIS CHAVEZ always put his country first, and he gave to his country all that was in him.

We have sustained a great loss, but we are a better Nation as a result of what Senator CHAVEZ contributed to us.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, my first acquaintance with DENNIS CHAVEZ was when I entered the Senate and was assigned to the Committee on Public Works, of which he was chairman. I served under him for a period of years and came to regard him with a deep and abiding affection.

Senator CHAVEZ could be fiery and vehement when battling for his State or for the causes in which he believed, but he was friendly, helpful, and warm-hearted with all of his colleagues, and especially kind to those who were his juniors and to the attachés and others who served under him.

His long, intrepid fight against ill health and his constant triumph over physical weakness to perform the duties and discharge the responsibilities of his

great office sets a high mark of courage that few of us can ever hope to attain.

Deeply religious, devoted to his family, loyal to his friends, he leaves a warm spot in the hearts of every one of us who knew him.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, it was a real pleasure to serve as a member of the Committee on Public Works under the chairmanship of the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico, Mr. CHAVEZ.

When I came to the Senate, he had already established a reputation for his interest in development of our public resources and in the first Americans, the American Indians.

The map of the United States is dotted with monuments to his effective interest in water resource development, reclamation, and irrigation.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, this body lost a great Member with the passing of DENNIS CHAVEZ. We will miss him very much. He was a very active member, a hard worker. Much legislation now in existence bears his stamp.

DENNIS CHAVEZ preceded me in the Senate by some years. In fact, when I first became a Member, he was one of the stalwart leaders. He was of a warm, friendly nature, and was always glad to be of help to new Members. I leaned heavily on his always available helpful advice. DENNIS CHAVEZ' presence in this Chamber dates back to 1918, when he became a clerk in the Senate while studying law at Georgetown University. He served as a clerk in the Senate for some 2 or 3 years. Upon graduation, he returned to his native State of New Mexico, which elected him to the House of Representatives in 1931. There he served during the 72d and 73d Congresses, and then came to the Senate. From 1935 through 1962, DENNIS CHAVEZ served in the Senate with distinction. I am sure that all of us were particularly impressed with his effectiveness in committee work. He studied each issue carefully, and was always well informed on the matters which came before his committees. It was in committee work that he was outstanding. In my dealings with DENNIS CHAVEZ, I found him to be a fair and just man. He was always willing to cooperate with others in anything he believed was for the good of the Nation.

Senator CHAVEZ knew the problems of the Nation, and particularly those of special interest to his State. He deeply believed in our system of government. Though we were of different political parties, I never found this to be any kind of a barrier to his cooperation with me in matters which were of special interest to me.

People like DENNIS CHAVEZ are "the salt of the earth." Where we consider that first and foremost he was an American, it makes us proud to call ourselves Americans.

DENNIS CHAVEZ has gone, but his work and his memory will live forever.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the departure from this official body and this earthly life of Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ creates a void in the hearts of those who knew him that will not easily be filled.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was a quiet and gentle man, whose activities as a Senator were devoted not to the mere winning of plaudits of the press and galleries, but to serving the people of his beloved State of New Mexico, the American West, and the United States.

It was my privilege first to know DENNIS CHAVEZ when I came to Washington as a new Member in the 73d Congress, and in the subsequent 30 years our association deepened to cherished friendship.

During the past 4 years, as a member of the Senate Committee on Public Works, I served under the chairmanship of DENNIS CHAVEZ, where I observed at close range the work of equity and justice which he brought to that post. In a sense, every colleague was a member of his constituency, for every Senator at some time pressed the claims of his State on DENNIS CHAVEZ. Though these needs could not always be filled to the satisfaction of the individual request, I doubt that a single Member could deny that he invariably received a responsive and sympathetic hearing from Senator CHAVEZ.

Though a lifelong and loyal Democrat throughout his career, the late Senator from New Mexico never lost sight of Aristotle's dictum that:

Those who think that all virtue is to be found in their own party principles push matters to extremes; they do not consider that disproportion destroys a state.

DENNIS CHAVEZ held always to this sense of proportion, and his wise and reasoned counsel will not soon be forgotten by those who served with him.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I should like to join my colleagues today in honoring the memory of DENNIS CHAVEZ, whose sudden passing last November saddened all of us. He was a most remarkable man, indeed, another of a long line of Members of Congress whose careers add proof that America is a land of opportunity for those willing to grasp the opportunity and work hard.

DENNIS CHAVEZ made no secret of the fact that he enjoyed being a Senator—he reveled in it—not because of any prestige that might attach to the post, but because it gave him a chance to help his native land. He made it plain that his country had been good to him, and he dedicated his long tenure in public office to repaying America in fullest measure.

During the last session of Congress, despite his newly acquired physical impediment, he refused to be deterred from his senatorial duties. We all admired his faithful attendance to the tasks of his office during what must have been very trying and uncomfortable days for him.

I came to know DENNIS CHAVEZ through my membership on the Public Works Committee, of which he was chairman. How proud he was of the work of that committee. He regarded it as a most constructive committee, for it deals with protecting human lives and safeguarding property from floods and other natural disasters; expediting navigation and transportation; developing America's natural resources; preserving our Nation's shorelines; building post offices

and other Federal buildings; improving highways and harbors; harnessing the energy of waterpower; creating recreational areas for our people. These were actions which gave him tremendous satisfaction, as well they might.

Through his Public Works Committee work and his long tenure as chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and through extensive travel, he came to know America very well. He had a retentive mind for people, places, and things. And he had a long memory for acts of friendship toward him. This was impressed upon me by a personal experience.

In the course of a defense inspection tour soon after Congress adjourned in 1959, he stopped over in Hawaii, aboard a Matson liner. To greet my chairman and extend a welcome to the islands, I journeyed out to his ship before it anchored. He never forgot the incident, often recalling it to me. I think he would have a good chuckle to know how close to seasickness I became in the process.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was a firm friend of Hawaii, a fact he demonstrated on many occasions in his capacity as Senator by voting for statehood and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and as chairman of the Public Works Committee. He was familiar with the extensive defense installations in Hawaii and he took great pains to make sure our forces in Hawaii were strong and ready—that America's defense outpost in the mid-Pacific would be equal to any emergency.

He recognized the value of public works projects in the economic development of all the States and of the protection of lives and property, and he took the lead in promoting these essential measures.

I recall he was especially sympathetic to the need for protection of Hilo, Hawaii, after the devastating tidal wave of 1960. With his active support, construction of a breakwater was approved by Congress.

So as I pay personal tribute to the man whom I came to know and admire in the Senate, I also pay honor to him in behalf of all the people of Hawaii who are the beneficiaries of his steadfast support and assistance.

Every State in the Union has benefited from his service in the Senate. Everywhere there are enduring memorials to his constructive leadership and his deep and abiding interest in the necessary and orderly development of needed public works. The very strong military shield that protects America today shows his handiwork. His good works, indeed, live on.

To Mrs. Chavez and other members of his family, my wife Ellyn and I extend our heartfelt condolences on their loss, a loss shared by all of us.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ was my chairman on the Senate Public Works Committee, and in his passing I feel a great sense of personal loss. Although he was ill much of the time during which I served on the committee, he had a magnificent courage which lifted him above and beyond his physical infirmities.

He came to the Senate in 1935, from the House of Representatives, and for almost 30 years he dedicated himself to people of his State and of the country. He has left behind many proofs of his generosity, aid, and comprehension, and his name belongs in the annals of important Americans of our time.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of sorrow that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Senator from New Mexico, DENNIS CHAVEZ.

His untimely death was a great loss, one which was felt by his friends in the Senate, his native State, and indeed the Nation as well.

DENNIS CHAVEZ, who entered the practice of law in 1920 in Albuquerque when New Mexico was still a young, new State of the Union, dedicated his life to duty and service. His long record in the U.S. Senate, punctuated by many outstanding accomplishments, shows that he devotedly pursued his ideal to the end.

The late Senator from New Mexico was especially preeminent in the conservation and development of our natural resources and in the maintenance of a mighty Military Establishment. It also is to his credit that he was a staunch defender of the rules and traditions of the Senate.

We shall all miss DENNIS CHAVEZ, but we shall always remember him as a true and loyal servant of the Nation and the people he represented.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, it was a sad day for the Senate and for the country when DENNIS CHAVEZ was called home.

This kind and genial man, warm and generous friend, devoted husband and indulgent father, fair and manly opponent, incorruptible and courageous public servant, was a martyr to duty, to the people's cause, and to the service of his country.

We saw DENNIS CHAVEZ, as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Works, laboring indefatigably for the development of America's waterways and her great natural resources with which God has so blessed our land. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Armed Services of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he bore the heavy burden and labored incessantly for the building and maintenance of the strength and effectiveness of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines, to keep America strong that we might keep America free.

It was as a member of the Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, including the period of some several years when DENNIS CHAVEZ was chairman of the subcommittee, that I was privileged to work closest with him and to see his noble heart, his love and compassion for his fellow man, and his deep sympathy and concern for all who suffer.

A few months ago I was privileged to witness the Ambassador from Mexico confer upon DENNIS the highest honor that his country confers upon any citizen of another country. The ceremony of conferral was held at the clinical center of the National Institutes of

Health where the battle is being waged against the dread diseases, the cripples and killers of mankind. As I sat there, moved by the occasion and humbly proud to see so richly deserved an honor bestowed upon my friend, I could not but think how fitting it was that the ceremony should be held at the National Institutes of Health that DENNIS had done so much to bring into being and to which he had made so many fine contributions. I was reminded of the words of the ancient Greek philosopher when he declared, "One cannot get closer to God than by bringing health to one's fellow man."

The example of DENNIS CHAVEZ' life is a light to lead us to higher and nobler paths. It is a part of every life he touched while on this earth and it will be transmitted from heart to heart, from soul to soul, until the last mortal shall put on immortality.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Members of the Senate in a well-deserved tribute to our beloved departed friend, DENNIS CHAVEZ.

"DENNIE" CHAVEZ, by which name he will always be remembered by his friends—was a truly wonderful person. He rose from a humble beginning to become a great statesman of our country. His contributions to important legislation over the many years that he served in the U.S. Senate are many. He was a most effective Senator, an untiring worker, and one of the most courageous men I ever knew. He never once thought of giving up, no matter how rough the going was.

DENNIE CHAVEZ will probably be remembered most for his great interest and concern for the poor and less privileged not only in his own State but throughout this Nation and, for that matter, our entire hemisphere.

DENNIE was a wonderful friend and a great statesman. We miss him here greatly. We in the Senate grieve with his beloved family in this great loss.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, when a man who is rendering magnificent service to his State and country passes from the scene of public life, it is indeed a sad occasion.

While I did not have the privilege of serving on any committee with DENNIS CHAVEZ, I grew to know him from my associations with him on the floor of the Senate and in our respective official duties. He was a man who inspired friendship and confidence, always willing to give the benefit of his long experience and background in government to a colleague.

I respected his views and benefited from his counsel.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was a great champion of the West and a man who could look ahead to the needs of future generations of his own State and of the Nation. My sympathies go out to all those who knew him and particularly his family with whom we join in a profound sense of loss on this occasion.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in the U.S. Senate in paying tribute to the memory of a distinguished former Member of this

body who served his State and Nation with distinction and dedication for more than three decades. DENNIS CHAVEZ was a devoted servant of his people, and they rewarded him for his dedication to duty by returning him to the U.S. Senate on five occasions.

Mr. President, it is an amazing feat just to be able to win the confidence of the people of a great and sovereign State. To be able to hold that confidence for such a long period of time, however, is indeed a rare distinction, as all the Members of this body can well appreciate. This can only signify public belief in one's character, ability, and unselfish devotion to the people.

I had the pleasure of serving as a member of the Public Works Committee under Senator CHAVEZ when I first came to the Senate in 1955. I found him to be a fine gentleman who presided over his committee with competence, impartiality, and dignity. He rendered many valuable services to his Nation as a member and as chairman of this important committee, and also as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense Expenditures. I particularly remember his capable work on the great interstate highway program which was approved in the Congress under his leadership and that of the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE].

To the people of New Mexico and the members of the Chavez family I again extend my sincere and deep sympathy on the passing of this distinguished and able public servant.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, it is with great sadness that I pay tribute to the late Senator from New Mexico, DENNIS CHAVEZ.

We were all proud to be his friends, and it was my privilege to work with him on the many programs in which we shared an interest.

His youth in New Mexico endowed Senator CHAVEZ with a great knowledge of the land, and during his years in the Senate he devoted much energy to the development of our precious natural resources.

He was also an expert on military matters, and brought a keen mind to the complex problems of preparedness and defense.

Senator CHAVEZ was a tireless worker in behalf of the American Indian, and he made many permanent contributions to the betterment of our hemispheric relations.

It was my pleasure to serve with him on two committees, and he was unfailingly gracious and wise with respect to the problems of my State.

In many ways, we will miss his presence in the Senate for years to come.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, one is always hard put to express his opinion and sentiments when the subject is a friend and colleague over a period of many years. It will be impossible for me in a few short minutes to say the things that I feel in my heart about a very dear personal friend and one of the truly courageous public figures of our time, the late Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ.

I am one of the few Members of this body who was here when DENNIS CHAVEZ

took the oath of office as a Senator of the United States. Over a period of years, we worked in many instances on the same committees and I came to know him intimately.

He was the toughest man physically I have ever known. He sustained and recovered from several major operations that would have taken all of the heart out of a lesser man, but DENNIS CHAVEZ was a great fighter. He fought the most terrible of diseases with the same courage and determination with which he always supported his political beliefs. He had courage in any field to back up his convictions. No man, no single group of men, no mighty combination or groups could shake him in his beliefs or frighten him into yielding a conviction.

We have many self-proclaimed liberals in this day. DENNIS CHAVEZ was a true liberal and he was proud of his philosophy. He was a liberal in the finest traditions of the political meaning of that word. He was a liberal in the tradition of La Follette, Borah, and Norris. He fought for the common man, the little man, the underprivileged in our society. He stood for equality of opportunity for all Americans and he supported with everything he had the great liberal traditions upon which our Republic is founded and our precious way of life rests.

DENNIS CHAVEZ was a genuine Senate type. He had not served here long before he became a Senate man through and through. He was jealous of the prerogatives of the Senate and he had a fierce pride and faith in the Senate as an institution. He understood the roll that the Senate and individual Senators are supposed to play in our scheme of government. I do not know of a higher compliment that I could pay any man who ever served in this body.

It is said that he was born in an adobe hut and of poor parents. The story of DENNIS CHAVEZ is a story in the greatest American tradition. The record DENNIS CHAVEZ accumulated and the battles he fought during his long years in public life will be long remembered and often discussed, not only by his beloved people of New Mexico, but by all others in this Nation who, though humble born, aspire to success and yearn for the opportunity to serve and possess the character with which to do it well.

Several years ago I traveled through some of the public forests and other public lands of New Mexico with Senator CHAVEZ. We visited a number of small communities largely populated by Americans of Spanish descent. The faith and pride of these people was clearly reflected on their countenances as they sought an opportunity to touch him if they could not shake his hand. His entire career bears proof that the faith and confidence of his people was justified in every respect. He never let them down.

I have never known a man who had a more complete faith in the basic American system of government than did DENNIS CHAVEZ. All of us will miss him here in the Senate, and I will miss him as my friend and confidant, and most especially the inspiration I derived from his courage every time I saw him.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I wish to join briefly with my colleagues in the Senate in paying tribute to the memory of DENNIS CHAVEZ. He had made his mark in this body, as a Senator and statesman of the first rank, before I came to know him. It was in the closing days of his life that he set before us the example of courage and stamina that for me will be an indelible memory. I will remember this man as he stood in the Senate, mortally ill, refusing to yield in spirit to the final colloquy to which he was being called by the failing flesh, persevering in his duty while an ounce of strength remained. I will always remember DENNIS CHAVEZ as the personification of a courage to which every man should aspire, and which every man who knew him may come closer to matching, when his own time of need arrives, by recalling the burning will which kept DENNIS CHAVEZ on his feet, on the floor of the Senate, so long as the call to duty could be heard.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, when I first came onto the Senate Public Works Committee, of which the late Senator CHAVEZ was chairman, I was warmly received by the Senator and was made to feel very much at home. He loved the committee, and he had a deep affection for all of its members. We were, he said, on a committee which had no purpose other than to be constructive, to authorize projects which would make the United States a greater country, and its people happier and more productive.

The Senator had great courage, and he will always be an inspiration to those of us who knew that he was fighting a physical affliction which would have caused many a strong-willed person to lose hope and to despair. But Senator CHAVEZ never despaired. We will miss him. Mrs. Miller and I extend to Mrs. Chavez and the family our deepest sympathy over their great loss.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing my sense of deep personal loss in the death last November of Senator CHAVEZ.

Senator CHAVEZ in his more than three score years of service in this body, established an enviable record of service to his State, the Nation, and to the Americas.

He was in all a great builder. As chairman of the full Committee on Public Works, he guided the world's largest construction program during the many years of his chairmanship. In this work it was his duty to program and plan the many facets of our public works development in water resources, navigation, road and highway construction, and even to our public buildings.

Aided by devoted and enthusiastic committee members, Senator CHAVEZ gave leadership and direction to this mammoth program and saw that proper emphasis was placed on not just one—but all—of the areas where the strengthening of our Nation was needed in this field of resource development. Each section received its rightful share of attention and development according to its needs. The sad plight of highway systems was corrected by the well planned

and programmed interstate highway program.

Vital needs of the newer States of the West, which Senator CHAVEZ knew and understood so well, were likewise provided new agricultural opportunities through irrigation projects built by the Army Engineers.

But the Senator's interest in building was not alone in physical buildings, as important as they were. He built opportunity for the underprivileged throughout all the States. He was a pioneer in the fight for civil rights and for opportunities for those who otherwise would have been passed by. His attention and work for the improvement of racial relations will long stand as a monument to his love for all Americans. He wanted all to have fair and equal opportunities.

In the field of our inter-American relations, Senator CHAVEZ was likewise active. As the first Senator of Spanish-American origin, he was able to communicate our ideas and ideals to our Latin American neighbors. This way he helped improve the solidarity of relationships with both North and South America.

We who knew him well knew of the warm personal friendship that he extended to his colleagues. As a new Member I early learned of his solicitude for our success in the Senate and found him always ready and willing to assist us in our problems connected with our service on our committees or to our States.

The people of New Mexico can be proud of the service he rendered, not only for them, but for all the Nation.

To his wife who was a true companion through all of his public and private life and to his children I extend for myself and for Mrs. Monroney our deep sympathy and condolence for the loss of a devoted public servant.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, DENNIS CHAVEZ was at home on the old frontier and the New Frontier. The Nation owes him a great debt. This warmhearted New Mexican dedicated his life to serving his country. His service on the Public Works Committee of the Senate was long and dedicated. Through the efforts of this great American, three great rivers of the country are being tamed and harnessed, and the people who live in their valleys protected. This is a service for which Senator CHAVEZ was rarely, if ever, truly recognized. Quietly, effectively and with great dedication DENNIS CHAVEZ also served tirelessly and devotedly as head of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Hardly a decision was made in the momentous years of war and cold war without his hard work, deep research, and solemn advice. Atomic warfare, conventional warfare, manned bombers, deadly missiles, Polaris, machines, men, ships—all these were his to check, to examine, to probe, to worry and brood over.

Yet, DENNIS CHAVEZ, a man who had served in the Senate for four decades, had time to be concerned with the welfare of his own constituents and with the problems of his colleagues. His heart was big and warm. His efforts were for

all of us. It was our good fortune to have had him with us. We shall miss him greatly.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I am among the many who will miss Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, as a friend, a legislator and as a wise American. He was truly a great man.

Senator CHAVEZ was a native son of New Mexico and was the oldest of eight children. He served his State ably as a member of the State legislature and was next elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served from 1931, until his appointment to the U.S. Senate in 1935, where he served until his death in 1962.

DENNIS CHAVEZ had served 9 years in the Senate before I was appointed to the Senate. I became closely associated with him on many legislative matters and found in him a faithful friend. Our friendship grew for each other through the years and I considered myself a member of his family.

Senator CHAVEZ served for many years on the Appropriations Committee and I will always treasure the years that I was able to work with him on appropriation matters. He was a great organizer, armed with the tools of logic. He served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

I could write volumes on the good work which DENNIS CHAVEZ did as a member of the Public Works Committee of the Senate. He served ably as chairman of this committee for a number of years. He did outstanding work in authorizing the funds for important projects in order to assist in protecting and preserving our water and land resources.

It is true that during a number of years DENNIS CHAVEZ was in ill health. How he fought on, day after day, over unsurmountable odds, everyone had to admire. He was a tough fighter and continued to remain active almost until the time of his death.

When Senator CHAVEZ died last November, former President Harry S. Truman observed that he was "a good public servant, and that's about the highest thing you can say about a man."

A note was sent to Mrs. Chavez by the President of the United States, when she accepted on behalf of her husband the Minuteman Award of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. President Kennedy said:

Tonight we honor him as the citizen who contributed most to national security—but we shall also long remember him as a great patriot—and a great American.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the Chavez family, son and daughters and particularly to his wife. In my mind DENNIS CHAVEZ will live on and his overall impact on posterity will be enormous.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on behalf of the people of New Mexico, and indeed of our country, Republicans and Democrats, the rich and the poor, the high and the humble, I desire to express our thanks to Senators who participated in the expressions of tribute to our beloved Senator.

#### TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SENATOR KERR OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the untimely death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR ended a career of public service unequaled by any Oklahoman, a career that deeply affected the course of our Nation.

For Senator KERR's great energy, intellect and human qualities combined to mark him with the genius of leadership. His life was one of distinguished service, not only for his State, but for the Nation as well.

This Senate, this Government, and the people of this Nation will for years to come feel the loss of this buoyant, resourceful, dynamic individual who loved the Senate, its duties, its opportunities, and its responsibilities.

Senator KERR's monumental achievements in his many fields of endeavor were matched by his amazing capacity for friendship, his unbounded faith in his fellow man and in his abiding and all-encompassing faith in God. His life exemplifies the great American story of attaining nearly impossible goals through hard work.

His dynamic and confident approach to challenging projects and new concepts sparked the drive in hundreds of friends, who were willing to follow his tested leadership in many fields. Those who were associated with Senator KERR in any project followed his lead, knowing that his careful study and evaluation would bring success. He brought this quality to all the many fields where he directed his energy. Whether it was a drive to finance a university, to build hospitals, to promote new scientific institutions, or whether it was in a daring and novel project for the conservation of water resources, in social legislation, or in private business, his carefully thought-out plans and means of achieving his goals inspired others to join in his crusades.

For his basic formula for success was not only in having unbounded confidence in himself, but in transmitting that enthusiasm and loyalty to others. This enthusiasm made molehills out of obstacles that to some might seem mountains. This zest filled the contest with adventure as though it were an athletic event. It was fun for BOB KERR, and those who loyally followed him shared in the fun.

His aims and activities reached across all vital realms of human experience in our time. Born in a log cabin on what was truly a frontier, he strove always in the vanguard, maintaining a newness and freshness of thought. His imagination and his vision seemed boundless. In science, in social welfare, in resources development, in strengthening our national security and in enlarging our economy, he forsook outmoded concepts to seize with youthful enthusiasm the rationale of new ideas and new approaches. "Tis not too late to seek a newer world," Senator KERR sometimes remarked, quoting from Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses."

ROBERT S. KERR was born in a place where the world was new. His parents

had come to Indian territory in a covered wagon and had established a small farm on land rented from the Indians. In that rustic pioneer setting, 11 years before Oklahoma was granted statehood, ROBERT S. KERR was born. In his early years, his love and respect for God's good earth were nourished in the toil of making things grow that a family might live. One learns to love and respect the order of the seasons, the rich earth, the pure blue water, the value of the forest, and the beauty of the sky when life itself depends upon the harmony one achieves with such an environment.

The son of a scholarly but self-taught father, ROBERT S. KERR diligently sought the benefits of a formal education under most difficult circumstances. Like many another pioneer boy before him, he walked many miles to and from a small schoolhouse, and he lived on the edge of destitution as a student at what was then the small beginning of what is now a great educational institution known as Oklahoma Baptist University. Unable to afford the full college course, the future Senator interrupted his studies at the age of 17 to become a teacher in a one-room school. When World War I came, he enlisted in the Army and saw duty in France as a field artillery lieutenant. Later, he gained much of his knowledge of the law during an apprenticeship in the office of one of the great early-day Oklahoma attorneys. He worked his way through courses at East Central State College in Ada, Okla., and at the University of Oklahoma. He sold magazines door to door. He also established a small produce business, buying the fruits and vegetables from the farmers in his home community and selling them at distant cities.

But BOB KERR's real education came after the end of his formal education. Everything he did, everything he read, all that he saw were a part of the learning that lifted him to a wide range of understanding of myriad subjects and made him an able master of most of them.

Without realizing the transition that was taking place, his colleagues in the Senate and his people in Oklahoma saw this vast understanding of the Government's most complicated activities translated into national leadership. This leadership was acknowledged in the last session of the Senate.

For it was his ability, his understanding of the subjects, his command of earthy debate in explaining complicated measures, that enabled Senator KERR to dominate the scene. These measures ranged from space communications to the President's 1962 trade bill, from medical care to a nationwide program to conserve our water resources, from tax revision to improvement in social security legislation.

Always an outstanding debater in scholastic competition, Senator KERR's natural leadership abilities first came to statewide attention when at the age of 28 he was elected State commander of the American Legion. This was while he was still a struggling lawyer in a small city. His first ventures in oil came soon

after, however, and a few years later he was the principal organizer of one of the greatest industrial organizations ever founded in Oklahoma.

In 1925, ROBERT S. KERR met, wooed, and won the hand of Grayce Breene, the talented daughter of a pioneer Oklahoma oil drilling contractor. The late Senator often described himself as a "wife-made man." His family always came first with ROBERT S. KERR. Their three boys and one girl have now established families of their own, and the love and affection that Oklahomans had for ROBERT S. KERR was reflected in an outpouring of sympathy for these fine citizens when he passed away.

ROBERT S. KERR's work in civic affairs and as a lay leader of his church brought him recognition rapidly after he moved from his home community in Pontotoc County to Oklahoma City in 1931. His father had taught him the principles of Thomas Jefferson, and he rose quickly as a leader of the Democratic Party in his State, being elected national committeeman in 1940. Two years later, he became the first native Oklahoman to be elected Governor. Four years of splendid management of State affairs followed. During that period, Oklahoma was able to retire an indebtedness of \$44 million, and when ROBERT S. KERR left the Governor's office a surplus of more than \$40 million existed in the State treasury.

During Senator KERR's term as Governor, devastating floods occurred in Oklahoma to compound economic difficulties which had been set in motion a decade earlier by drought and depression. When he came to the U.S. Senate in 1949, the first bill he introduced was to create the Arkansas, White, and Red River Study Commission. This resulted in a completely coordinated plan for the development of the soil and water resources of the area, which ROBERT S. KERR envisioned as the heartland of a fabulous new empire. But ROBERT S. KERR's knowledge of the forces of nature and their effects upon our country's economy and security benefited vast regions of the United States far removed from the rural, agricultural community from which he came. The basin-wide study concept adopted with the passage of his first bill has now set a pattern being followed in many parts of the Nation.

BOB KERR believed that the Nation's final greatness depended upon the conservation of its water resources. From the beginning of his public career, it became his principal goal. Certainly, he was interested in water for Oklahoma, an area which he loved and knew best. But from his understanding of area problems came a devotion to solving the Nation's problem of providing a certain and dependable supply of good water for the generations to come.

His unmatched knowledge in this field was recognized as he rose to lead the Senate in planning water resource development.

Much of the landmark legislation bears Senator KERR's name and attests to his success in the passage of most of the major bills in this field.

ROBERT S. KERR authored a bill to liberalize the benefits of soil conservation projects designed for upstream flood prevention. This legislation now provides water for irrigation, municipal water supply, and other benefits in needy sections of many States.

Senator KERR was the author of the Tennessee Valley Authority self-financing bill, which at a moment of crisis for that great conservation and development system in the South gave the TVA an opportunity for new growth and stability.

He was a coauthor of the Pollution Control Act, which provides grants-in-aid to cities as an incentive to adequately treat sewage, prevent pollution of our streams, and provide policing powers to the Public Health Service. Always in search of new methods and new solutions, he secured in this bill a provision for research into better techniques for treating the critical problem of keeping our water clean.

Millions of Americans living in Northern and Eastern States will enjoy the benefits resulting from the compromise legislation which Senator KERR worked out permitting the construction of the Niagara power development project. Opposite opinions had practically stalemated this development when Senator KERR intervened. He also assisted in working out the legislation for the St. Lawrence Seaway, for the Delaware River Compact, and the Colorado storage project.

ROBERT S. KERR was chairman of the Select Committee on National Water Resources, which, after an exhaustive nationwide survey, established principles which now have become the cornerstone policies of water resources development throughout the Nation. To hasten action upon these vital conservation projects, ROBERT S. KERR, through indomitable insistence and persuasion, secured a liberalized policy making recreation part of the justification for reservoir building and providing for storage in Federal reservoirs for low-flow regulation to improve what he liked to call water quality management. This expression, "water quality management," was his method of accentuating the positive, rather than relying upon the negative term of anti-pollution control.

A résumé of Senator KERR's legislative activity in the final 2 years of his life embraces an amazing spectrum. His accomplishments in the fields of foreign trade and tax legislation are wellknown, and to recite them here is unnecessary. His strong support and aid in the working out of our interstate highway program is likewise a matter known to us all. Another monument arising from his diligence in the Finance Committee is the Kerr-Mills bill, which now provides medical care for many of our aged citizens who deserve it most.

ROBERT S. KERR was a charitable man. The Kerr-Mills bill is but one of many, many legislative enactments relating to social security and the welfare of our less fortunate citizens which had his meaningful support. Not so well known, perhaps, were the activities of a charit-

able nature which occupied many of his hours when he was not on the floor of the Senate or in the confines of the committee rooms. Many of these activities focused on Senator KERR's beloved Baptist Church. He had served as president of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and as vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention. For several years before his death he had been president of the Baptist Foundation of Oklahoma.

In the book of Malachi it is written:

Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.

Intimates of Senator KERR know that he went far beyond this biblical admonition, providing not only one tithe, but much more to support the charities and good works that he believed in. No one, I am sure, will ever be able to document accurately the extent of his giving, for his talent in this field he carefully and humbly hid from public view.

No one knows how many hundreds of young men there are—now outstanding business, professional, and technical leaders—who received help from BOB KERR when they needed it most. His door was always open to youth who were seeking—as BOB KERR once sought—an opportunity to work their way up. In his own business, in his gifts and support to young men starting out in new fields or professions, his help was there in countless cases.

Sometimes it was substantial aid in the face of financial disaster for a new family. Sometimes it was a new start in life or a stake in a business that he believed would prosper through the qualities of those he helped.

Being a friend in time of need brought him a substantial part of the satisfaction he had in his own success—it enabled him to help others to be successful, too.

His gifts to educational institutions and organizations will be of much benefit to deserving youth long after all of us here today have joined him in the course of mortal man.

ROBERT S. KERR recognized the inevitability of change, and profoundly expected most changes to be constantly for the better. His work as chairman of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences was rooted in the philosophy that mankind is fast discarding the shackles of fear, the fear of the unknown. "Faith," he said, "smashes the shackles of fear, frees us from its imprisonment, replaces its paralysis with unlimited power."

In taking the lead in the bipartisan effort to accelerate our Nation's program for the development of outer space for peaceful purposes, he once explained his position in terms of his faith in God, in our country, in our free institutions, in ourselves. "Reinforced and fortified by faith," he said, "we can live safely and happily amid the astonishing realities of today and face the fabulous predictables

of tomorrow. We can also anticipate the astounding unpredictables of the unknown depths of space with unshakable serenity."

Time—as well as space—had to be conquered. And with his unusual ability to get things moving, Senator KERR applied his drive to this vast and complicated field. It was his ability to understand industrial methods in big projects that gave him the experience to move rapidly into this field of space exploration with a well organized program for mobilizing the Nation's best talents into the new effort in space.

We could not buy time, and Senator KERR was dedicated to establishing this Nation's preeminence in this vast new field. He considered the Russian effort a challenge to the supremacy of democracy, and acted accordingly. We were out to win.

President Kennedy once described Senator KERR as "the man with the long view." That simple encomium fits.

All of us recall how his mind sometimes overflowed with poetry or song, erupting as a fountain of wit to ease the strife and turmoil of debate. Senator KERR had many favorite passages from scripture and many verses and sayings of his own that seasoned and enriched the lives of all who came in contact with him. In serious moments, his stately passages or quotations gave dignity and meaning to the subject at hand. Or if the occasion demanded, he could frolic with words and phrases to lighten the burdens of debate or discussion.

Whether in debate on the floor of the Senate, or in a farm meeting in the hills of Oklahoma, BOB KERR always had at his command a story in point to sharpen his explanation of his position or to puncture the argument of an opponent. He loved to use his vast store of anecdotes—many native to Oklahoma—not as a gag to get a laugh, but to make understandable a philosophy or a point he was anxious to have thoroughly understood. It was also this facility for weaving humor into serious discussions to clarify his meaning that made him one of the Senate's most sought after speakers on platforms and in forums throughout the country.

It was his humor that made friends of those who once discounted his ability. It was his humor that added a mellowness to a drive that would otherwise have been suspect of seeking too much power. It was his humor that helped sustain him in the long hours that he worked.

He loved his work, but above all he loved the Senate—its Members and the body itself—as one of the world's greatest institutions. I am sure that if he had been required to make a choice between his vast business enterprises and his seat in the Senate, he would have chosen the Senate; for no man loved his work here more than the senior Senator from Oklahoma.

No one quotation can epitomize this man. His philosophy was expressed in many voices. His unique mind held in constant readiness these expressions that reflected his philosophy.

Yes, in a moment of challenge he would say:

Come, my friends,  
 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.  
 Push off, and sitting well in order smite  
 The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds  
 To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths  
 Of all the Western stars, until I die.  
 It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;  
 It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,  
 And see that great Achilles, whom we knew.  
 Though much is taken, much abides; and  
 though  
 We are not now that strength which in old  
 days  
 Moved earth and heaven; that which we are,  
 we are;  
 One equal temper of heroic hearts,  
 Made weak by time and fate, but strong in  
 will  
 To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Yes, ROBERT S. KERR enjoyed the gift that enabled him to translate the vibrant spirit of his personality through the use of timeless and borrowed phrases of "Ulysses" and many another stalwart figure from the past. He was, however, more than a Ulysses of his day, for his heroic heart was tempered by his love for mankind. One of his favorite Biblical quotations came from the 13th chapter of St. John. He would interrupt a fiery argument, when tempers seemed about out of hand, to remind that Jesus said:

A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

This was ROBERT S. KERR, a loving and heroic heart, strong in will. He strove, he sought, he found, and until the end of his life he did not yield.

All Oklahoma expresses great sorrow in mourning the loss of her distinguished son and great sympathy for the honored family he left behind.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD as a part of my remarks the prayer given by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, at the funeral services, and various editorial comments from newspaper publications in the State of Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the prayer and editorial comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAYER OFFERED AT THE FUNERAL OF SENATOR KERR, BY DR. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE, JANUARY 4, 1963

Our Father God, as we come to this solemn hour a sentence from Thy book is ringing in our ears: "Know ye that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel." Fallen? Yes, that is the poor, blundering verdict of tear-dimmed eyes and of broken spirits, shadowed today by the somber sadness of farewell.

We bow in this sanctuary he loved, vividly conscious of the empty place at which our surprised eyes are staring, staring stunned, bewildered, and strangely moved. For there is a vacant place against the sky of our national life, a vacant place against the sky of our friendship, of this church, of this city, of this State, and of the worldwide enterprises of the Kingdom of God.

One loved by his friends, trusted by his colleagues, honored by his church, has gone down—"As when a giant cedar, green with

boughs, goes down with a great shout upon the hills and leaves a lonesome place against the sky. Thou knowest that is the first thing we see. For a while it seems the only thing we see. Our eyes are glued upon that vacant place against the sky. With a poignant sense of tragic loss we are gazing today with altered eyes upon an altered world and our lonely and wondering hearts are crying out in those ancient words of startled surprise, "My Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

Upon our waiting hearts as we gather in this hallowed shrine, where his hungry heart listened to the proclamation of the word of God, where he entered into the fellowship of the sweet communion, the solemn vows, and the church's hymns of love and praise, may there fall upon us the mantle of a double portion of the enabling spirit of the Master he loved and served.

We come this day, with a background of Christian living and serving, which for dedicated time and strength, and substance, strikes dumb any poor faltering word of estimate or appreciation we might try to bring.

Like thy servant Moses he wished not that his countenance shone—but it did. Not with any external halo of boastful profession, but with the glow of an inner radiance. Diligent in business, yet he instinctively turned from a subtle secularism which so often, alas, in these days of crass materialism dims life's altar light. His holiness was not a claim but a climate which, while frank and open and truthful, had no place for meanness or duplicity. His was never a cloistered piety, for while only a ministering doctor saw him die, we saw him live in the glory of public service.

Here in this State of which from pioneer days he was a rugged builder, he dreamed his dreams and saw his visions of the city of God hovering over this expanding land.

We are conscious today that in his record is an epic of achievement which stands as a prophetic beacon of hope for the youth of America. Here it was by force of character and ability he climbed the steep ladder of business success and won the recognition of strong men. He belonged to this age of amazing expansion, with its perennial tearing down and building up of titanic energy and of gigantic plans. This was his field of service. His prayer was not for an easy place.

That prayer of thy servant, Carl Sandburg, expresses the very spirit of his sacrificial service: "Lay me on an anvil, O God, let me lift and loosen old foundations, let me be the great nail holding a skyscraper through blue nights into white stars."

We are grateful today that with a sense of his stewardship through his church he touched the world with his prayers and his gifts. Thus, he was a statesman of the kingdom of God, a custodian of God's purposes, a trustee of the great commission.

He was intense when mind and strength and time were to be focused upon the thing to be done but he kept the heart and bubbling enthusiasm of a child.

Thus we gratefully bring the record of one who was not a conformist, who spoke for himself and for those who sent him as their spokesman, who consecrated his ability and his love of country and his massive strength across toiling years to help build an America which under God is the torch of the world.

And so no parting here, even though unheralded and poignant, can hush the song our confident spirits raise,

"Jesus I live to Thee  
 The loveliest and best  
 My life in Thee—Thy life in me  
 In Thy blest love I rest.

Jesus I die to Thee  
Whenever death shall come  
To die in Thee is life to me  
In my eternal home."

Lord bring us all to that homeland of Thy eternal love.

In the name of the loving redeemer, we pray. Amen.

[From the Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Okla., Jan. 2, 1963]

ROBERT S. KERR

A giant has fallen. Oklahoma's ablest and most honored native son was struck down yesterday. He was in the prime of his power and at the pinnacle of his career, a statesman and a patriot. He was the champion defender and developer of his native Oklahoma. No other man had fought so hard and achieved so much in raising Oklahoma to a high place in the eyes of the world.

His ability, energy, and keenness of intellect challenged the admiration of his friends and the fear of his opponents. In his death, Oklahoma suffered a crippling wound. The Nation itself and the whole world in which our country moves will suffer changes unknown.

Seldom has one man so dominated the course and future of his beloved State. In the death of Senator KERR, the State of Oklahoma has been shaken to its foundations. A host of friends and uncounted numbers of his opponents will deplore his untimely death.

Always he was a friend to the poor, a generous giver who shared his wealth unstintingly in a myriad of benefactions.

Now is no time to count or evaluate the extent of the disaster which has fallen upon the country and his cherished Oklahoma.

Where is the leader who can take his place?

[From the Oklahoma City Times, Jan. 2, 1963]

#### OKLAHOMA'S GREAT SON

What Oklahoman will ever forget the chill that struck the heart Tuesday as he heard the shattering news that Senator ROBERT KERR had died?

Even though the tidings 2 weeks before that the 66-year-old senior Senator had suffered a heart attack had spread premonitions throughout the State, Oklahomans had been reassured by the drive and hardness of KERR into believing he would recover.

But it was not to be.

And a relaxed Oklahoma, its thoughts on the Orange Bowl game at Miami, saw the future of the State suddenly shiver in uncertainty.

At a time like this one remembers the qualities of the deceased—Senator KERR's single mindedness for Oklahoma, his vision, his fine mind, his wit. But because of his superb ability to get things done, these qualities were so intermingled with accomplishment after accomplishment that even in the hour of his death one cannot separate the personal qualities from the achievements and the plans for the future. Nor does one need to.

So even as we remember the past we can reflect in sadness upon an untimely death that came with so much the Senator had planned as yet unaccomplished. The Senator who loved Oklahoma so much and did so much for his State would understand.

The loss is not ours alone. The ramifications of this death go far beyond our borders—into Congress, the Kennedy administration's plans, our space effort, public works, conservation, oil legislation, finance. The title of a Saturday Evening Post article on Senator KERR which came out by coincidence just this week, "The Uncrowned King of the Senate," describes the impact this loss will have in national affairs.

Oklahoma mourns with the grieving family of this man, one of her great sons of all time.

But even in this hour of sorrow we must realize what Senator KERR, tireless worker for the Oklahoma of tomorrow, would want above all. That would be for Oklahoma, without despair, to press on to make come true that glorious future toward which he did so much to blaze a splendid pathway.

[From the Tulsa (Okla.) Tribune, Jan. 2, 1963]

BOB KERR

You could write a lot of trite editorial sentences about the death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR.

You could say that his loss will be keenly felt in the Senate. You can say that it is a great blow to Oklahoma. These things are true.

You could also point out that he grew as his jobs grew. But maybe that's in reverse. That's what you might say about any one of a number of American Presidents who were plunged into a place of great power with only modest equipment, and who suddenly began to measure up to their responsibilities. Bob KERR could have been just a garden variety Senator. But he became the most powerful man in that body because he first demonstrated his capacity to handle great responsibilities.

He was a driving man. But he drove no one as hard as himself. He peddled magazines to put himself through college. He studied law while he taught school. He set out to become a millionaire and became a multimillionaire. He never completely satisfied his thirst for wealth, and, with his partner, Dean McGee, never ceased making purchases and expansions. But along about 1940 he decided he was financially fixed for life, so he roared into politics like a tornado.

As a politician Bob KERR lost only one major battle, his drive for the presidential nomination. Yet you can't say that he started out as a statesman. There was a lot left to be desired in his 4 years as Governor of Oklahoma. But he was learning. As he grew more sure-footed he began to spend less time playing politics as though it were a poker game and more time trying to figure out what was sound.

He didn't hit his stride until after he gave up his White House hopes. Then he relaxed. He began to appear occasionally on the unpopular side of issues. His colleagues, who had regarded him as a church-basement orator, long on platitudes and Biblical quotations, began to listen to him. They discovered that there was a lot more to Bob KERR than homilies and billingsgate. He was formidable in debate because he did his homework. He was powerful in committee because he arrived stuffed with information.

Bob KERR's love affair with Oklahoma caused wry smiles and some resentment. But someone had to love Oklahoma. Bob KERR chafed at the stagnation brought about by unwise farming, lack of soil conservation, and high transportation costs. His conviction that this could be reversed by the proper employment of land, wood, and water became his credo and he backed it by heavy investments in pasture and coal land in eastern Oklahoma, an area that had been on the skids for 40 years.

Bob KERR, fortunately, lived long enough so that much of his work cannot be undone. The Arkansas River development program is now far enough along so that completion is assured. Oklahoma's potential will be realized many years earlier than it would have been without Bob KERR.

But we will miss him, just the same. He was a locomotive. He was ruthless and he

was human. He was acquisitive and he was generous. He was partisan and he was also patriotic. He was a complex and amazing man.

[From Vinita (Okla.) Daily Journal, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### JOURNALLY SPEAKING

(By O. B. Campbell)

Many facets of American life will feel the loss of Senator ROBERT S. KERR for he figured in so many phases of activity in Oklahoma and the Nation.

All these activities added together emphasize the demands made upon his time and his services.

Anyone who has not followed closely the work of a U.S. Senator or Congressman cannot realize the hours and hours of work spent in trying to properly carry out the duties of the office. Their hours are long, often far into the night to become informed on legislation that is being considered by the legislative bodies. Constant trips to and from their States, public appearances, stacks of mail, campaigns, committee meetings, and hundreds of other demands add more and more burdens to their already loaded shoulders.

It is no wonder that these services eventually become more than the body can bear. But, being the type of public servants that they are, they continue to carry on while the demands never let up.

Senator KERR, a great Oklahoma leader, joins the ranks of those who have fallen in the service of their country.

[From the Seminole (Okla.) Producer, Jan. 2, 1963]

#### BOB KERR'S DEATH A BLOW TO OKLAHOMA (By Milt Phillips)

Senator KERR's death is a serious blow to Oklahoma. His philosophy of government may not have coincided with the philosophy of every reader of this column. Whether it did or did not, none can sincerely say the Senator's influence was not one of the most important factors in bringing numerous industrial developments to Oklahoma. The faith expressed in Oklahoma by Senator KERR and his business associates—the influence he exerted because of his seniority and exceptional ability in the Congress—his constant alertness for governmental and industrial payrolls for his State—all of these added up to one of the State's greatest potentials for economic growth.

Oklahoma not only lost one of the most brilliant men ever to serve in Congress from Oklahoma, it lost the most influential man ever to sit in Congress from this State.

[From the McAlester (Okla.) News Capital, Jan. 2, 1963]

#### THE LOSS OF SENATOR KERR

The death of Oklahoma's Senator ROBERT S. KERR is a loss to his State and his Nation. His importance is shown by the fact that the future of President Kennedy's legislative program has been put in doubt and there will may have been a cloud drawn over Oklahoma water projects by his death.

Loss of "the most powerful man in Congress" also shifts responsibility for many important Oklahoma programs to his colleague, Senator MIKE MONRONEY.

Senator KERR was a fighter and a cooperator in Congress and at the same time had a tremendous sense of humor when the occasion justified it. It is being said he is the Congressman President Kennedy will miss most during the coming session.

As Senator HUMPHREY said of Oklahoma's senior Senator, it is hard to describe the

characteristics of a man who was as accomplished as Senator KERR.

Oklahoma will miss his leadership in the front ranks of its continuous fight for progress.

[From the Purcell (Okla.) Register, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### STATE MOURNS DEATH OF KERR

BOB KERR is dead. Oklahoma people have lost their most faithful, most effective, and most beloved public servant.

Senator KERR was a native son, a typical Oklahoman. Born of a rugged pioneer family, he grew up under primitive conditions, conditions that called for hard work and total perseverance. Commencing with an innate ambition, he planned his career in business, profession, and politics just like an architect would design a building or like an artist would paint a picture or a sculptor would carve an image of a great face. He worked consistently and methodically on every operation, every lawsuit and every project and that coordinated system of labor brought him success in every field of endeavor.

It is well the editor of this newspaper remembers a description of BOB KERR given him by the late judge of the district court in Purcell, W. G. Long. Judge Long described BOB KERR as a lawyer having the best analytical mind of any attorney who had ever appeared in his court, and some of the greatest lawyers in Oklahoma appeared in Judge Long's court.

Senator KERR is stricken down just as he reached the heights of popularity, strength, and outstanding accomplishments in the field of national service. Oklahoma has lost its most faithful friend.

Senator ROBERT S. KERR will go down in the history of this State as Oklahoma's most famous citizen.

[From the Edmond (Okla.) Booster, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### SPEAKING FRANKLY

The death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR this week is being mourned by thousands of Oklahomans and countless other thousands throughout the United States.

Eulogies of this man are being spread over every newspaper in the country, but they all cannot help but fall short in accurately depicting the influence wielded on the lives of so many others by his outstanding personality. And the effect of so many of his decisions will be felt for many, many years to come.

Few individuals in the history of our country have had the opportunity to serve their country and their fellow man in such positions of responsibility as did Senator KERR. He sought and accepted these opportunities with a fervor few men could muster.

Wisdom, courage and humility are three traits of character seldom found in one individual, but KERR had more than his share of each.

Statesmen of Senator KERR's stature are hard to come by, and there are none that could begin to compare with him on the Oklahoma horizon. The realization of this fact is one of the reasons Democrats and Republicans alike are saddened by his loss.

No man—including the great Will Rogers—has ever contributed so much to the State of Oklahoma as has ROBERT S. KERR.

[From the Shawnee (Okla.) News-Star, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### SOME HUMAN WARMTH HAS GONE, TOO

By now little has been left unsaid or unprinted concerning Oklahoma's Senator ROBERT S. KERR. His untimely death Tuesday morning occasioned an immediate flood of praise and flattering appraisals of his life

which had reached towering achievements in many fields. Most of the printed tributes came from men of high stature themselves, who were in position to know the great qualities that had brought him success.

"A giant has fallen," "the uncrowned king of the Senate," "a bit of Oklahoma died New Year's Day along with Senator BOB," "a great industrialist and oil executive," "Oklahoma's greatest asset," "OBU's most generous benefactor," were but a few of the ways by which such men appraised Oklahoma's senior Senator, perhaps the title he cherished most. In this role he was able to bring to bear the kind of influence that was fruitful to his native State to which few men have been more fiercely devoted.

The writer is not presuming to be numbered among the great personages who have so unstintingly praised Senator KERR, or will. Rather we choose to evaluate him as a man who one just instinctively likes because of the human warmth that he couldn't have concealed had he chosen. Those little lines that were etched around his eyes because of the happy smiles or more hearty laughs with which he cloaked his visage must have been no small reason for the great affection which he evoked among his fellow beings. Certainly they worked such magic on us, upon occasions when we were around him, mostly on the basis of press meetings. Even though we were not always in accord with the issues to which Senator BOB brought his vast resources of support, we were never naive enough to believe that only we knew all of the answers—and we felt that the Senator was really at heart a conservative and very, very good for the Oklahoma which we also wished to see progress.

We will always cherish a letter from Senator KERR which he took the time to write in longhand in appreciation of something we had said about him that he liked. "God bless you, Beachy," was his closing sentence, and we felt the warmth of a great man then, as now.

And we feel that God has blessed us more because of Senator KERR's request.

[From the Lawton (Okla.) Morning Press, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### STATE MOURNS LOSS OF LEADER

The people of Oklahoma today mourn the loss of their greatest statesman and leader, ROBERT S. KERR.

His untimely death on New Year's Day leaves a void which cannot be filled, Senator KERR was without peer in many walks of life. He was without doubt Oklahoma's greatest native son, who rose from lowly beginnings to become one of the outstanding leaders of his time in both State and Nation.

A man of strong character, untiring energy, and keen intellect, he had the drive and the ability to forge to the top in statecraft and business in a constructive way. He was instrumental, almost singlehandedly at times, in lifting his beloved State of Oklahoma to greater heights, morally, spiritually, and industrially. He was a man of vision who could see the potential of his fellow man and his State, and work constructively to achieve results. Not the least of BOB KERR's attributes was his devotion to his God and his church. He was a deeply religious man and practiced his religion.

Senator KERR gave all he had to his State. He has often said "when I can no longer be of service to the people of Oklahoma I do not care to serve in the Senate." On recent visits to the State, friends have felt that the Senator was pushing himself too hard. But he never let up. He continued working for Oklahoma to the very end.

BOB KERR was loved by many, hated by few. There is no one in Oklahoma who can take his place. His sudden and tragic death is Oklahoma's and the Nation's loss.

[From the Altus (Okla.) Times Democrat]

#### A GREAT LOSS AND A CHALLENGE

Senator ROBERT S. KERR had been described as Oklahoma's greatest living asset.

This great and good citizen is dead at the peak of his power and influence in the Nation's Capital. The end followed 2 weeks of enforced rest, which came too late because BOB KERR would never stop working for the people of Oklahoma.

Senator KERR was in this area a few days before he entered the hospital. He was very, very tired, but he would not slow down and he never complained. His life was dedicated to the service of the people of his native State.

It is doubtful that any man in history will leave his personal imprint so deeply etched on a State as ROBERT S. KERR has on Oklahoma. It is to be found everywhere—religious institutions, hospitals, schools, charities, highways, parks, vast reservoirs of water that will bless and sustain us for years, job-providing industries located in Oklahoma, and through his efforts, agricultural and other developments in a hundred ways that have never been publicized.

Oklahomans have known for a long, long time that BOB KERR truly was an amazing man. The writer was with him for most of a full day immediately following the close of the last session of Congress. It is a miracle that he lived through those grueling months. The Senator said he had slept most of 2 days after the adjournment of Congress. And if he was weary, he hardly showed it. He acted like a young man starting on a new job. There was work to be done and he would not quit.

We spent a part of a day with him in the middle of November. He held a press conference in Tulsa at a convention of an international journalistic society. Searching questions came from a hundred reporters and magazine writers and the comment from all was that the senior Senator from Oklahoma was a most remarkable man. Senator KERR's spirits were high and he appeared to be refreshed and stimulated by the hour-long questioning.

Senator KERR frequently was a controversial individual, but he was respected. To some he seemed to be gruff at times, but he was kind, generous, and warmhearted. He was beloved and will be honored by future generations of Oklahomans for doing so much to make this State a better place to live.

Oklahoma will miss Senator ROBERT S. KERR. His family, his personal staff, and his immediate associates know all of us grieve with them. Oklahoma faces a new challenge. We don't have BOB KERR. His great works were not all completed. We now must unite to finish his program and in a way that will honor his memory. We never again can rest on our oars and say, "BOB KERR will take care of us."

[From the Nowata Daily Star, Jan. 2, 1963]

It is to be hoped the outstanding fight conducted by Senator ROBERT S. KERR to defeat President Kennedy's socialist medicare plan will not have been in vain.

And it is to be hoped President Kennedy can't take any comfort in the knowledge that Senator KERR's death has removed a stumbling block to his socialistic legislation that would slowly but surely enslave the American people.

Senator KERR in making his all-out fight to defeat a plan that would eventually lead to a dictatorial Federal Government probably got the message across to a lot of Americans. That message was: the strength of this Nation is the freedom of each individual.

Speaking in Nowata December 6, 1961, Senator KERR told Scottish Rite Masons and their guests:

"The strength of the Nation provides the environment in which free men live and raise families, build churches and institutions so that when they move on they leave with the knowledge they have not been unfaithful to the great heritage imposed upon them."

Sure, Oklahoma and the Nation have lost a great citizen and public servant. But what he believed in and fought for are the same great principles which guide the vast majority of American citizens. It is only when we permit false leaders to dazzle us with tinsel that we get into trouble.

The great program of utilizing Oklahoma's vast resources to create a stronger economy was a well-known goal of Senator KERR's. The cost of better utilizing these resources will be repaid the Federal Treasury many times over by the taxes generated by new jobs and new business.

Senator KERR had an interesting life of service. Certainly man can have no greater blessing.

[From the Oklahoma Courier, Jan. 4, 1963]

#### SENATOR KERR

Senator ROBERT KERR was unquestionably the strongest political personality in Oklahoma. His death deprives the State of the single most important element in its promising future. The immense growth that is expected in the coming decade, industrially and in population, was based primarily upon the position and influence of ROBERT S. KERR.

Now, Oklahoma must face the present and immediate future without its ablest champion.

In a time and in a part of the United States where politicians are held in even less esteem than is usual, the commanding intelligence and the quick-strided leadership of the late Senator made substantial contributions toward bettering the politician's image. And, the politician in the temporal realm is our most important personage. It is little less than tragic he is not recognized and treated as such.

Senator KERR, of course, had political foes and during his lifetime undoubtedly made some bitter enemies. Whether friend or foe is a matter of no importance to him or to anyone else anymore. All that matters is that we all alike beg Almighty God to be good to one of our chief political leaders and most famous citizens.

[From the Oklahoma City, (Okla.) Advertiser, Jan. 10, 1963]

#### ROBERT S. KERR

So much has been written of Senator ROBERT S. KERR since his sudden death New Year's morning one wonders what is left to be said? And yet his interests were so varied, drama so crowded his life, the story is all but endless; and for years to come parents and grandparents will be regaling children with tales of this man, who, as Dr. Waldo Stephens said in his always fine Sunday morning program on KWTV, was truly unlike anyone else.

I am sure many of us inside the church last Friday afternoon must have thought, with pricks of conscience, of those others, equally devoted and faithful, lining the streets, in the cold rain outside. For this man began his political career as the spokesman for humble men and women and, despite his millions, he never lost contact with them. In these early days Senator KERR won his battles for election against the bitter opposition of many "at the top," who became supporters much later, when the senior Senator's place was too firm for upsetting.

All walks of life were, of course, represented both inside and outside the church and neither city nor State has seen such an outpouring of saddened humanity to honor a public servant. Whatever the disappointments along the way, in the final moments people seem to remember.

To the gentle, healing organ music the church filled and came to epoch moments. The first, it seemed to me, was when MIKE and Ellen MONRONEY walked slowly down the center aisle, followed by the delegation from Congress; men we knew from newspaper headlines and TV, many of them from the far corners of the country, come to honor our fellow citizen. Some there were who may not have always agreed with Senator KERR but all had come to pay a last tribute to a man they honored and respected.

The second emotion-packed moment came when former Mayor Allen Street, his own face showing the strain, led President John F. Kennedy, Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, and Governor and Mrs. J. Howard Edmondson to their first row seats, just across from the space which Mrs. Robert S. Kerr and the family next quietly filed in to take.

The minister's reading of the First Psalm, of course, had more than the usual meaning:

"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly. But his delight is in the law of the Lord. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

When the service was over a fine drizzle had begun to fall again and as I walked back to the office other scriptural words came to me, these from Ecclesiastes.

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven. A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted."

The heritage of a life such as Senator Kerr's is rich beyond computation, alike to family and the State and Nation he served. It is a small matter that not everyone agreed with all he said, with all his votes. He served faithfully to the end.

Senator KERR was blessed in many ways. Dr. Stephens said Sunday morning that his ability to accumulate this world's goods came from his pioneer spirit, the ability to apply this same spirit in the world of science, air and space, the facility to bridge the in-between gaps.

And certainly Senator KERR was blessed in the manner of his going, in his time to die. A man at the very pinnacle of his fame, the flush of success warm on his brow, trusted confidant of his country's great, no lingering illness, no weeks or years of empty idleness removed from the fray he loved.

How well, I wonder, will we learn the lessons in such a life. Certain it is we cannot all amass such fortunes—even on promise to share in many good works as he did. But perhaps we can learn better our lessons of determined loyalty to principles he held dear, causes for which he labored and on which the well-being of today's world may well hang.

#### EXCERPTS FROM EDITORIALS IN OKLAHOMA NEWSPAPERS

Pryor Daily Times: "Senator KERR never hid the fact that he was in Washington to obtain all of the political plums possible for his home State. He regarded that as his first duty and succeeded at it at the same time his role as a national political power reached lofty heights. His loss to Oklahoma is immeasurable. The Kerr shoes are big and will be difficult to fill."

Muskogee Phoenix: "The people of this State were shocked Tuesday morning just before the Oklahoma-Alabama football game

when the TV audience was told that there would be an interruption for a special bulletin—and then in a moment the announcer said: 'It has just been announced that Senator KERR has died.' A great shock it is indeed. Oklahoma has lost her greatest citizen and probably the most powerful man the State has produced in its 55 years of existence."

#### RECALL MEDICARE FIGHT

Nowata Star: "It is to be hoped the outstanding fight by Senator ROBERT S. KERR to defeat President Kennedy's socialist medicare plan will not have been in vain. Senator KERR in making his all-out fight to defeat a plan that would eventually lead to a dictatorial Federal Government, probably got the message across to a lot of Americans. That message was: The strength of this Nation is the freedom of each individual."

Norman Transcript: "While his public service career spanned a period of only 20 years, his tireless energy, strength of purpose and dedication to the causes in which he believed enabled him to write a record that will stand for a long time in Oklahoma."

The Duncan Banner: "Oklahoma faces a new challenge. We don't have Bob KERR. His great works were not all completed and we now must unite to finish his program. In that way, we will honor his memory. We never again can rest on our oars and say: 'Bob KERR will take care of it.'"

Daily Ardmoreite, Ardmore: "KERR's big dream was to make Oklahoma an industrial State and he lived to see the start of that dream, with many new industries coming to the State. Starting out life in a log cabin, KERR's life is an example that anyone can be successful in America and he rose from those humble beginnings to become an oil millionaire and a key figure in the Senate."

McAlester News-Capital: "His importance is shown by the fact that the future of President Kennedy's legislative program has been put in doubt, and there well may have been a cloud drawn over Oklahoma water projects by his death. Senator KERR's death also shifts responsibility for many important Oklahoma programs to his colleague, Senator MIKE MONRONEY."

The Ada Evening News: "Mrs. ROBERT S. KERR, sons, daughter, and grandchildren are suffering heart pains they have never known before.

"Their distinguished husband, father, and grandfather has been cut down at the peak of his influence in home, in church, in business, in State and National and world affairs.

"But, friends, we here in Ada, the men and women who grew up with our Bob, those who were here before he grew to acknowledged greatness and those who have grown up in later years but have known of his multiple activities, also are heartbroken. We know we have lost a dear friend, one who cannot be replaced, and thus there will always be a void in our hearts."

The Pawhuska Journal: "Many, many tributes will be paid to Senator Bob KERR in the press and elsewhere this week. Many of them will be eloquent and impressive.

"There is little we can say about Senator KERR other than a rather all-inclusive statement that has been heard here often the past 2 days: 'We sure will miss 'Ole Bob.'"

The Anadarko Daily News: "The death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR put a heavy damper upon the start of a new year.

"Few if any communities had not felt the personal touch of service from the senior Senator. Few if any communities were not looking to great expansion in the future by the development of eastern and central Oklahoma River navigation. Our State's industrial climate was being adjusted to accommodate the almost unlimited space program that was being guided by Senator KERR.

"It will take all of the political cooperation that can be developed within the Democratic Party of Oklahoma to hold the advance which has been made. And this cooperation must come at a time when the Democratic Party has lost its most determined leader."

The Cushing Daily Citizen: "There were giants on the earth in those days."—Genesis 6: 4.

"Historians of the future, and not necessarily the distant future, will record that ROBERT S. KERR was a giant in those days in which he lived to manhood and carved out a career of achievement. His strides were long and his workloads stupendous.

"If Will Rogers was Oklahoma's most loved citizen, then KERR was its most powerful. Some say that Senator KERR though himself indestructible. That I would deny.

"He only thought himself expendable. He was so deeply concerned with aims and goals, with the work he hoped to do for the world in which he lived, that it never occurred to him to spare himself."

The Woods County Enterprise: "Oklahoma suffered two great losses New Year's day. However, the State will recover from Sooner's Orange Bowl loss by Alabama much sooner than it will from the death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR."

The Sapulpa Daily Herald: "Ask 10 persons what they think the death of Senator BOB KERR will mean to Oklahoma and most likely all will express an opinion of doubt as to the State's future in the space age from the standpoint of new industries.

"There is no denying the fact that many of the space-age people were opening up facilities in Oklahoma for the principal reason that they wanted to be counted among the constituency of Senator KERR.

"As to the Arkansas River development, it must be assumed the Government has too great an investment in the project to abandon it at this late date. And too, Senator MIKE MONRONEY is one of the ranking Members of the Senate and he now will swing an even greater stick for Oklahoma and the many projects now in the hopper.

"But for the most part Oklahoma surely will be able to grow industrially despite the severe loss created by KERR's death. The Oklahoma congressional delegation, now led by MONRONEY, has worked as a team and the show will continue in the future as it has in the past."

[From the Oklahoma Union Farmer, February 1963]

The Oklahoma Farmers Union and all rural Oklahoma lost a great friend and staunch ally New Year's day in Washington when death came to ROBERT SAMUEL KERR, Oklahoma senior Senator.

While he climbed to heights found by few in American finance and politics, Kerr never moved, spiritually, far from the Pontotoc County farm where he first saw light 66 years ago. Always he found renewed strength in close comradeship with those who tilled the soil of the Sooner State. His hopes were theirs; his interests, too; and his ambitions ran hand in hand with those of Oklahoma farm families.

Since the middle 1940's when KERR served as Oklahoma's first native-born governor, the jovial giant of Oklahoma politics and finance was a frequent and willing speaker at OFU conventions. Many times he dropped pressing engagements in private and public affairs and came winging halfway across the Nation in his own aircraft because he wanted to be with us.

While he dwarfed even the late Gov. E. W. Marland in accumulation of a personal fortune . . . and unlike him retained it . . . money was never the supreme thing with Senator KERR. "I was just as happy when I didn't have a dollar," he said and we believe he meant it.

In the list of things that count, KERR's religion and his friends stood far above material possessions. It was a simple religion and he was a staunch soldier in the Baptist faith; but he granted a wide and protective tolerance to those of all other beliefs.

KERR bridged the gap between the log cabin and space-age generation Americans. Yet he was at home in both. He was almost the last of American statesmen who could boast of a log cabin beginning. Few in American politics have died at the apex of power where he stood at the moment he was stricken.

His was a unique character. Yet in it were many of the qualities of Lincoln, more than a bit of Senator George Norris, and a lot of both the first and second Roosevelts. We think he and Newt Gresham would have found great comradeship, too.

[From the Oklahoma Rural News, publication of the Oklahoma Association of Electric Cooperatives, Feb. 1, 1963]

#### SENATOR ROBERT S. KERR

The late Senator KERR's battles for rural electrification have been classic rounds which will long be remembered in the Halls of Congress.

"My own background has given me a devoted interest in rural electrification," he says in Land, Wood, and Water. "I have seen the rural electric cooperative bring a revolution to the farms in just one generation.

"When I was a young man, few farmers could get electricity. Private utility companies could not, or would not string lines to isolated farms. So we read by kerosene lamps and milked the cows by hand."

Thus impressed he bucked the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee while yet only a freshman Senator and won his battle.

Southwestern Power Administration sought a continuing fund to give it greater flexibility in the sale and purchase of power. If its bill failed in Congress SPA officials feared it would be "thrown back into the arms of the private utilities whose affection they doubted and whose prices they feared."

In this situation Senator Kerr took the floor to tell the Senate he hoped its action would not leave the rural electric in a fix similar to the tall awkward country boy who was brought into a doctor's office in the foothills of the Ozarks by a stern-visaged oldster who said, "Doc, I want you to fix up my son-in-law."

"What's his trouble?" asked the doctor.

"Oh, I shot him in the laig yestiddy and lamed him up a mite."

"Shame on you," said the doctor, "for shooting your own son-in-law."

"Which brought this brisk rejoinder, 'well, you see, he wairn't my son-in-law 'til I shot him.'"

With this story the Senator made his point: that without his amendment, rural cooperatives and municipalities could be headed for a shotgun wedding with the utilities, which was exactly what they did not want.

Battling for public power projects and cheaper electricity for rural folks seemed to come naturally to him. Through it all he retained the mark of a really great man—the ability to laugh even at himself. Relating his clash with the director of the New York State Power Authority over hydroelectric power development of Niagara Falls, Senator KERR says:

"After the two of us had blown off enough steam to operate a small generating facility, we finally agreed to proceed . . . to find an acceptable formula to permit the great project to go forward."

He was winner in the historic controversy over financing the Tennessee Valley Authority as well as of many others. Of them he says,

"Out of all these and the numerous other legislative battles and debates, a constructive

power policy has been and will be hammered out of Congress. The goal must be to develop our natural resources to have the greatest value to the most people."

His fight for rural electricity alone entrenched him firmly and everlastingly in the hearts of rural people throughout the Nation.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. President, I rise today with a sense of pride, but also with a sense of inadequacy, to pay tribute to Oklahoma's first native-son Governor and late senior U.S. Senator. No other man surpassed ROBERT S. KERR in service to our State.

My active career in politics began with his first campaign for the Senate in 1948. He had completed a successful term as wartime Governor of Oklahoma. I went to his office in Oklahoma City and volunteered my services, and a group of us recently discharged from military service in World War II organized students in some 20 colleges in the State for his Senate campaign.

My impression of him then was to remain always. Here was a man not only with vision, unlimited energy, and an almost fierce dedication, but also a man with a unique understanding of people and a sincere concern for their well-being.

In 1948, he was elected to his first term and so began one of the Senate's most successful and productive careers. Such effectiveness did not come without sacrifice. He realized better than anyone that it took hard work to achieve success, and his road to it was never an easy one. He was always willing to work, and one could always count on him working just a little bit longer and harder than his toughest competitor. As Senator KERR once said:

I came here to do a certain job for Oklahoma. It is a big program. It takes a long time. I can't figure any other way to get it done—except to work.

Of all his outstanding qualities, and he had many, I believe this untiring dedication to the realization of a job well done was most significant. Couple this with his ability to see beyond today's horizon—to see the possibilities of tomorrow and make them probabilities today—and we have the blueprint of a man who succeeded in business, in industry, and in agriculture; served his State and country well; and was a leader in his church.

Being a son of the soil, born in a log cabin, he had a keen awareness of the importance of conservation, development, and full utilization of our natural resources.

Years before others, he saw the Arkansas River as a vast navigation channel from the Mississippi River across the entire State of Arkansas and deep into Oklahoma. To many, such vision appeared in earlier years to be pure folly. To the untrained eye the Arkansas River looked like a vast sandbed with too little water for navigation—a scar on the face of our State caused by our own careless, thoughtless, and wasteful use.

But to Senator KERR it was no folly. It was a challenge to restore one of the country's greatest rivers to its original condition and uses, and in the process open the heart of the Nation to industrial development and production.

When he campaigned across the State preaching such plans and possibilities, his opponent often belittled them by suggesting it would be far more practical to pave the Arkansas. But today this dream, this often-called folly, is close to completion and stands as a monument to his foresight and, more particularly, his untiring effort.

As the Members of the Senate know, this ability to serve your State, this effectiveness, does not come overnight or easily, but only through years of service and a constant dedication to the job to be done.

In later years, the effects of this great Oklahoman's service not only crossed the borders of States, but spanned the oceans as well. In the last session alone, his contributions in the fields of space and world trade stand as mute testimony to this fact. To his wife and family—Mrs. Edmondson joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy.

Words alone neither can nor need be adequate today to pay tribute to Oklahoma's native son. His deeds are his monument, as lasting as the land, wood, water—and finally space—to which he dedicated his life.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, Bob KERR has gone; a mighty oak has fallen. A void has been left in the U.S. Senate, hard to fill.

In the passing of this economic, political, and religious leader, the U.S. Senate, the people of Oklahoma, and the people of the Nation have suffered a great loss. For the past 14 years, it has been my privilege to serve with him in the Senate and to claim him as a personal friend. I felt about him as did Maj. Thomas Howie, of Virginia, who said of the heroic courage of the men of the 116th Infantry whom he led in its historic landing on Omaha Beach in World War II:

I am both humble before God and proud before my fellow men that America produces the breed of men I have had the privilege to go into action with.

History will record how Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, exemplified the philosophy of Woodrow Wilson, who said: "It is the primary duty of a leader to lead his own generation and not the next." Today, I ask the privilege of merely paying tribute to Senator KERR as a man and a Christian gentleman. Bob KERR had a capacity for friendship and we in the Senate loved him. He achieved success without conceit, accumulated wealth without arrogance, and power without ruthlessness—a self-made man who gave to God all credit for what he was. He was a man of character whose faith in God never wavered; a man of courage who flinched before no foe—either on the battlefield in World War I or in any subsequent political arena. He was taken from us while still in the full possession of a vigorous and elastic mind. But his was the philosophy of Robert Louis Stevenson, who said:

And does not life go down with a better grace foaming in full body over a precipice than miserably straggling to an end in sandy deltas?

We shall miss him, but we give assurance to his relatives and constituents who loved him that we loved him too and

that love will keep his memory green. We must not be too sad over the passing of one who "kept the faith," because:

When the great and good depart,  
What is it more than this  
That man, who is from God sent forth,  
Doth yet again to God return?  
Such ebb and flow must ever be  
Then wherefore should we mourn?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we were all shocked by the sudden death of Senator ROBERT KERR. BOB KERR was an immensely talented and versatile man. Rising from humble beginnings, he parlayed these talents into success in a number of fields. Not the least of these was in the legislative field, where he gave full expression to his manifold abilities.

As a member of three important committees, as an orator, as a skilled debater, as a Senator who defended the interests of his constituents, and as one who did his homework thoroughly, he had few if any peers. The rest of us had grown so accustomed to his personal competence that it is hard to imagine the U.S. Senate without BOB KERR. He was a giant of a man, not only physically, but in the sense that he filled the Senate with his presence.

BOB KERR's unexpected death was a tragic one. His loss has been felt in the Senate, in Oklahoma, and in the Nation. But those who mourn his passing can find consolation in the achievements of his life and of his career in the Senate. He played a key role in the passage of countless measures—some controversial and some universally acclaimed. It is fitting that his greatest legislative contribution came in the last of his 15 sessions in Congress. Senator KERR's efforts in behalf of the historic Trade Expansion Act of 1962 were of inestimable value in gaining almost unanimous acceptance of the measure in the Senate. The overwhelming success of the act in this body may be properly considered the crowning achievement of his legislative career. He was, in my opinion, the ablest of the able.

Both in and out of the Senate, BOB KERR had a lively sense of humor which complemented his dedication to hard work. And he was a deeply religious man who took a lifelong interest in the activities of his church. For these and his many other qualities, he will be sorely missed.

BOB KERR was a great American, a great Senator, and a great Democrat. Last, but certainly not least, he was a great Oklahoman.

I wish to take this opportunity to extend once again the heartfelt sympathies of Mrs. Mansfield and myself to Mrs. Kerr and her family and to the people of Oklahoma.

BOB KERR was an outstanding Senator who has made his mark on this body and whose good works will be his enduring monument.

As the majority leader of this body, no one will miss him more.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of personal loss that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American—Senator ROBERT KERR. It is most appropriate to use the word "great" in describing BOB KERR,

for I am sure all will agree that he was in the truest sense of the word a great citizen, a great Senator, a great Oklahoman, and a great American. As a measure of his stature and greatness, we have only to look to the void created in this body by his death. He served with us here in this body for 14 years with great distinction, devotion and dedication. In those years of service and close associations, he endeared himself to the high respect, confidence and personal esteem of all of us, and of all America.

I have lost a personal friend, and the State of Arkansas has lost a true friend and a wonderful neighbor to whom it will always be indebted. There has always been a community of interest between my own State of Arkansas and the great State of Oklahoma. Because of these common interests, I often had the privilege of working closely with Senator KERR in furthering the progress and development of our respective States. Perhaps the outstanding example of this and of the results that have been obtained through cooperative efforts between Senator KERR and the Arkansas congressional delegation is the Arkansas River basin development program which means so much to both Oklahoma and Arkansas. The people of Arkansas will never forget, and will always be grateful for, the tremendous contribution which BOB KERR made in bringing this project to fruition. Generations yet unborn will benefit from the prosperity which this program will bring to the Arkansas River Valley.

BOB KERR was the kind of man who is so greatly needed in our country today. His kind of man has been rare in all periods of history. He was a living example of what can be accomplished by hard work and individual initiative in this great country of ours. Young people of today would do well to study his life, for there is no finer example of the opportunities presented to the individual by the free enterprise system of the United States than the life of BOB KERR. His activities in both private and public life were a succession of accomplishments that represent perhaps the best illustration possible of the American success story.

Throughout our service here together, my respect and admiration for him grew ever greater with the passing of years. He was possessed of marked ability, industry, and courage. No Member of this body had greater wisdom or influence in legislative affairs, or a more striking and impressive personality. He was a Senator's Senator. He was a deeply Christian man. He could be gentle, but he could also act with the strength and toughness of a man who knows no fear. He stamped the print of his personality on the course of events in this body as few men have done.

The people of Oklahoma, I am sure, loved and respected him for what he was, a remarkable and dedicated public servant, whose services to his State and his Nation were of the very highest order.

BOB KERR will be greatly missed by all of us, and by all Americans. When we consider the stature of the man, we

realize that anything we might say about him would be an understatement. I find words, mere words, truly are inadequate to express the emotions and sentiments that well up in my heart on this occasion. It is difficult for me to realize that he is gone.

Mrs. McClellan joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kerr and members of the family. We share their deep sorrow and their great loss.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, it is with deep sorrow that I recall the tragic death of my beloved friend and colleague, ROBERT S. KERR. His untimely passing marks the end of the long, distinguished career of one of the century's greatest champions of democracy.

Serving and working side by side with Bob was indeed one of the most rewarding and fulfilling experiences of my life. I never met a man who did not respect him. Driven by an indefatigable determination to pursue and fulfill all his dreams, he set his goals high. His interests encompassed many fields and in his lifetime he served as a schoolteacher, lawyer, soldier, rancher, oilman, industrialist, financier, statesman, humanitarian, author, orator, and churchman.

Born in a log cabin in the blackjack country of Pontotoc 13 years before Oklahoma became a State, BOB KERR found no task too big or too overpowering for him. He was one of the last true pioneers of America, and in keeping with that spirit he touched the lives of thousands of people. Always he retained his deep faith and inherent understanding and compassion for all people, his inspiration coming from spiritual truth and an intense love of his country and fellow men.

One of the leading national churchmen of the Baptist Church, Bob was a deeply religious man. He was one of the most dedicated men I have ever known, and strove against overwhelming odds to attain his ideals.

He lived and worked under the slogan "Land, wood, and water." Despite his fantastic success, he never lost sight of these three things, and became America's first and foremost developer of natural resources and soil conservation both in Oklahoma and all over the United States.

Having a thirst for factual knowledge, a fondness for research, and an analytical mind, BOB KERR acquired a foresight for predicting the future problems of this Nation. With these talents he became a founder and champion of the space efforts in this country.

Loyal to his beloved State, he earned the title of "Mr. Oklahoma." Bob was also well known and loved in South Carolina, having visited my State on several occasions in an official capacity. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Natural Water Resources he conducted hearings in Columbia and Charleston. He was guest speaker at a meeting of the South Carolina Press Association and just this past year spoke in Columbia at a Democratic Party rally. A great orator, Bob touched the hearts of the people of South Carolina with his sincere words.

His endless deeds and toil for his fellow men and his devotion to public serv-

ice and to making America a better place can never be erased. Long will this Nation mourn the death of BOB KERR, and never will there be a man big enough to follow in his footsteps. May his spirit and memory ever be a shining light and lasting inspiration for all generations.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I wish to observe at the beginning that the Members of this body who served the longest with Senator KERR are the ones who have been more inclined to remain in the Chamber during all of the memorial service. I know that all Senators who can be here are present. I observe in the Chamber the Vice President, who was one of Senator KERR's great friends. Everyone is giving the utmost attention. That within itself is an unspoken tribute to this truly great man whom we knew and loved so well.

At the expense of some repetition, I desire to make a few remarks about this big, friendly, magnanimous man who did so much for his country in the relatively short time he was a Member of the Senate.

I pass on to the youth of this country, especially those who are interested in public life, a point which Senator KERR made with me when he told me of a conversation he once had with his father, who was a trusted and respected county official in Oklahoma. Senator KERR one day walked into the office of his father, who was clerk of the court, and said, "I want to be the Governor of Oklahoma."

His father said:

Fine, son. Keep your eye on that goal, and you will get there. But first establish yourself in some kind of business or profession, so that you will have something substantial besides the salary of your office on which to fall back, and thus be able greatly to increase your opportunity for service.

Bob did that, and in a great way. I think it is mighty good advice for young men, and we want more of them to become interested in entering public life, to bear such advice in mind, and thus to build an economic foundation on which to broaden their opportunities in public life.

Senator KERR was also a man of great faith—not only faith in God, but faith in mankind, as well. He always attended our breakfast gatherings. Shortly before our last meeting in October of last year, at the end of a hard session, particularly hard for him, I remarked to him one day that he appeared to be rather fagged out. I said, "Bob, the last meeting we will have will be next Wednesday morning. We must end the year on a great note of faith. I want you to lead."

He said, "I will be there."

He gave us one of the finest talks on practical spirituality, the practical side of spiritual values, that we had ever heard. So valuable were his remarks that I asked him for his notes that he had made hurriedly the night before—I understood it was about midnight—and had a photostatic copy made of them. I treasure them not only as a guide to this great man's thinking, but also for the value they have to me in a personal way.

Mr. President, I have heard it said that one of the former Vice Presidents said to a Member of this body that in order to be a great Senator, it was more important to have courage than to have brains. I believe that to be true. BOB KERR had both.

Mr. President, I wish to have printed in the RECORD one of the greatest funeral services I have ever heard. It was delivered at our friend's funeral by his pastor, the Reverend Mr. Herschel H. Hobbs, of the First Baptist Church of Oklahoma City, Okla. Those of us who heard that great man pay that wonderful tribute to BOB KERR knew that Rev. Mr. Hobbs was talking about the same man we had known.

Before I ask unanimous consent to have the entire sermon printed in the RECORD, I wish to read "A Prayer for My Pastor," which, as Rev. Mr. Hobbs said, ROBERT KERR published many years ago. This is what our late friend wrote:

Our Father, let me be a pillar of strength to help hold him up and not a thorn in his flesh to sap his strength, nor a burden on his back to pull him down.

Let me support him without striving to possess him.

Let me lift his hands without placing shackles around them.

Let me give him help that he may devote more time in working for the salvation of others and less time in gratifying my vanity.

Let me work for him as the pastor of all the members and not compel him to spend precious time in bragging on me.

Let me be unselfish in what I do for him and not selfish in demanding that he do more for me.

Let me strive to serve him and the church much and be happy as he serves me less and the church and others more.

Mr. President, as his pastor said, I believe BOB KERR's prayer was answered a thousandfold. It was characteristic of him. He was always doing for others and he was always thinking of others.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the entire sermon delivered by the Reverend Mr. Hobbs.

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

EULOGY FOR SENATOR ROBERT S. KERR, BY REV. MR. HERSCHEL H. HOBBS, PASTOR, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

(SCRIPTURE: PSALM 1:1-3)

We are gathered today, the great and the lowly, to honor the memory of a great man who was a friend to both. We would not disturb the memories which fill your hearts and minds. Rather we would leave them to each of you as precious treasures to be enjoyed in the secrecy of your own life. But we would seek to voice for all a tribute regarding one who lived wonderfully and wrought greatly among us.

President James A. Garfield said, "I mean to make myself a man, and if I succeed in that, I shall succeed in everything."

ROBERT S. KERR was a man in the highest sense of that word. Before he made his first dollar, or his fame had spread beyond the bounds of Pontotoc County, Okla., he was a man. He possessed a character endowed with the possibility for greatness. His was a character ingrained with qualities of righteousness received at the hands of a pioneer mother and father. More than once he was heard to say, "My old daddy was the greatest man I ever knew."

And though he was destined to rise to the dizzy heights of economic and governmental power, he brought to those heights these principles of righteousness which were the very warp and woof of his being. He was always a man.

He was a man of vision. ROBERT S. KERR was a walking commentary on the words of Robert Browning.

"Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp

Else what's a heaven for?"

There is a vast difference between a visionary man and a man of vision. Our friend was the latter. He dreamed great dreams, and then turned them into realities. To whatever task he set his hand, he did so not merely with a view of things as they were but what they could become. Thus he saw vast economic empires where none existed before. He envisioned cargo-bearing streams and life-giving water amidst vast prairies and rolling hills, derricks in the ocean, homes for orphaned children, seats of learning for youth, and sustenance for the aged.

No one man could achieve in one lifetime the visions which ever beckoned him on. But he blazed trails, pointed the way, and challenged others to pursue the goals to whose achievements he gave his last ounce of energy and devotion.

ROBERT S. KERR was a man of wisdom. His ready wit was exceeded only by his sober judgment. When he spoke he did so in utterances based upon facts. When he lifted his voice others listened, convinced not by the flow of his oratory but by the soundness of his reason. His encyclopedic mind amazed both friend and foe. He was always ready to listen to the counsel of others. And he was never too busy to give wise counsel when sought. Almost infinite was his patience as he sought to lead others to see and understand that which was so clearly comprehended by him. For he was blessed with a mind which readily could sift the wheat of decision from the chaff of details.

ROBERT S. KERR was a man of courage. His life was a moving drama of the American dream. Born in a log cabin to poor but righteous, hardworking parents, he rose to sit in the councils of the mighty. His slogan of "Land, wood, and water" was a dramatic testimony to the basic origin of his courage and stamina. In his journey across the years he encountered many obstacles, but none so great as to cause him to dip his colors. Often in times of difficulty in a given enterprise when the courage of others seemed to fail, one heartening challenge from the Senator brought others back to face resolutely the problem and to win the victory.

Our friend possessed not only physical but moral courage. Men might criticize his program but never his principles. He never sacrificed personal convictions on the altar of questionable conduct. And he will ever remain a monument of a man in the world but not of it.

ROBERT S. KERR was a man of faith. He had an unshakable faith in God and in God's word. On his desk was always seen a much used Bible. Often when he was alone his secretary would find him reading from its pages as he filled his soul with its precepts and power. Or he was reading and expounding its message to a friend. On one occasion he is reported to have read Psalm 91:7 to one whose courage had failed. "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee." "Do you believe it?" asked the Senator. "Do you really believe it? Then quit worrying, and live by it." He ever fortified his advice by his example.

Because he had faith in God he had faith in men. His life was that of a thousand because he entrusted vast enterprises to others. He gave absolute loyalty to those about him, and received the same in return.

No task was too great or too small for him to undertake for a friend. Many years ago this speaker asked him to leave his many duties in Washington to travel to San Francisco, at his own expense, to address a group of pastors. He agreed, saying, "A wish from my pastor is a command performance. I'll be there."

ROBERT S. KERR gave much and expected little in return. Many years ago he published what he called "A Prayer for My Pastor."

"Our Father, let me be a pillar of strength to help hold him up and not a thorn in his flesh to sap his strength, nor a burden on his back to pull him down.

"Let me support him without striving to possess him.

"Let me lift his hands without placing shackles around them.

"Let me give him help that he may devote more time in working for the salvation of others and less time in gratifying my vanity.

"Let me work for him as the pastor of all the members and not compel him to spend precious time in bragging on me.

"Let me be unselfish in what I do for him and not selfish in demanding that he do more for me.

"Let me strive to serve him and the church much and be happy as he serves me less and the church and others more."

And God answered his prayer a thousand-fold.

But most wonderful of all was ROBERT S. KERR's simple, childlike faith in Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour. In this hour it matters not how much wealth one accumulated. Or how much fame adheres to one's name. But one thing matters. What did you do with Jesus who is called the Christ? BOB KERR trusted in Christ in life. He has found Him trustworthy in death.

For years the Senator carried an engagement pad in his pocket. Its many entries bespoke the stature and the stress of the life that he lived. But always at the head of each page were written these words:

"Be near me when my feet  
Are slipping over the brink;  
For I am nearer home today,  
Nearer, perhaps, than now I think."

These were prophetic words. For in a moment of quiet serenity he slipped away to be with the Lord. And even before the news media carried the word of his going to a shocked Nation, he heard the glad, triumphant words of the Saviour whom he loved and served. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Many trees grow in the forest and are cut down, the only evidence of their going being the stumps which they leave. But once in a great while a mighty oak falls. And falling, it leaves a vacancy against the sky.

ROBERT S. KERR was such an oak. Who will take his place? Alas! None will take it. For he received it not by appointment, but through achievement. What one mighty man began, many must continue. And doing so, we shall realize for him that he did not live, nor did he die, in vain.

God help us to make it so.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I find it difficult to express the feeling of personal loss I suffered when I was informed of the death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR. It is more difficult to express the loss that the entire Nation sustained in his passing.

I had the privilege of working with Senator KERR for many years on conserving, preserving, and developing the natural resources of our country. He

and I both took a deep, fervent, and abiding interest in waterway and river valley development.

I am glad to be able to say that his interest extended not only to his own State of Oklahoma, but also to all the other areas of our great Nation. However, it is only natural that his primary interest would lie in the development of his native State and its river valleys. He and I worked jointly on these developments: the Gillham Reservoir, in Arkansas; the Millwood Reservoir, also in Arkansas; and the Broken Bow and Pine Creek Reservoirs, in Oklahoma; as well as many other projects designed to aid the development of the Arkansas and Red River Valley and the development of the Nation as a whole.

In the earlier days we were among the first to express an interest in the Ferrell's Bridge Reservoir, in Texas, which is on a tributary of the Red River, and in the large and promising McGee's Bend project, also in Texas, on a tributary of the Red River.

Our interest was joint, and it was lasting. He and I considered, and I still consider, that the development of the Arkansas and Red Rivers to their full potential should be a concern of the utmost importance to the Nation as a whole.

Of these worthy projects, only the Ferrell's Bridge Reservoir, in Texas, has been completed. I expect to carry on Senator KERR's ideal; and I express the hope that my future efforts will result in the completion of those projects, in which he was so vitally interested.

In 1960, Senator KERR published his now well-known and widely respected volume entitled: "Land, Wood, and Water." I am pleased and proud to be mentioned in its pages. I am indeed fortunate in having an autographed copy of it on my desk.

Senator KERR's inscription to me on the flyleaf is very complimentary. It contains such words as "greatest," "most able," and "generous." I am sincere when I say that if I could now return those compliments to him, they would prove far, far insufficient to describe the man.

I am sure the first paragraph of the preface to "Land, Wood, and Water" contains a large measure of Senator KERR's personal philosophy. That paragraph reads as follows:

Ever since I was a boy on the frontier, the wonders of nature have awed and inspired me. My father cultivated this taste, coining the rhythmic phrase of "Land, Wood, and Water." As he often told me, these were his objectives when he set out to find a home in the old Indian territory. There on the farm he chopped out of a wilderness, I could plainly see the basis of our existence. As I grew to manhood with broader horizons, I realized that the trio of natural wealth is the foundation of all prosperity and essential to a better way of life everywhere.

While living, Senator KERR did everything in his power to make stronger that foundation of all prosperity.

I close by saying that I count myself most fortunate to have been a friend of Senator KERR, and to have been able to aid him in some small degree in carrying out his life's work.

I am deeply grieved at his passing, and I extend to his wife and family my heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I first had the privilege of knowing our late friend, Governor and Senator BOB KERR, when both of us were serving as Governors—he as the Governor of Oklahoma, and I as Governor of my native State, Florida. The last 2 years of my term—1943 and 1944—overlapped the first 2 years of his; and I had the chance to get in close touch with him when we met in the Southern Governors' Conference meetings or at national defense conferences. It was my pleasure—and I have a good deal of pride in remembering it—to nominate him to be chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference when I was leaving the office of Governor, in 1944; and he was named to serve in that capacity. I believe he served in it 2 years.

He used to say to me—I am sure the remark was facetious, but, nevertheless, I appreciated it—that he thought my helping him to be named to that particular position launched him beyond the borders of the State of Oklahoma. That statement was typical of his generosity, for it would have been impossible to have contained him within the bounds of Oklahoma.

When he came to the Senate, we served together on the Public Works Committee, and also on the Appropriations Committee, in connection with matters relating to public works, because he served there as ex officio member of the Public Works Subcommittee when it was dealing with matters relating to public works. He was always on hand at those meetings, as my distinguished friend, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the able chairman of that particular subcommittee will recall.

I can remember now what happened late one evening last year when we were having a conference with the conferees from the other body in the old Supreme Court Chamber when Senator KERR was a conferee for the Senate on the public works appropriation bill. I shall never forget the delightful way that he wangled some particularly desirable things, from his standpoint and those of his constituency in Oklahoma, from the conferees from the other body.

On the Space Committee I had the pleasure of serving under his chairmanship for 2 years. I take this opportunity to say that I have never heard any greater illustration of knowledge of a complex subject matter than he showed in cross-examining leading executives from some of the communications firms of the country when we were holding hearings on the Telstar bill last year.

Insofar as my State is concerned, he honored us frequently with his presence at Canaveral and elsewhere. He conducted a meeting of his Select Committee on Water Resources in Jacksonville, at which time our people paid him the acclaim that was due him.

He used to come down fishing on the St. Johns River with a friend of his and mine, Capt. Noah Tillman, who operates a fishing houseboat which he has named *Noah's Ark*, and out of which Senator KERR seemed to draw particular

pleasure. He used to like to talk about the good times he had down there fishing.

He was a very human person, liking things of the type that I mentioned, especially in the way of being out in the wide out-of-doors with friends.

Last fall he came down and spoke as the honored guest at the University of Florida annual Blue Key meeting at the homecoming game. Though I frequently heard him on the floor of the Senate when his sarcasm almost baffled description, I have never heard him to better advantage than I heard him that night when he felt that the preliminary portions of the program, trespassed upon his time after he had come down the long distance to Florida to deliver a speech to us. He wound up with everybody in that huge crowd of about 1,500 leading citizens from all over our State loving everything that he said and everything that he stood for.

In closing, I wish that the RECORD could preserve the feeling of sorrow, solemnity, and absolute devastation that prevailed when we heard that Senator KERR had unexpectedly passed away on January 1 of this year. Many of us were at Miami for the Orange Bowl game. The President of the United States was flying from West Palm Beach to Miami to be our distinguished and honored guest at that game. When the news came through the air of the death of BOB KERR, the whole affair was turned into a channel which is almost indescribable in any words that I might utter. When the President came into the little tent which had been set up for him so that he might be received by a group of friends, there was on his face the mark of a terrible sorrow that had struck him a few minutes before. The same is true of Senator MANSFIELD and of all others who were present.

I do not believe I would be going too far to say that Senator KERR's death at that particular time may have had some effect on the result or outcome of that game. Without by any means discrediting the fine performance by the football team from the University of Alabama—and it was an outstanding performance—I am sure that every man on the Oklahoma team that day felt a sense of distinct personal loss and sorrow, and it must have had some effect upon what he did that day.

That indicated the kind of man Senator KERR was. He left his mark upon all who knew him and many who did not know him. He will be long remembered as a personage who had a character distinct and different from that of anyone else, which marked him as a man among men, and one whom, of course, we shall always miss greatly in the Senate.

Mrs. Holland and I join in expressing our deep sympathy to Mrs. Kerr and the children. I am sure that the words of all who speak here today will make them understand how deeply their beloved one will be missed by all of us and by a grateful nation.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Oklahoma, and the Nation, suffered a great loss by the death of BOB KERR. He

belonged in that unusually small group of men who seem to be born to lead and he used this God-given ability well. Monuments to his contributions to this Nation exist in the form of far-reaching programs touching the daily lives of every American—from conservation of our natural resources to exploring the frontiers of space. Perhaps the fact that he was born and raised on the frontier helped form his deep and abiding faith in the future of America. He watched Oklahoma grow from a raw, untamed territory to one of the most dynamic and progressive States in the Union. Much of this progress was due to his own efforts growing from confidence in the great potential of his State and our Nation. He had courage and enthusiasm. He had judgment and perspective. He had humor. He had loyalty. And he had tremendous drive and ability.

Few men have, in real life, lived the American success story. BOB KERR was one of them. Born in a log cabin, he was a self-made man who, through hard work, ability, and initiative, became the head of a great industry and more important, one of the most able Senators ever to serve in this body. His was a remarkable career, but he was a remarkable man. Throughout his life BOB KERR never forgot the source of his wisdom and strength. He was a faithful and devoted leader in the Baptist church and I know that his fellow Baptists will sorely miss him.

He had certain precepts for living and he stuck by them.

For his church, he tithed. And for his beliefs he indulged in neither alcohol nor tobacco.

He was a strong believer in self-discipline.

His talents as a legislative craftsman are legendary. Whenever he brought a bill to the Senate floor for action every other Senator knew that the Senator from Oklahoma had done his homework. He knew the answers to any questions raised in debate on his bills. BOB KERR mastered the intricacies of legislation dealing with subjects all the way from taxes to space. He knew his business, and all other Senators knew that he knew it. We are all familiar with his great ability in debate. I think that a good bit of his well-deserved reputation as a debater, was due to his thorough knowledge of legislative business coming before the Senate.

The people of Arkansas lost a great and true friend at BOB KERR's passing. The Arkansas delegation worked closely with him on many projects of mutual interest. The Arkansas River navigation and Red River programs on which he worked so tirelessly will be only two of the more important monuments in our area to his efforts. His work on this project is typical of his foresight on conservation matters. He took the long range view—the view that it was incumbent on us to protect the Nation's natural resources for generations to come. Our children and our children's children will owe a great debt to BOB KERR for his efforts in protecting their heritage.

It is sometimes hard for us to understand why—for lack of a tiny part—a great whole can disintegrate.

How often we wonder at the fall of a giant jet for lack of a bit of metal in a crucial spot. And now we have wondered at a big man's falling for the non-functioning of a small but vital part.

BOB KERR did not have great seniority in the Senate but his vital interest in the processes and his deep convictions on many points led to his having influence far beyond that to be expected from one of his tenure.

His mark on our times is indelible and it is our loss, the Senate's loss, the country's loss, that he could not have had a longer span among us. He paid me the honor of coming to my State last fall to speak in my behalf. He was my friend and I miss him.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, it is not often that the U.S. Senate and the Nation suffers such a grievous loss as it has in the passing of ROBERT KERR. He was an unusually talented and effective public servant.

BOB KERR had so many fine qualities. He was the truest friend anyone could have. Even though tremendously busy he always found time to help others. Mr. President, BOB KERR spent much of his time in the U.S. Senate helping other Senators. If he thought a Senator had a worthy cause he would leave no stone unturned to help him, but if he thought his cause was not worthy he was frank to tell him so.

Among BOB KERR's many talents were his quick wit, his great intellect, and his ready grasp of any subject he chose to debate on the Senate floor. Few Senators ever successfully sponsored as much important legislation as he—legislation of the kind that was not only beneficial to his beloved State of Oklahoma but also to the entire Nation.

One of the memories of BOB KERR that I will always cherish is the opportunity that I had to serve with him on the Select Committee of National Water Resources. Every one of us in this Chamber is aware of his dedication to the development of the resources of this country, and no Member of Congress ever went to BOB KERR and asked his help with a worthy project that he did not receive it. I remember very well that the first hearing the select committee held was at Bismarck in my State of North Dakota, and at that meeting BOB KERR seemed to take as much interest in what my people had to say as if the hearing had been held in his own State of Oklahoma.

In the years that I had the privilege of serving in the Senate with BOB KERR, notwithstanding the fact that he probably had a reputation as being partisan, I can never recall a time when he was not anxious to help the Members on this side of the aisle as well as those on his side. BOB KERR was a big man. He was bigger than politics; he was bigger than a region. I have never known another man who had the vision and the courage and the complete faith in the future of this country that could compare with his. As an example of his vision, he one time said:

No region in the country, possibly in the world, is better stocked with fuels—oil, natural gas, and coal. Only 10 percent of the potential hydroelectric power has been de-

veloped. The mineral treasures are almost endless. The forests are being restocked in mammoth proportions, and this is what will make this the greatest country under the sun, its resources of which the people are the greatest.

Every 1 of the 50 States of this great country lost a friend in the homegoing of BOB KERR. It will be a long time until he can be replaced with a man of vision such as he possessed. His State is filled with monuments to his vision. Almost every river in this State has reservoirs that testify to his efforts. The soil conservation program of his State stands as an example for all of us to follow.

As a member of the select committee, I came to know why he was considered the leader in the field of developing natural resources.

In addition to his efforts in the resources field, no man ever stood on the floor of this Senate who was more qualified in taxes and finances than BOB KERR. The most difficult pieces of legislation in this complicated field were made to appear simple by the ability of BOB KERR to provide a complete analysis of how they would work and what their effect would be.

Many trees grow in the forest and are cut down, the only evidence of their going being the stumps which they leave. But once in a great while a mighty oak falls. And falling, it leaves a vacancy against the sky.

The U.S. Senate sorely misses BOB KERR—one of the great intellectual giants of our time—a man of many talents who made good use of all of them.

BOB KERR's greatest contribution was to his church. He spent much of his time and energy in serving his church and gave liberally of his earnings. He was a true Christian.

In BOB KERR's passing I have lost one of the best friends I ever had. May I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kerr and all of his wonderful family.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I suppose there were few people in the Senate who felt as deeply as I did the loss of the great man from Oklahoma.

I think of him, first of all, as a great neighbor. While he was Governor of Oklahoma, there were many items he wished to have disposed of in connection with the agriculture of that State. Time after time he came to the Department of Agriculture, where I was then associated, and presented the problems to me.

He had under consideration at one time a piece of land which he wanted for one of the agricultural colleges. He finally found a way to acquire it. But there was no putting him off until that was worked out.

He had at another time a program for agricultural price supports which he thought could be handled in a business-like fashion. He prevailed upon me, as Secretary of Agriculture, to accept the program for purchase, and he said, "Leave it to me from there on out. I will see that you do not have to buy anything." And, true enough, I did not. The program worked exceptionally well because it was sponsored by an individual who had rare business judgment.

I point out that he remembered things of that nature.

In 1948, when he and I both were candidates for the U.S. Senate, he was very busy with the campaign in his own State. I appealed to him to come to my State and to make one or two speeches for me. He finally asked me to set a date. I set a date. He said, "You will have to give me a little while to think it over. I will call you later this afternoon." He called me later in the afternoon and he said, "I'll be there. A little change is required in what I have to do, but I'll be there."

He stopped first at Roswell, where he had a sister living, and made a talk there. Then he flew to Clovis, N. Mex., where there were assembled a great group of people interested in him because of his philanthropies. There he made a fine talk. Then he came to my home city of Albuquerque, where he made a perfectly wonderful talk for me that evening.

Afterwards I learned that in order to do this he had had to cancel his own rally in the city of Tulsa, one of the largest cities in his State. What he had to do did not compare with what he wanted to do for those people whom he regarded as friends.

He was also a great businessman. We have thorough knowledge of that in my home State of New Mexico. Many companies became interested in the development of uranium, but when Senator KERR put his mind to it great changes took place in the development that he pioneered. Some \$16 million was spent by the Kerr-McGee Co. in the development of a great mill. Of far greater interest, probably, to the people of this Nation, is the fact that out of the processes developed in that mill the cost of yellow cake—of uranium put away in processed form—came down substantially. As a matter of fact, the costs in his mill were approximately half of what they were in certain antiquated mills throughout the country, which previously had been supplying the product.

I have many times thought that it would be interesting to calculate the millions upon millions of dollars which his enterprise and genius brought to the American people because of what he did in the development of that one industry alone.

I regarded him as a great Senator. We have all watched the things that he could do.

He and I were assigned, at the beginning of our first terms, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In that committee he began to express his great interest in reclamation, in the use of water and in the conservation of water.

Some time after that he called me one day and told me that I was going to Oklahoma City for a meeting of the Arkansas, Red, and White River group. I tried to assure him that I had made no commitment of any kind to go. He assured me that I had. We checked every piece of paper that we could find in my office. There was no single evidence of any kind that I had ever agreed to go.

Nonetheless, I went. I was on his plane that afternoon, because he was determined that I should be there and because of what he was trying to do to make sure that a great development took place.

I made no contribution, except to hold up my hand at the meeting and to say that I was willing to support Senator KERR in everything he had to propose for the development of the water of his State and the conservation of it for use in the future.

There was an Indian problem of great complexity which we considered. That happened to be in the State of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young], who is now in the Chamber. We had a great deal of trouble with it. Members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs were trying hard to solve it. We were unsuccessful in reaching any formula which seemed to promise any reasonable solution.

Finally the chairman of the committee said to Senator KERR, "Why don't you go out and see if you can bring the contending groups together?" A short time later he reported that an agreement had been reached.

Mr. President, I have no way of knowing how long the Congress would have wrangled over it. I have no way of knowing how long the committee would have debated it. I know it did not take Senator KERR long to dispose of it.

Subsequently, there was introduced in this body a resolution for a water resources survey. I was extremely happy to suggest to the leadership that the Senator from Oklahoma be asked to take charge of it. We had many discussions before he finally agreed, because he had calls on his time. As the Senator from North Dakota pointed out, the results showed why he had been selected for these important duties.

Everywhere he went he met the people of the State he was visiting and had them understand that ultimately the greatest thing that could happen to the Nation would be the development of these water resources. He left the States with the support of the people for water resource conservation and for the things which the water conservation proposal was trying to accomplish. It was not just in the State of North Dakota or the State of Oklahoma; it was everywhere he went that the Senator from Oklahoma had taken the time to acquaint himself with the problems there and what ought to be done about them.

Finally, I would say he was a great friend. Many, many times those of us who knew him well would carry our problems to him.

Sometime last fall I had a period in which I was not feeling particularly well. While in the Finance Committee I went to answer a telephone call. When I came back the Senator from Oklahoma asked me what was the matter. I told him it was a call from my doctor telling me I had no business being in a committee meeting. The Senator from Oklahoma said, "You are going to leave right now." He accompanied me to the door and to the hall and said, "I am going to see that you go home." I went home. He knew that the votes were desperately

close on some of the issues he was interested in. He knew I was going to vote with him. But he was more interested in my trying to conserve my health than he was in having enacted legislation with which he was concerned.

So I say he was a good neighbor, a great businessman, a great Senator, and a great man. We will not see many like him in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the late Senator ROBERT S. KERR was a man among men. I believe he was the quickest witted man I have ever known. He could match wits with the keenest of men in depth of intellect, in quickness of perception, in mirth, in sarcasm, in pathos. He had a capacity for friendship that could survive the keenest rivalry, the strongest of contention.

Early after my coming to the Senate the bonds of friendship were established between Senator KERR and me. These survived mutuality of interest and contention in legislative issues.

One of the keenest debaters that I have ever known, indeed, I believe one of the great debaters this Chamber has ever enjoyed, one crossed swords with BOB KERR with the greatest of trepidation.

I am sure he would think it quite appropriate, even in a eulogy, to recall one bit of mirth which illustrates how difficult it was upon occasion to "get the better of him," so to speak.

Last year, during the debate on the tax bill, the late Senator KERR and I had a particularly vigorous exchange over a considerable period of time on the floor of the Senate. When that debate was concluded, the New York Times requested that Senator KERR and I go to the President's room in order that our photograph might be taken. Mr. President, you can imagine with what alacrity both of us responded. I did not notice, and I am sure he did not notice, that the photographer had posed us with a portrait of George Washington hanging on the wall between us.

It was rather startling, the next morning, to see on the front page of the New York Times a two column picture of Senator KERR and me, with the Father of our Country looking seemingly down upon us, big as life.

One of my secretaries called attention to the fact that if one examined the portrait of George Washington carefully, he could see there was a different expression on his face. I found this amusing. I obtained a copy of the picture and sent it to Senator KERR with this note: "Dear Bob: I give you with my compliments a picture of two eminent statesmen who seem to be under the surveillance of the Father of our Country. I hope you will not mind my suggesting that if you examine the portrait closely, George seems to be smiling at me and glowering at you."

Right back came a messenger with this note: "Dear ALBERT: I thank you for the picture and I agree as to the eminence of the statesmen shown therein, but I suggest you take another and a closer look at George. Can't you tell the difference between smiling and laughing?"

He was a man capable of love—magnanimous love—of his fellow man; a man capable of compassion in the smallest of things, comprehension and dreams of the greatest of events—truly a man among men. To illustrate the quality of being a man among men, let me call attention to one item to which the distinguished and able junior Senator from Oklahoma has already made brief reference.

He referred to the TVA self-financing act. For many years this great publicly owned utility system had been a matter of political contention annually. For 20 years I had regarded as my primary duty, as a Representative and as a Senator, as did the senior Senator from Kentucky for many a year, the obtaining of sufficient appropriations for the TVA to meet the growing demands of the great area which it serves.

Doing that which he was equipped to do better than any man who lived within the valley, Senator KERR brought to enactment the TVA self-financing bill. No longer is TVA a matter of political contention on the floor of either House of Congress. When the people it serves now require more electricity, the TVA in a businesslike way determines the need for additional generating capacity, locates it in a businesslike way, and sells bonds to raise the revenue in a businesslike way; and now the people are secure in the confidence that this utility system is removed from political contention and will be permitted to thrive and to serve a thriving people.

I said Senator KERR was capable of compassion and faith. He and I enjoyed a mutuality of love of the soil and of cattle. Upon occasion we would walk together upon the green turf. Upon occasion he would speak of his faith in God, his religious convictions, which were deep and profound. Possessed of great talents, great courage, great perception, great vision, his faith was the simple faith of a God-fearing mother and father who had given him parenthood.

To his loving wife, to his three stalwart sons, and to his loving and charming daughter, all of whom I know and call my friends, I extend the deepest sympathy and yet congratulations, because this father and this husband was one of the greatest Senators who has graced this body.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, the death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR came as a shock to those of us who knew him well.

He was a man of many interests, a man of great strength, a man of great vitality. Senator KERR was a man who, in my judgment, lived in the great tradition of the empire builders of America, a man who dealt with the physical and material structure of America.

Those who served with him on the Finance Committee know that he had respect for finance as something necessary and useful. However, his real goal and delight was to make and build things. He was concerned with cattle and with the land. He was concerned with rivers and with the minerals of his own State, and with the resources of this Nation.

He did not hesitate to penetrate to the very bowels of the earth in order to develop things which might be useful to man; nor did he shy away from exploration in space when that became a challenge to America and a challenge to him.

He was a man of vision. He was not a visionary. His dreams were not idle but, instead, lead to planning on almost every occasion.

He was much respected in the Senate. Those who did not know him well, particularly some columnists and commentators, suggested that this respect in the Senate was based more on fear than on affection and real understanding. This was a misrepresentation of the character of Senator KERR and of the attitude toward him of many Members of the Senate.

His basic strength was one which was based on loyalty and affection and respect for this intelligence, and on respect for his great effectiveness in the Senate.

There were those who said that he was a compromiser. He would have been the first to admit it. However, his compromises were not compromises with principle, but, rather, with the realities of the day or the realities of history.

He was a genuine realist in the best sense of that word. Indeed, he preferred some progress and some advance to a kind of perpetuation or a perfection of an issue without any achievement.

It was sometimes charged that he was harsh in debate. In a sense, I suppose, sometimes he was. However, that was primarily, I believe, because he was in a hurry on most of the issues. Even so, Mr. President, there was a kind of evenhandedness in his harshness. He welcomed all adversaries into battle and treated all of them as though, being Members of the Senate, they were the equal of anyone else and should be prepared for the contest. He believed that every man was to be trusted until he had proved to be untrustworthy; that every man was to be accepted unless he had somehow betrayed his trust.

He was basically, in the real meaning of the word, an optimist. I do not mean that in the sense of one who foolishly or falsely believes that the world necessarily is getting better and better every day, but of one who sincerely believes that when men band together as individuals and exert a great force and exercise their fair judgment and direct their energies to both old and new problems, they can bring about some improvement. This is genuine optimism, which is based, fundamentally, upon the religious virtue of hope.

Senator KERR had a deep respect for the Senate and for its traditions. Through his actions in the Senate and outside the Senate he was a positive force for the building and strengthening of America.

All of us who served with him in the Senate have reason to be grateful for having had occasion to be here with him, and have cause to express our grief and regret at his passing; but at the same time to say to his family, his wife, and his children, that they, too, are honored in the service which he has given to the Senate and to America.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, during time of war we honor those Americans who give their lives for their country on the field of battle. We honor such men, and justly so. Today we have come together to honor three Members of the U.S. Senate who have passed way. But I think it is entirely fitting and proper that we consider the death of Senator CHAVEZ, Senator KERR, and Senator DWORSHAK as representing the ultimate sacrifice these outstanding Americans have made for their country.

As every colleague in this Chamber well knows, the task of fulfilling the responsibilities of a U.S. Senator with fidelity and devotion demands a total commitment of time and energy. The Senators we honor today certainly made such a commitment. I am quite confident that their unrelenting expenditure of themselves in the service of their country and their States will stand as their supreme sacrifice.

At the time of his passing, the senior Senator from New Mexico, Mr. CHAVEZ, was the fourth-ranking Senator in terms of seniority. Only the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] served for a longer period of years.

I know that other Senators have already commented upon the details of Senator CHAVEZ's career. I wish to emphasize only the highlights. The citizens of his State gave him their stamp of approval no less than seven times by electing him twice to the House of Representatives and five times to the Senate. This constitutes the highest degree of approval from those persons best qualified to pass judgment.

During his long years of service among us, the Senator from New Mexico rose to two positions of great importance in this body: Chairman of the Committee on Public Works and chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Defense. Both these duties carried great pressures and responsibilities but the Senator from New Mexico executed his duties with wisdom, justice, and efficiency. The words of praise that we speak today will endure for the ages; they will be read by historians and students of government. But the true monuments to the Senator from New Mexico will be the strength of this Nation's defenses that he always sought; and the dams, irrigation systems, and harbors that protect our people from destruction and create areas of profitable farming from the arid deserts. Protecting our Nation, saving lives, and creating life are accomplishments that will perpetually do honor to the Senator from New Mexico.

I know his colleagues also share the greatest admiration and respect for the tremendous courage displayed by the Senator from New Mexico during the last years of his life. His tenacious determination to continue his service despite the gravest illness will never be forgotten.

The Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. KERR, was suddenly taken from us at the peak of his career. Every Member of this body was deeply shocked and dismayed at his sudden passing. Truly the

Senator from Oklahoma could have looked ahead to many years of the same productive, courageous, and resourceful life that characterized his amazing career.

Each Member of the Senate knows the importance of the late Senator from Oklahoma in the operations of this body. As chairman of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee he took the lead in implementing President Kennedy's pledge to the American people that the United States would be second to no other nation in the quest for outer space. As ranking Democrat on the Committee on Finance he was the principal leader in writing the President's tax proposals into law. As ranking Democrat on the Committee on Public Works he carried on the responsibilities of the chairman during the absence of the late Senator from New Mexico. The magnitude of these responsibilities only assume their true proportions when one realizes the humble origins of the Senator from Oklahoma.

Born on September 11, 1896, in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, the Senator from Oklahoma first viewed the world from the windows of a log cabin. Is there another American of this generation who rose to comparable heights of personal fortune, political success, or national power? I know of no other such American.

He was always a persuasive and faithful advocate for the interests of his State. He was a true and dedicated member of his party. He was honored with the respect of his colleagues in the Senate as few other Senators are. We have lost a great Senator and a great American.

Likewise, the late Senator from Idaho, Mr. DWORSHAK, was a faithful representative of his State and his party. While the Senator from Minnesota differed with the late Senator from Idaho on many issues of public policy, he always did so with the greatest respect and admiration for his honesty, courage, and dedication to the principles of government in which he believed. As a respected member of the Committees on Appropriations, Interior and Insular Affairs, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the late Senator from Idaho exhibited the greatest concern for the natural resources of this country. His knowledge and wisdom in such areas will be sorely missed by members of both Republican and Democratic Parties in the Senate.

This Nation has truly sustained a great loss with the passing of Senator CHAVEZ, Senator KERR, and Senator DWORSHAK. The Senator from Minnesota wishes to convey his personal sympathy to the families of these great Americans who are present with us today.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I do not believe I can add very much to the words of my colleagues. I can say that I miss Senator KERR very much, and I shall miss him in the days that lie ahead. Somehow his abilities, personality, and his great powers at times held the Senate, and held each one of us enthralled. He had a tremendous capacity for work, a powerful intellect, and a

great power of exposition. These and other qualities made him one of the most powerful leaders that the Senate—indeed, the country—has known.

I felt something unusual in his leadership. He had unquestionably, the type of leadership which because of the very power of his intellect and his force could bring people along with his views.

But I thought also he had that type of leadership which drew people to him. It was hard to be against BOB KERR because of his human qualities. I saw this quality on the floor of the Senate, and in the committees on which I served with him. His human qualities, humor, persuasion, friendship impelled one to want to be with him.

I saw this quality, as it related to members of the staff of the committees and the men and women who served with him in his office. They were most faithful to him and loved him, because he gave them his loyalty and confidence.

I found in him the human quality of kindness and sympathy; and as others have said, a willingness to help another Member, even though his problem was far from those of his own State.

His wit and his irony could be devastating, but he was very human. I shall never forget one day, sitting in his office, talking with him, when he showed me pictures of his family, and a picture of his father and mother. In talking of them, tears came to his eyes. I was not surprised. Yet, with all his great force, power, and strength, it was an illustration of his pathos and simplicity.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the death of the senior Senator from Oklahoma, ROBERT S. KERR, is a grievous loss. His was the fabled success story that is so much a part of the living dream of America, the story which sets our country apart from all others. He knew war as a young soldier knows it, troubled peace as a statesman knows it, democracy as one who rose from log cabin to Governor's chair to Senate Chamber knows it, hard work as one who achieved stature in the business world from a standing start knows it.

His loss is not only to Oklahoma, the State he loved and served so well. He was a true friend to my State of Texas, for he was, above all, a man of great intellect and outstanding accomplishment, a man who had vision and the ability to turn vision into reality.

All the Southwest, the vast land that is the wide-open door to future generations of a growing Nation, will miss this strong man and will be forever indebted to him for his interest in bringing water to a thirsty earth, new commerce to an inland haven.

His memory will be kept fresh for generations by his achievements not only for Oklahoma, but in all the Nation. He invigorated his own party, the Democratic Party, in the days of its defeat in the 1950's, with his sharp wit and his great speaking ability. I heard him stir audiences in Dallas, Amarillo, Sweetwater, and other places in my home State of Texas in the first half of the decade of the fifty's, at a time when members of his own party were so dispirited that some of the leaders did not want to accept speaking invitations there.

I was with him at the Hayden dinner in Arizona, in 1961, and returned with him on the long, sad trip to Bonham, Tex., for the final rites for our dear friend, the great Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn. On that plane trip, I heard him speak of his faith, which was as strong as that of the early settlers of America. He had a deep religious faith.

Senator KERR was a broad-gaged man. In reading the accounts of his life, which were published in many of the newspapers following his death, I saw references to the fact that he used his great position of power to try, perhaps, to control the votes of other Senators. I do not think that was true. That was not my own experience. I differed as sharply with him on subjects such as the communications satellite bill as I ever have with any other Member of the Senate.

Last fall, during the long, tiring days of September and the first half of October, days which I think placed on Senator KERR the great burden which was ultimately to take his life, he worked unstintingly.

Texas was concerned about many water projects. I went to Senator KERR and asked him to give his help on project after project. He placed every single one in the bill. There was not the slightest discrimination, not the slightest hesitancy, not the slightest bit of pettiness in him. He was a broad-gaged man. The fact that I disagreed with him on other major proposed legislation made not one whit of difference in the Committee on Public Works. He considered every project on its merits and decided whether it was sound. That was the kind of broad-gaged man he was.

All of us in this body will miss him. My area of the country will miss him. Our two States of Oklahoma and Texas have a similar outlook about most matters. There are areas in the western portions of our States which are lands of little water. It is that area about which Mr. Justice Holmes said in one Supreme Court decision, "Water is more than an amenity, it is a treasure." It is that part of the country that esteems land and water, and the things that grow on the land and in the water; forests or crops plants by man, where the cattle industry is highly prized, where people think of the elemental things—the minerals in the ground, the crops that grow on it, and the natural things which abound in the earth. It was in that environment that Senator KERR gained his stature as a statesman.

Mr. President, I have read many articles about Senator KERR since he passed away; but of all those I have read, both from my own State and from Oklahoma and other States, the one which I thought was best and that I liked the best was the one entitled, "President, Other Leaders Pay Tribute to KERR," published in the Tulsa Daily World of Wednesday, January 2, 1963. Perhaps it has already been placed in the RECORD; but since I think it was the best of the many articles I read, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Tulsa Daily World, Jan. 2, 1963]  
PRESIDENT, OTHER LEADERS PAY TRIBUTE TO KERR

Many called Senator ROBERT S. KERR, Democrat, of Oklahoma, the uncrowned king of the Senate and his sudden death Tuesday in Washington brought an outpouring of sorrowing comment from President John F. Kennedy and the Nation's leaders.

The President learned of KERR's death from a heart ailment while flying by helicopter from Palm Beach to Miami for the Orange Bowl football game.

"He possessed a unique combination of talents, which joined with his deep devotion to his State and Nation, brought him to a high place in American public life," said the President.

"His legislative accomplishments were exceptional. In the last 2 years alone, almost every major bill enacted bore the mark of his untiring leadership and skill: the space program, the trade bill, the tax bill of 1962, the improvements in social welfare and in national resources development. He will be greatly missed when the Senate opens next week and even more so in the months ahead."

Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, long a personal friend of KERR, said KERR "had the strength of the pioneers of old and daring of the pioneers of today and he gave both to his country in full measure."

He said he had never known a more effective legislator and that "America has lost one of our great resources."

"He was a man of brilliance and great ability," said Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, for whom KERR often acted as the ranking member of the Senate Finance Committee.

"He will be mourned by his political foes as well as his allies because both admired him," said John Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Oklahoma's Governor-elect Henry Bellmon, from his home at Billings, said "Few men in our history have reached the pinnacle of power attained by Senator KERR and no man has had a more profound effect on his native State.

"Generations unborn will pay homage to his great vision and to his tireless efforts in behalf of Oklahoma."

"It is the most severe loss that Oklahoma has suffered among its public figures since statehood," said House Majority Leader CARL ALBERT, a fellow Oklahoman. "He is absolutely irreplaceable."

Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, said KERR's death was a great loss to the Nation.

"He was a great developer of property and did a lot for the uranium industry in New Mexico."

Senator MIKE MONRONEY, called his colleague's death an "irreplaceable loss" to the Nation.

"Senator KERR's death takes away from the service of the Nation at this critical time a man whose ability, energy and dedication to public service had won him preeminence of leadership in the Senate," MONRONEY said.

Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, of West Virginia, said KERR "possessed a keen mind and a strong will."

Bailey termed KERR "one of the great Senators of his era in history."

U.S. Representative ED EDMONDSON, of Muskogee said "I think in the loss of Senator KERR, Oklahoma, suffered its greatest loss in our generation. We lost a great leader in the field of statecraft, in the field of industry and in the spiritual life of our State and country. And his loss is irreparable for Oklahoma."

"I think the project closest to his heart was probably the Arkansas River Basin program. In his memory, I expect to introduce in the next session of Congress, legislation to name the Arkansas River navigation system the Robert S. Kerr Seaway, and I feel it will have unanimous support in both the House and the Senate."

Representative JOHN JARMAN, Democrat, of Oklahoma, said Oklahoma's congressional delegation has "lost a great leader."

"Senator KERR literally gave his life and his talents to his church and State," said Representative VICTOR WICKERSHAM, Democrat, Oklahoma.

"Oklahoma has lost her most valuable asset," said Representative TOM STEED, Democrat, of Oklahoma. "There has never been or ever will be anyone like him in public service."

Oklahoma Gov. J. HOWARD EDMONDSON, already mentioned as a possible successor to KERR, brushed away tears after he was informed of KERR's death while attending the Orange Bowl football game in Miami, Fla.

"His death is a great loss to the country and especially to Oklahoma."

Gov. Buford Ellington, of Tennessee, a personal as well as political friend, said he was deeply grieved.

He said the loss would be felt "by the entire country, to which he devoted so many years of service."

State Democratic Chairman Gene McGill, of Oklahoma, said: "It's a great loss to Oklahoma, the Nation, the Democratic Party and to me, for he was a very good friend."

Former Oklahoma Gov. Raymond Gary, who had feuded privately with KERR during last year's campaign and indicated he would run against him in 1966, said: "I have always admired Senator KERR because of his ability, courage, and untiring efforts he would put forth to make a success of whatever he undertook to do."

Dean McGee, KERR's partner in the oil business, said "He was not only a great man, he was a great gentleman along with it."

B. Hayden Crawford, Tulsa attorney who ran against KERR in 1960, said "This is a great loss to the State of Oklahoma. I extend my deep sympathy to his family and associates."

Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, who served with KERR on the Senate Space Committee, called KERR's death a personal loss as well as a loss to the Senate said "I certainly am grieved." He was "one of our great leaders and one of the most versatile men I have ever known and a fine gentleman."

Senate Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, of Wyoming, called KERR's death "a tragic, unexpected loss that will be felt most keenly in the Senate, in Oklahoma, and in the Nation."

Senator FRANK CARLSON, of Kansas, said KERR's death cost this Nation "one of its greatest citizens and the Senate one of its ablest Members."

The Kansas Republican, at home in Concordia for the New Year's holiday, said "Senator KERR's death is a tremendous loss to the Midwest and the Nation."

Former Gov. Roy J. Turner said the loss of Senator KERR "can't be anything but tragic."

Turner, who ran against KERR for the Democratic nomination for the Senate in 1954, said: "It's a real tragic thing to have happened. I don't know what else I can say about it."

Senator HERMAN E. TALMADGE, Democrat, of Georgia, said the death "is a great tragedy for our country."

TALMADGE said he served with KERR the past 4 years on the Senate Finance Committee and "he had the most incisive, retentive mind that I have ever known."

"He was an extremely hard worker, being well prepared on all bills and all issues," TALMADGE continued.

"When he made up his mind as to what was best for our country, no amount of pressure from any source could deter him from his convictions. As a warm personal friend I deeply mourn his passing."

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, the longer one is a Member of this body, the more he becomes aware of the bond of fraternalism which exists in an area that could, because of its very makeup, be a setting for dissension and acrimony. The pervasive warmth of that bond is always present, yet it becomes even more pronounced during those times of tragedy when death removes a colleague from our ranks.

ROBERT KERR, of Oklahoma, one of the three great Senators who has passed to their reward recently, and whom today we eulogize, was a stalwart defender of the highest traditions of this great body. Significantly, he, as did the others, had a humble beginning.

Although I never had the privilege of serving on a Senate committee with BOB KERR, I did enjoy the pleasure of his warm friendship. I recall vividly an occasion a few years back—it was a campaign year for me, in fact—when I asked BOB KERR to come to Nevada to address the Democratic State convention. He agreed with his usual heartiness, and delivered a speech that set the tone for one of the liveliest conventions in my State's history. A man of limitless ability, he also possessed the oratorical skill to drive home his points with the clarity of a bell and the punch of a jackhammer. In the passing of BOB KERR, the Nation lost an able servant and the Senate has been deprived of one of its most colorful personalities.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, there is a small three-letter word which describes every dimension of ROBERT S. KERR, his philosophy and his career. All those who knew him know that word is "big."

BOB KERR was a big man physically, and in his leonine head there hummed the wheels of a tremendous intellect.

His heart was as big as his body; and it was a diversified heart. It was big in the courage to meet conflict or to deal with danger, and it was big in compassion to deal with those he encountered along the road of life who had suffered the vicissitudes of fortune—the humble and the broken.

He thought in big terms. His plans for his private life were big, and they brought a financial success that was one of the notable contributions to the history of the opportunities which are afforded by our form of government.

His plans for his beloved Oklahoma and for our Nation were big enough to encompass the whole horizon.

BOB KERR did nothing halfway. He was big in his affection for his family and for those who were fortunate enough to enjoy the priceless boon of his friendship. Only those know how big was his capacity for friendship.

Candor compels me to say, Mr. President, that he could be big in the retribution he showered upon any who happened to incur his wrath, either on the political hustings or in this forum where we are today.

BOB KERR and I became fast friends within a few days after his services here commenced, and I have never enjoyed a sweeter or more satisfying friendship. We seemed to understand each other completely.

There were a few, rare occasions when we disagreed on some matters; but he knew what I was thinking, without discussing it; and I knew the conclusions and the processes which led him to his positions; and we did not even have to discuss them. We understood each other completely.

BOB KERR was a big man in the U.S. Senate. A log cabin may have been the place of his birth, but he was born to be a big leader of men.

He enjoyed conflict, either in committee or here on the floor of the Senate; and he enjoyed it and dealt with it in a big way.

BOB KERR was proud of the U.S. Senate; and no one guarded it more jealously, to assure that the Senate would not be demeaned or that there would be no diminution of the big place which the Founding Fathers intended to have the Senate play in our scheme of government, when they hammered out the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787.

Mr. President, the passing of such a figure naturally creates a big void in this body. BOB KERR's fine mind will be sorely missed in the days ahead.

I mourn the loss of a personal friend and a comrade at arms in many legislative struggles. For me, the Senate will never be exactly the same without BOB KERR. Sometimes I feel almost as if some part of myself is missing, when I look across to where he sat in this Chamber and do not get the look of reassurance that sustained me so many times.

One of my most prized possessions is a letter written in his own hand, on the back of a piece of gaily colored Christmas wrapping paper—a letter which he wrote to me from the hospital, about 2 days before he passed away. The letter was written in answer to a little note I had written him.

Mr. President, I regret that I cannot comfort his family. But I cannot, because I feel so bereaved that I cannot comfort myself. I can say to them—and I say it also to the thousands of people in this country, from horny-handed sons of toil to masters of finance and business, all of whom trusted and loved and followed BOB KERR—that I deeply grieve with them at the passing of this big American.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, so many fine things have been written and said about Senator ROBERT KERR that it would be presumptuous of me to try to add anything. However, I do want to say that it was my privilege to have served with him and to have become well acquainted with him. He was helpful to me, as a new Member of the Senate, on a number of occasions; and he was always warm and cordial. One of his great loves was for the Aberdeen Angus strain of livestock; and when he learned that I had a bronze model of a Hereford bull on my desk, he was quick to make sure that I had a Black Angus model to stand beside it.

BOB KERR was a tireless and effective worker for the State he represented. Indeed, it was his great love for work, and for battle, too, that weakened his magnificent constitution during the last session of Congress to such an extent that Oklahoma lost one of her greatest citizens. We will miss him. Mrs. Miller and I extend our most profound sympathy to Mrs. Kerr and the family.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, ROBERT S. KERR, affectionately known to his colleagues as "BOB," was one of the most amazing men I have ever known and certainly one of the most unselfish and spectacular Members to ever grace the U.S. Senate.

From the log cabin where he was born to his last mortal moments in the hospital where he passed to eternal rest here in the Nation's Capital, in which he had served with such distinction, his life was in the frontier tradition and epitomized the essence of America—a free land where opportunity was open to all and where there were no limits to the goals which an individual could achieve.

His career in public service as a member of the legislature and as Governor of his own State and as a U.S. Senator was in itself a major achievement for any man, and what he accomplished for his State and his country constitutes a great and epic story.

But with all these accomplishments there was also his vast operations in the field of livestock farming, land reclamation, with improved techniques and his contribution toward the productivity of American agriculture.

His achievements, however, do not stop there. He became, in fact, one of the great leaders in the petroleum and gas industry and his efforts were of such dimensions as to set him apart as one of the outstanding men of this generation.

But BOB KERR was never so busy that he did not have time for his God. Friends who knew him best can testify to his deep and unremitting devotion to his church. He exemplified in the highest degree those four precious words in the preamble to the Constitution of the American Legion, which recite "For God and country." It was not merely his benefactions in sharing with the Lord but his work in advancing the Christian cause. Not only did he pray for the advancement of the Lord's kingdom, but he did something about it.

Was there a secret weapon in BOB KERR's life which made his accomplishments possible? There was. In fact, there were two. One was his unflinching faith and the other his amazing capacity for doing his homework well. Every Senator can testify to BOB KERR's skill and ability in handling the most abstruse and complicated legislation on the Senate floor.

He was a great and happy warrior who fought in the great causes of his time and fell in battle at a moment when his skill, his ability, and capacity were and are so sorely needed by this Republic.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve on the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences when the late ROBERT S. KERR

was chairman of that committee. Although I was not the ranking minority member of the committee during that time, Chairman KERR treated me as though I was.

This may have stemmed from the fact that the ranking minority member was also the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on the Judiciary and consequently with such heavy official duties did not have the time to take from them for the Space Committee that I would have.

Whether it was this factor or not, this much is certain and true. No other committee chairman ever extended to me the consideration that Senator KERR did.

This, of course, would prejudice me very much in his favor. It might well have prompted greater tolerance on my part toward him when we differed so very basically on some issues like the 27½-percent oil depletion allowance that he so stoutly defended and I have sought for years to pare down.

But I know that it was not that. I know that it was because BOB KERR had two deep-seated characteristics which made him the dynamic, effective power that he was in the Senate—characteristics for which I admire him so much.

In the first place, he was a fighter for what he believed in and for his State of Oklahoma and his constituency. He pulled no punches and no one ever had to guess where he stood. There was nothing ambivalent about him—and because he refused to play the role of expedient political ambivalence, he made many bitter enemies. Perhaps that, in itself, was his most impressive hallmark of leadership.

In the second place, he was not a man motivated by narrow political partisanship. As a Democrat, he did not automatically view all Republicans as enemies. Nor did he permit his economic views control his attitude toward those of his colleagues who held opposite views.

Of this I had very personal knowledge. In 1954 when I was first running for reelection, oil millionaires sent money into Maine in an attempt to defeat me. One reason they did was because of my opposition to the 27½-percent depletion allowance—on which Senator KERR was their champion defender.

In spite of this and even though I am a Republican, Senator KERR came to me and said that though we disagreed on many issues and were of opposing political parties, he wanted to see me returned to, and remain in, the U.S. Senate because I did not hesitate to speak my mind. In doing so, he offered to contribute to my campaign funds. I thanked him but declined to accept any contribution from him.

And I continued my opposition to the oil depletion allowance for the next 6 years—and still do.

When I was running for my third term in 1960, Senator KERR came to me and said that he did not like what members of his own Democratic Party were attempting to do to me—that whatever I needed to finance my campaign he would be happy to provide himself.

Again I thanked him but declined to accept any contribution from him.

My opposition to matters dear to him—such as the oil depletion allowance—made no difference to him. My being a Republican made no difference to him.

I am certain that many other persons witnessed this trait in him. But individuals are of no importance and significance. What is important is that rare trait of a person being able to disagree and yet remain a friend—that rare trait of not judging individuals in terms of narrow partisanship or political prejudice.

ROBERT S. KERR had that rare trait in abundance. His death is a great loss to me in the Senate. It is a loss of strength to me. But more important is that it is a loss of strength to the entire U.S. Senate and to our country. It is irreplaceable.

I am sure that no one knows this better than President Kennedy. For ROBERT S. KERR opposed President Kennedy on issues in the Senate and beat him—and yet it was ROBERT S. KERR that the President looked to for legislative victories on many matters and on which ROBERT S. KERR delivered magnificently.

Here again was his rare trait of not permitting deep differences on some issues to prevent him from friendship and performance for the President of the United States.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the year 1963 was new—and suddenly it was old. Senator ROBERT S. KERR had passed away.

Something is gone from this Senate, something of the challenge, something of the fervor of debate and the firmness of argument. There is gone from us that dramatic moment when BOB KERR would slowly rise to his full height and slowly raise his voice to its full power in the heat and heart of his cause.

All this is missing because BOB KERR is not here; all too suddenly gone from our midst.

I stood at his interment with those who heard the words of his neighbors; neighbors who had known his growth from log cabin limitations to the majesty of a majestic business empire; neighbors who knew him as the good neighbor and God-fearing man.

I would here borrow from my words addressed to his dear ones at that moment.

BOB KERR gave character and courage to his every role in public life with a gift to sharpen with wit and to soften with human warmth the discussions out of which democracy works its destiny.

It was a privilege to be his colleague, it was a pleasure to share some of his purposes, and it was even delightful, at times, when one differed with him, for he was always an inspiration and invitation to outspoken Americanism.

BOB KERR's memory will long live in the Halls of the Senate and I am sure it will be an enduring pride in those he loved so deeply.

May a country's appreciation be of comfort to them in their loss as each of us adds his own humble sentiments of sorrow and sense of loss.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in ROBERT KERR many of us in the Senate met a powerful figure, physically and intellectually. When we were on opposite sides of an issue, he was a formidable adversary, but when we were on the same side, he was an equally formidable ally. New York State owes him a great debt of gratitude for his role as architect of the Niagara power project. Robert Moses and I had discussed plans to invite BOB KERR to tour the Niagara power project later this year; and with Senator KERR's approval, we were going to have a "Robert Kerr Day" in which the Niagara community would participate. We in New York regret that BOB KERR did not live to have a firsthand look at that project in operation, as he would have been proud of the role he played in having it developed.

ROBERT KERR was indeed one of the alltime giants of the Senate.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, none of us who served with Senator KERR will soon forget his forceful presence in this body. His intelligence, wit, perception, and determination brought him to a unique position as one of the giants of the Senate.

Today I pay tribute to his memory as a man who understood other men, a Senator who grasped the potential of this institution, and a citizen who did not hesitate to battle for those values he held dear. All of us have much to learn from his example.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the Nation and the U.S. Senate lost one of its great leaders in the death of ROBERT KERR. BOB, as he was affectionately known by all of us, was a man of great ability and great courage. He was truly an optimist and a man of vision. To him the sun always seemed to shine through the clouds. He was a big man and he made big plans for his personal life for his State and for his Nation.

There was nothing small about BOB KERR. He had an abiding faith in his God and his Creator. Never at any time did he hesitate to confess this faith. He was an active Christian layman and his work in the church and the Sunday school will continue to bear fruit for decades to come.

BOB KERR owed much to Oklahoma and the great West and he never forgot to keep that in mind when considering problems of the Midwest.

It was my privilege to have been closely associated with him in working for the best interests of our States and Nation. We were very close friends and his death was a personal loss to me.

It was my privilege to introduce him at a meeting in Wichita, Kans., just a few days before he left for Washington where he was stricken. This was one of his last great public meetings. His subject was soil and water conservation—a field in which he was recognized as our greatest conservationist. The soil and water conservation projects that he sponsored in Oklahoma and the Nation will stand as living monuments to his service.

BOB KERR was devoted to his family, and Mrs. Carlson and I want to extend our sincerest and deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kerr and the family.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, with very great pride I called the late ROBERT SAMUEL KERR, senior Senator from Oklahoma, a dear friend. And with very great sorrow, my wife and I express to his family our heartfelt condolences on their tragic loss.

Bob's passing, however, was far more than a personal one for those who called him husband and father. Oklahoma lost a preeminent Senator. And the Nation, particularly the Senate of the United States, lost one of its great citizens and Senators. I never ceased to marvel at BOB KERR's intellectual capacity. He was a truly brilliant person—greater than most and as great as any. Fully armed in every Senate debate, there was no more powerful adversary ever to sit in this chamber, skillful, colorful, and persuasive.

The late Senator KERR was an imposing example of the American success story. From humble beginnings, he became one of the most successful businessmen in the Nation. But he devoted himself, in what was far more important, to his family, his church, and his Nation, in a tireless and unselfish fashion. He loved his family, his dear wife and his children. I remember the moving eulogies uttered to his memory in his church in Oklahoma City, where the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, and many of us from the Congress, gathered to mourn his passing. There were plain people in attendance at those final ceremonies. They came to share the sorrow of all who knew him, rich and poor, high and low, in the sudden conclusion of his span of life.

BOB KERR was my friend. I am most proud that I may say that. But my relations with him were not unique. For his friendship with his fellow man, in and out of the Senate, was a constantly enlarging and happy circle, and those who take part today in these eulogies, share a common pride that the circle included all of them.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the death of ROBERT S. KERR has deprived the Senate of the United States of one of its most vibrant personalities. BOB KERR's strong character was felt in this chamber even though he might have sat quietly at his desk, an observer, rather than a participant in the debate.

This Chamber will always remain a little empty without him. It was not just his size, or his booming voice or his hearty manner which made him so vital.

It was his forthright devotion to his service here for the people of Oklahoma—a service he regarded as a dedicated trust.

It was my good fortune to have served with Senator KERR on the Public Works Committee and later on the Appropriations Committee of which he was an ex officio member. We had our differences but just about as often the issues found us on the same side. No one could have a more capable opponent—or a more loyal ally.

BOB KERR placed loyalty at the top of his list of virtues. He worked diligently at the notion that loyalty runs two ways.

Though he may have appeared somewhat bluff and direct, particularly here

in this arena of debate in which he reveled, all of us who were proud to count him a friend know that he was gentle, tolerant and considerate. Few of us here have not profited by some sound and sage advice from Senator KERR.

I well recall an appearance by BOB KERR on the television program, "Meet the Press." Perhaps my recollection of the words is inexact but they may well form the proper epitaph for ROBERT S. KERR. He was asked about his lack of support of the President on a specific national issue. I shall never forget his reply. It was:

I love the President of the United States, but I love the people of Oklahoma more.

In this way did he express pithily his devotion to the people of his State and his deep belief in the concept of truly representative government.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the first week of this year brought a severe and unexpected shock to each of us and to America with the knowledge of the passing of the late Senator ROBERT S. KERR.

Senator KERR was the kind of man who does not often pass our way. Even in such a body of individualists as this, the force of his presence and personality laid special claim to one's attention.

None was more formidable in debate, giving no quarter and asking none. And there are few, if any, Members who joined in debate with BOB KERR who did not feel the imprint of his agile mind and the occasional bite of his acid wit.

But, though Senator KERR was perhaps more widely noted for his skill as a debater, his greatest services were rendered as a mediator and conciliator of what to others would seem to be irreconcilable positions. Nowhere was this more evident than in the demonstration of his leadership as conference chairman of the omnibus public works bill in the 87th Congress. Out of an apparently hopeless deadlock between the two bodies in the late hours of the 87th Congress, Senator KERR brought forth a measure that won support on both sides of Capitol Hill.

Though it is a grievous loss to those of us who were his colleagues and friends, to the State of Oklahoma, and to the Nation to have BOB KERR taken at the peak of his powers and prowess, we may truly say that no one lived more fully during the time allotted him. His tremendous zest for life seemed almost to assume the proportions of a force of nature.

This quality of BOB KERR may be best expressed, I believe, by reference to a line written by the philosopher, William James, to his sister on the occasion of his purchasing a summer home. He exclaimed with joy that it had "14 doors and they all open outward." Such was the world of BOB KERR—and open universe with many doors, all opening out.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, BOB KERR was a fighter, and I like fighters.

In legislative battles the side that had the help of BOB KERR was happy. If he was on the opposing side it often caused alarm.

Much will be said today about the success story of our late departed friend.

He went to the top in his profession, in business, in politics, as a citizen and in his church. I wish to associate myself with all of the laudatory things that are said about him today.

I wish to extend to Mrs. Kerr and to all the family the sincere sympathy of Mrs. Curtis and myself.

Shortly after Senator KERR's death the Omaha World Herald published an editorial entitled "Without Mr. KERR." It appeared in their paper on January 3, 1963. I think that editorial should be preserved in these records and I include it as a part of these remarks:

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### WITHOUT MR. KERR

Last summer, as the final legislative battles of the 87th Congress were shaping up, this newspaper observed that Senator ROBERT KERR, of Oklahoma, was probably the most influential legislator in Washington and that his influence usually served the public interest.

Mr. KERR, who died Tuesday, was a self-made man who delivered strongly in the American enterprise system. He never saw reason to apologize for his wealth or his success. Yet he was a broad-gaged man whose interests went beyond business. They encompassed the world and America's place in it.

To him, perhaps more than to any other man, was due the credit for curbing the excesses of the administration's welfare legislation. Without his informed and persuasive opposition, the President's medical care plan might very well have become law.

But Mr. KERR was not merely a naysayer and an obstructionist. He believed that there is a degree of Federal responsibility for medical care for the aged, and he had tried to meet it—successfully in the opinion of many—by coauthoring the Kerr-Mills Act.

Senator KERR was No. 2 man, behind Chairman HARRY BYRD, on the taxwriting Senate Finance Committee, and he saw eye to eye with Mr. BYRD on many issues. As chairman of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, he unquestionably was the leading congressional figure in space matters.

Thus by position, by knowledge, and by force of character, he quite likely was the Senate's most substantial man. His death Tuesday is not only a grievous loss to the country but it can alter the balance between legislative and executive power.

This self-made man was a fierce champion of the integrity and independence of Congress at a time when President Kennedy, like most Presidents before him, was trying to expand the power of the White House.

At a time when leadership in Congress had become relatively weak, ROBERT KERR was strong.

The Oklahoma Senator rose to prominence with relative suddenness after years in which he had been a minor figure. Americans will hope that some other Senator may come out of obscurity similarly to replace him. For with Senator KERR gone the Congress is weaker, and so is the voice of moderation.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, it is customary at times such as this to comment on the lives and work of those Members of this great body who are no longer with us. The great tragedy to me is that our departed colleagues cannot be in this Chamber today to hear our expressions of admiration and affection which all too often go unsaid during their lifetimes.

The U.S. Senate is sometimes referred to as the "most exclusive club in Wash-

ington." In the sense that I cannot think of any other body of only 100 members representing over 188 million people, perhaps this is so. And being a comparatively small body and working closely together it is inevitable that we form strong bonds of friendship and respect for the positions which we have sworn to carry out.

The great English poet, John Donne, wrote that "any man's death diminishes me" and when death takes a respected Senator and great statesman the loss to mankind is much more than just this.

The new year, as we all know, opened on a very sad note. The untimely death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR was a shock and source of grief to all of us. I can think of no other man who possessed such vitality or who enjoyed living as did BOB KERR. It is still hard to believe that his figure will no longer be seen entering the Chamber doors or his resonant and articulate voice heard on the Senate floor.

But more than just an admired and respected colleague, BOB KERR was a true and devoted friend whose death came as a great personal loss to me. His advice and assistance were always welcomed because I knew they were based on sound judgment and unflinching loyalty. I do not think that anyone can quite fill his shoes for I know of no man who possesses as many outstanding and unique qualities as he did.

Senator KERR was also well known for his unlimited capacity for hard work and his brilliant and incisive mind which enabled him to grasp and comprehend the most difficult problems in every area of legislation.

I am reminded of an incident last year which occurred following a Finance Committee meeting where we were struggling with a particularly complex and complicated piece of legislation. While walking out of the committee room after what seemed a trying and interminable session, another colleague on the committee came up to me and said:

You know, GEORGE, one Senator tends to evaluate things in terms of acres and you have to be explained things according to tourists or oranges, but BOB KERR is the only man I know who can understand everything in terms of anything.

I will not attempt to go into Senator KERR's extensive personal, business, or public accomplishments as I know my Senate colleagues have and shall continue to do this much more eloquently than I.

In closing, I recall that when BOB KERR ran for the Senate in 1948 he adopted the campaign slogan "Land, Wood, and Water," which turned from a political catchword into his credo for championing the needs and interests of his fellow Oklahomans. When he became chairman of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, he added the word "space" to his slogan. Since it has been said that man is immortal as long as his name or his works are remembered by the living, I would like to suggest that today Senator ROBERT KERR's slogan be further enlarged to "Land, Wood, Water, Space, and Immortality."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President—

The tumult and the shouting dies,  
The captains and the kings depart.

Thus, Mr. President, wrote Rudyard Kipling in 1897.

Thus could Rudyard Kipling have written today on the passing of ROBERT S. KERR, late Senator from Oklahoma.

BOB KERR was a big man, with a big voice—with big abilities commensurate with his big ideas. He was a man with great power, great prestige, and great presence.

Perhaps no man in recent times was more able in the Senate to make his presence felt, and to accomplish more in the way of legislation in which he believed than was BOB KERR. He possessed an extraordinary breadth of knowledge, and a tremendous capacity to translate that knowledge into action.

Certainly he shouted; surely he was in the midst of tumult. And no man was, in recent times, more effective in the use of his talents.

BOB KERR was no king. For kings are not born in log cabins. But, BOB KERR was a leader.

I served on the Committee on Public Works with BOB KERR for the first 4 years of my present term in the Senate. I can assure every Senator that each of the moments in our committee sessions was no more dull than every minute which held BOB KERR on the floor of the Senate.

We shall not soon see again a legislator so effective in the manner of Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to a Senator who was a great and distinguished Member of this body.

Although I have only been a Member of the Senate for a short while, my acquaintance with Senator KERR dates back to the time he came to Montana in the campaign of 1948. His charm and ability captivated the Montanans who heard him, and he had substantial support for the nomination for President from the Montana Democratic delegation to the Democratic National Convention. BOB KERR's name is still a legend in the areas where he spoke in Montana and the grief at his untimely death was real and moving.

Since coming to Congress, and especially since I came to the Senate 2 years ago, I had the privilege of working with Senator KERR in one of his favorite fields, conservation and development of America's water resources.

Senator KERR was one of the first legislators that I have had the opportunity to observe. He had an intuition about legislation that was only matched by the incomparable Speaker Rayburn. He used his great abilities and his skill in the public interest for the advancement of a legislative legacy that will be a memorial to him for many years ahead.

It was a distinction to have worked with Senator KERR, it was a pleasure to observe him at work, I am honored to have had the opportunity to serve with him. He will be sorely missed.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, running through every word and every thought

uttered on this solemn occasion by the friends and colleagues of ROBERT KERR is the same basic theme. The force and power of his personality impressed itself upon each one of us as it did on any group or any assembly in which he served through his long and crowded career. He was a man of strong convictions with a lightning mind and a rapier-like tongue to express them. In debate he was almost invincible so that a stranger in the gallery or a new colleague whose acquaintance with him had been brief would consider him almost cruel in the ruthless way that he riddled his opponents' arguments, lashing them with powerful eloquence. Yet, as we came to know him we found a warm and affectionate friend who had not one ounce of venom or bitterness in his heart. He reveled in a battle of wits. Yet, he spoke without anger.

In the first years of my Senate service, I served with him on the Committee on Public Works. I well remember one occasion as we were sitting about the table waiting for a quorum to assemble when one Member mentioned a departed colleague and expressed regret that his last contact with his friend had been in the heat of Senate debate. BOB KERR leaned back in his chair and recited these words:

These clumsy feet, still in the mire,  
Go crushing blossoms without end;  
These hard, well-meaning hands we thrust  
Among the heartstrings of a friend.

The ill-timed truth we might have kept  
Who knows how sharp it pierced and stung!  
The word we had not sense to say—  
Who knows how grandly it had rung!

It impressed me so much that I asked him to send me a copy of the quotation which I have always kept. It told me much of the warm affection which he had for all his friends and which I am thankful I enjoyed through the years, both on the Public Works Committee and later with him on the Committee on Finance.

He fell suddenly at the height of his power in the Senate and at a time when he was most needed. Yet, in that there is one consolation. He will always live among us in all his strength and power. There can never be a memory of fading faculties and slackening strength that comes with age. We unite with his loved ones in mourning him today, but we can say in the words of the poet who wrote of "An Athlete Dying Young":

Now you will not swell the rout  
Of lads that wore their honors out,  
Runners whom renown outran  
And the name died before the man.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, when historians of the future look back on this era, they will see throughout our land the indelible footprints of a relatively small band of giants who towered over their fellow men in ability, in leadership, in patriotism, and in devotion to duty.

Because of these men, our Nation has continued to grow and prosper.

Because of these men, we have preserved our treasured heritage and have enriched it for the benefit of future generations.

Yes, Mr. President, giants have left their unmistakable marks on this, our

present age, and among their number was the late ROBERT S. KERR, who was our esteemed colleague from Oklahoma.

Senator KERR was truly a giant in every possible manner—in the scope of his interests, in the magnitude of his philanthropies, in the plenitude of his knowledge, and in the extent of his devotion to the welfare of the Nation he loved so well.

With Senator KERR's death, we in this body have lost a memorable friend; the citizens of his State and our Nation have lost a powerful, a dynamic, and a devoted public servant.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, it is always a sad occasion when this body sets aside a day for eulogies for departed colleagues. The three men we remember today were all from the West and exemplified those virtues which developed the West and have made it the region of the future. They had courage to face new challenges, determination to overcome all obstacles, and a vision of a better life for those who would follow them.

The late Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. KERR, was a dynamic example of the American dream. He had the distinction, now a political rarity, of being born in a log cabin. His origins were humble, but his ambitions proud. He was a living example of the dictum that success comes to those who are willing to work for it.

Senator KERR worked long and hard for the people of his State, his region, and Nation. I had the good fortune to serve with him on the Select Committee on Water Resources. That committee spent many hours considering what is and will be for many years one of our Nation's most perplexing problems—the development of water resources to match our population and economic growth. No one worked harder, no one was more concerned that the people of our Nation should not be deprived of the necessity of adequate water than was Senator ROBERT KERR. And this singular devotion to the cause at hand could as easily have been applied to a myriad of other projects to which he devoted his efforts. Mr. President, ROBERT KERR was a man who could get things done; he will be sorely missed in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, last year the Senate was in a state of perpetual mourning as, one by one, five of our colleagues fell victim to the grim reaper. It was a terrible toll, and sorrow was heaped upon sorrow. Among those whose loss we grieve is the late senior Senator from Oklahoma, my friend BOB KERR.

He was a giant of a man, who possessed a mentality to match. He had a capacity to grasp the most complex problems, to cut through the mass and the maze of irrelevancy to get to the heart of a matter and to manage difficult legislation in committee, on this floor, and in conference.

One could not be long in his presence without sensing the force of his strong personality. He had a natural proclivity for leadership, and he never was one to shirk his leadership responsibility.

Since coming to the Senate in August 1959, I had the opportunity to serve on the Public Works Committee with BOB

KERR and to observe him in action. We worked particularly closely on the Subcommittee on Flood Control—Rivers and Harbors last year, where he demonstrated over and over again his ability to accomplish the impossible. He confounded the pessimists who predicted there would be no omnibus public works bill enacted before adjournment last fall. As a consequence, many essential projects all over America are one step nearer realization.

BOB KERR was a Senator who had an enormous capacity for hard work. He made certain he did his homework, so that in legislative skirmishes he proved always to be both a worthy protagonist and a worthy antagonist. We all knew that, if we challenged him, we had better be prepared to defend our point of view. Nowhere did he show his mettle more clearly than in the debates last year on the tax bill and on medicare for the aged.

BOB KERR possessed a great competitive spirit. When he undertook a task, he determined to be successful, to win the struggle.

During his lifetime, he won the economic struggle from poverty to plenty. He won the political struggle to high office in the U.S. Congress. His notable business and public careers attest to his ability to win.

But there is one battle all of us must lose some day. That BOB KERR should have lost this ultimate struggle for the breath of life in his very prime saddens us all. We in the Senate are the poorer for the loss of his rare skills and his informed guidance.

To his beloved wife and family, Ellyn and I extend our heartfelt condolences. May the Almighty comfort you in your bereavement.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, it is impossible for the friends and colleagues of Senator KERR to find words to adequately describe how much he meant to us and the extent to which the Nation will miss him.

The story of BOB KERR's life is the story of America. Through hard work, ingenuity, and determination he started from meager beginnings and worked his way to the highest peaks.

Many men have done this, but few demonstrated the wide range of abilities that BOB KERR possessed. A keen businessman, a skillful legislator, a respected leader—all apply to BOB KERR. But he was more than these things, too. He was a warm, understanding human being who enjoyed working with and for people. This quality showed through all that Senator KERR did, and it enabled him to accomplish what all men dream of and what few men realize.

Regardless of what the contest was, BOB KERR was the kind of man everybody wanted on their side. When he undertook a job he went all the way, and he knew exactly where he was going and how to get there.

As for myself, the highest tribute I can pay to BOB KERR is the fact that I called on no one for advice and counsel more than I did Senator KERR. I deeply respected his wisdom, his knowledge, and his understanding.

We know that we must go on without BOB KERR, but only time will make us realize how much we miss him.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in paying deserved tribute to the late, great Senator from Oklahoma, ROBERT S. KERR. There is no need for my detailing his great accomplishments in serving the people of his State and the people of his country.

Before I came to the Senate, I developed a great respect for BOB KERR. During my years of service with him in this body, this respect continued to grow and along with it, a very real personal friendship. Although we sat on different sides of the aisle and often disagreed, I still never lost my respect for his judgment or the position that he took. I am bold enough to say that he in turn respected my judgment as being sincere even though at variance with his own point of view.

I rarely saw BOB KERR except in connection with our legislative duties. Nevertheless, one of the most enriching experiences of my life was our friendship developed here in the Capitol, on the floor of the Senate, in committee, in conference. To me our friendship was one of those extra values of legislative service which I shall always treasure.

BOB KERR was a warm, sympathetic man. He had charm, he had humor and he had great intellectual capacity. His penetrating mind could get to the heart of the problem without being lost in peripheral details. His contributions to his State which he loved and served so well and his country which he loved and served so well are too many to enumerate here. His untimely death was a real loss to Oklahoma, the country, and the Senate of the United States.

I join with my colleagues in extending to Mrs. Kerr and all members of the family, my deepest sympathy.

Mr. BARTLETT. It is my sad purpose today, Mr. President, to speak of the loss of three Senators and three friends. The Senate will not be the same place without HENRY DWORSHAK, BOB KERR, and DENNIS CHAVEZ. All Senators will take their passing as both a personal and national loss.

The senior Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. KERR, served in the Senate for close to 15 years. During this period he served the people of his State with attention, intelligence, and devotion. No State has ever had better representation in this body than that received by Oklahoma from the late Senator. In recent years the Senator's leadership and clear ability elevated him to a position of great importance in this body as ranking member of both Finance and Public Works Committees and as chairman of the Space Committee. ROBERT KERR was in a position to serve his Nation as also his State. He served his Nation well.

No better illustration may be given of his ability and skill than that offered by his leadership of the controversial tax bill in the last session of the Congress.

Mr. President, the President of the United States, the Nation, this Senate and especially the people of Oklahoma have reason to mourn the passing of ROBERT KERR.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, knowing BOB KERR was an adventure like a first trip into new country. Viewed from afar, his life's landscape could seem almost overwhelming in its size and ruggedness, but to those who were privileged to watch him at close range, this ruggedness was broken up by much that had sweet and kindly beauty. Though most people associate him with wealth, oil and power, he believed that his greatest contribution was measured in the title of a book he wrote—"Land, Wood, and Water," which was inscribed on the gold clasp he wore around his tie.

Essentially, BOB KERR's life was built upon a foundation of great simplicity reflected in the fundamentalism of his religion. At the same time, he was a man of great versatility, and striking contrasts. He had a deep loyalty to whatever and whomever he loved, including his family, Oklahoma, and oil, but he found keen delight in all-out combat with those who challenged these loyalties. He could be a generous and effective ally, as well as a resourceful foe.

He had a great facility in the use of words. They came easily to him, and he could use them with great skill—to tell a story, to sell an idea, to charm or entertain an audience, to pray, to plead, or as weapons with which to strike an opponent down.

BOB KERR was a strong man, prodigal with his energy and strength. When we adjourned last year, all of us would have said his reserves of energy, like those of the oil of Oklahoma, were inexhaustible. Looking back now, we realize that he never spared himself and therefore can understand why he fell suddenly.

Toward the end of his career, the newsmen began to call him "the uncrowned king of the Senate," as though he loved power for its own sake. To me, this is a sad misjudgment. I feel instead he acted always to increase his capacity to serve the causes that he loved.

The Senate is poorer for his passing.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the sudden passing of our colleague—Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma—came as a great shock to all of us.

We lost not only a good friend, but an excellent Senator, as well. He will be sorely missed by his family, his country, his State, and the Senate, where he had served since 1949.

I had the pleasure of working closely with Senator KERR during the past 8 years as we served together on the Senate Public Works Committee.

I quickly developed a great respect for his ability and his integrity, and I valued his friendship very highly.

BOB KERR was a powerful advocate of what he thought was right.

The contributions he made to the fields of conservation and public works, and to the legislative records of this body, will be his lasting monuments.

There is no one among us who was more dedicated to the preservation and proper utilization of our Nation's vast natural resources.

The work that Senator KERR did in the field of water resources, for example, will be long remembered and will pay vast dividends in the years ahead.

Our greatest tribute to BOB KERR, I believe, would be to carry on the programs and policies which he started.

To his family, at this time, I would like to extend my sincere condolences.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve both on the Senate Public Works Committee and on the Select Committee on National Water Resources with Senator ROBERT S. KERR, and I came to respect both his great mind and his great heart.

All of us would like to think that during our tenure in the U.S. Senate we became experts in at least one, and perhaps two or three fields. But BOB KERR managed to become an expert in everything he touched.

I am sure it is safe to say that he handled as many major bills on the Senate floor in these past few years as any other Member, and he was well versed in the subject matter of each. I can see him now, standing at his Senate desk, every muscle at attention as he waited to parry and turn aside with wit and eloquence every objection to the measure at issue—ready to answer from the great depths of his knowledge every question raised against it. He was a commanding figure and one we in the Senate shall not soon forget.

I personally will never forget his many kindnesses to me—the times he helped me with legislation or projects in which I was interested. He was a good friend—and it is hard to believe that this great heart has been stilled. The Senate will never be quite the same without BOB KERR.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I consider it a distinct honor to have known ROBERT S. KERR and to have served with him in the Senate of the United States and on the Senate Finance Committee.

I am deeply saddened by his passing.

In many respects, BOB KERR was one of the most remarkable men I ever knew. He was gifted with the quickest mind—the most inquisitive and retentive mind—that I ever saw in action on the floor of the Senate, in the committee room, or anywhere else.

Anyone who ever met him in debate can attest to the fact that as a forceful defender or advocate of a cause, Senator KERR was without peer.

Why? Because he made it his business to know what he was talking about. Because he always spoke with the authority of one who has done his homework. Because the Senator from Oklahoma asked no quarter and gave none.

When BOB KERR spoke, all men listened, sometimes perhaps with disagreement, but always with respect. He commanded a memory I have yet to see matched. Nothing escaped this man.

Depending upon what the occasion called for, BOB KERR could bring to bear a great wit or a great solemnity, a sweet tongue or a biting attack. But he did not rely on oratory alone to win his battles. Always it was supported by an irrefutable statement of facts and an intelligent grasp of every aspect and implication of the subject at hand.

BOB KERR was one of the great men of this country. The Nation and the Senate will sorely miss him.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it was my good fortune to have been assigned to the Finance Committee when I came to this body. This meant working with many great men. None was greater, none was friendlier to a young country boy from Indiana than that big Oklahoma country boy, BOB KERR.

I have visited on Senator KERR's vast ranch on the land he loved so much. Together we shared the vista in Oklahoma, viewing the cattle and enjoying the fresh air. We often talked about Senator KERR's love of the land and the things he tried to do to protect the future of the country.

Others have spoken eloquently about Senator KERR's devotion to our beloved country, about the contribution he made to our space program, of his great work in taxation and finance. Although the day-to-day official contact we had was in the field of finance and taxation, I prefer to think of Senator KERR as the great conservationist—the one who worried, fretted, and acted to save our wood, water, and soil.

Senator KERR was at his best when he talked about these things and when he was doing something about them. I remember when he flew out to a meeting of the Wabash Valley Association at my behest to talk about these things. I remember when we would visit about them. His concern was deep and unselfish. His labors were long and successful.

If America's water resources are developed to the fullest, if our streams and woods are protected, if flooding can be controlled, BOB KERR's living memorial will have been established beyond anything we can say here or build from rock and steel.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues who have spoken words of tribute to our late departed colleague and friend, BOB KERR.

I first came to know BOB KERR before either he or I came to the Senate of the United States. In fact, I first knew him when he was Governor of Oklahoma. I shall never forget the great and rallying keynote address that he delivered at the Democratic National Convention.

I recognized him from the first as a man of great energy and tremendous ability.

When BOB KERR first came to the Senate he was assigned to a committee on which I was serving, the Public Works Committee, of which he later became chairman. I also served with him on the Senate Office Building Commission. I learned to admire greatly his ability in handling legislation and in getting quickly to the point. He had a masterful way of bringing persons of divergent views together and in getting out of committees beneficial legislation and in getting problems satisfactorily solved.

I have had the privilege of campaigning with BOB KERR in his beloved State of Oklahoma. His energy, his knowledge of facts and figures pertaining to his State, his grasp of the situation under all conditions to me were always impressive. On several different occasions BOB KERR has come to Alabama and spoken at various meetings, political and otherwise. He was a favorite of Alabama audiences.

BOB KERR had a perception that was beyond that of most people. I recall one instance when a group of us were being briefed on the vast operations of TVA. It was probably the first visit of BOB KERR to that area. He was impressed with the man who did the briefing. Without knowing what his job was, he said to him:

Young man, I don't know what you are doing at the present time, but I would like very much to have you work with me.

It happened that the young red-headed man was "Red" Wagner, who was then serving as general manager of the TVA and is today the Chairman of the TVA Board.

BOB KERR was a fine Senator, a great and loyal churchman, a devoted family man and a wonderful friend.

Mrs. Sparkman and I extend our sympathies to Mrs. Kerr and to her children and other members of BOB KERR's family.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, the untimely passing of our colleague BOB KERR removed from the Senate one of the most skilled legislators of our time.

BOB KERR was a self-made man. He was fearless and forceful. There was no limit to his capacity for taking on large responsibilities. These qualities which he had in abundance won for him the admiration and respect of even his sharpest critics. He had a powerful intellect and a great gift of expression—and it was always an unforgettable experience to see him in action on the floor of the Senate or at work in his committees. It was for his colleagues also a rewarding experience because we learned a great deal from him about the art of legislation. We will miss him very much.

It is to the enormous advantage of his State and country that BOB KERR turned his talents into the public service. As chairman of the Senate Space Committee and of the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, and as second in command in the Finance Committee—BOB KERR was in a position to make a significant contribution to the Nation. And he did.

From humble beginnings Senator KERR reached great heights in the business world as well as in the political world. I believe that this was largely because he never lost the common touch. He served the people well—with courage and devotion to the end. His death has left a great vacuum in the Democratic Party and in the U.S. Senate.

I join with my colleagues in expressing deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, all of us were profoundly shocked when we learned of the sudden and tragic passing of Senator ROBERT S. KERR. This distressing news reached us as the new year was beginning, but the impact of this event will be felt for many years to come.

The untimely death of this great statesman was not only a loss to the State of Oklahoma, to the Senate, and to his friends, but it is my firm conviction that the people of the United States also lost the services of one of their finest public servants. Few men in public life possess his qualities of leadership. The

story of his life exemplifies what our Nation has to offer to citizens if they have the will and determination to carry out their ambitions.

It was my privilege to work closely with Senator KERR in my capacity as a member of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee and the Senate Public Works Committee. We spoke frequently and often exchanged ideas relative to the space program. He was always considerate, and he could always be approached with confidence. I shall miss his friendship and guidance. He was always very good to me personally.

The Nation could ill afford to lose the services of this outstanding American. We, his friends, will always remember him. His memory, his deeds, and his contributions to our Government are a part of the history of our Nation.

He was a vastly popular, extremely influential man who served the people of his State with a dedication and devotion. No doubt it was this same energy which lifted him from humble beginnings in a log cabin in the Indian territory, which later became the great State of Oklahoma, to a position of wealth and respect. Had Senator KERR been content with the security that comes from having achieved great success in business and acquired almost limitless financial resources, he probably could have rested on that and still have been highly regarded. However, of course, he did not. He was a man of outstanding intellectual attainments. He devoted the remaining years of his life to public service, first as Governor of his State and then as a U.S. Senator.

I shall miss Senator KERR as a friend and as a colleague, and there are thousands of others who will miss him too. The Senate in particular will miss his refreshing candor, his determination, and his guiding hand.

Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in extending to Mrs. Kerr and her family my deepest sympathy.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely passing of Senator ROBERT S. KERR has shocked and saddened us all. To his family, it has brought a sorrow that will ease with time—but never cease.

Among his friends and colleagues, it has left an emptiness that will be filled with memories—but never a replacement.

Throughout the length and breadth of the America he cherished in heart and served in life, there has been a loss that can never be regained, but there will forever remain the indelible mark of a devoted man that nothing short of the infinity of eternity can erase.

Many knew BOB KERR much closer—and for many more years than it was my honored privilege to know him. But this is not the gage that measures my personal feelings about him—feelings which I am certain are shared with all my fellow Missourians. He had close ancestral ties with Missouri through his father, William Samuel Kerr, who was born in Bakersfield, Ozark County, Mo. On many occasions he had mentioned this to me and told me of his feeling of close interest for my State.

He was also our neighbor, not only in geography, but in philosophy as well. He always demonstrated clearly the interest and concern of a good and faithful neighbor.

As a man, he rose from the most humble of beginnings to vast material gains, but never lost sight of the truth that nothing is accomplished without the assistance of our Creator.

As a public servant and official, he achieved the highest success and power, but always used it in keeping with the solemn obligation of trust that it imposes.

Because of the success and power he earned, many refer to him as a "king," yet it is clear from the example of BOB KERR's life that for him there was truly only one king, God himself.

So while each of us misses the wonderful blessing of a daily association with such a trusted and loyal colleague as ROBERT S. KERR, great American and good man, we can be thankful for the worthy example that his life and his service sets for us all.

Many will recall that his favorite hymn was the wonderful and simple "Shall We Gather at the River," and know that he is now gathered at the greatest of rivers, the goal toward which his life and works were always directed.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that five editorials from Missouri newspapers, which are typical of the many appearing in newspapers, throughout my State, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Joseph (Mo.) News-Press Jan. 2, 1963]

#### A FRIEND HAS GONE

Although they didn't have much to say about it, Democrats of this congressional district backed U.S. Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, for the party's nomination for President in 1952. The Senator died yesterday.

Ellis Cook, of Maryville, and DeWitt Campbell, of North Kansas City, were the delegates of this northwest Missouri district at the Chicago convention that year. They were uninstructed. Adlai Stevenson seemed to be the front runner, but they came out at the start for Senator KERR. Mr. Stevenson went on to win the nomination—but nothing else.

Only a little more than 2 months ago, Senator KERR in the waning days of the 1962 election campaign came into this Sixth District to make a speech for Congressman WILLIAM R. HULL and U.S. Senator EDWARD V. LONG. He spoke at a fundraising dinner at North Kansas City.

It was a typical Kerr speech. He was a man of powerful voice and an orator of the old school, one given to tying in Biblical quotations to make political points. For example the Biblical verb "smite" fit often into the woof and warp of his political blasts at the opposition.

Oklahoma and the United States have lost a colorful lawmaker in the death of Senator KERR. He was a man who made friends and who made enemies—of equal ardor—because he was a man who was not to be bluffed. The Senator always stood his ground.

It is good to have men like that in the Senate.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, Jan. 2, 1963]

#### SENATOR ROBERT S. KERR

The unexpected death of U.S. Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, has deprived Congress and the Nation of a Capitol Hill powerhouse, a very human and picturesque figure on the Washington scene, a fine Senator.

His growth from log cabin beginnings to become a multimillionaire oil and mining tycoon was more than the usual American success story. And his rise to become the "uncrowned king" of the Senate had little to do with business acumen.

Mr. KERR used a keen mind, a prodigious talent for homework, a native skill for slashing debate to become the most sought after—and sometimes feared—Senator on the Hill.

He was friend and foe of the New Frontier. The President courted him whenever possible.

Mr. KERR was credited with being the biggest single factor in clobbering Mr. Kennedy's pet medicare program, yet the White House turned to the Senator for help in the battle for the administration's tax and trade bills.

No one in Congress knew as much about America's water resources, or the urgent need to conserve them, than Senator KERR. He came to St. Louis a few months ago and spoke in behalf of the successful bond drive to clean up our rivers. Mr. KERR was also a resolute champion of highways. He co-authored the Kerr-Mills law to help needy aged with medical and health problems.

A man of homespun wit, that could develop a rapier thrust or a withering sarcasm, Senator KERR was respected in Congress almost as much as among his Oklahoma constituents, for whom he stood first and last. He was a devout churchman, a leading Baptist in his State.

BOB KERR left his mark on much legislation he was significantly instrumental in passing, laws that will long serve his country. His loss will be deeply felt among the major Senate committees in which he served.

His passing deprives the Nation of a signally able public servant.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1963]

#### CHANGES IN THE SENATE

The death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, will have a profound effect on the work of the Senate and on its relations with the White House. Senator KERR had become known as the most powerful man in the upper body, and though he opposed the administration on certain issues, he was a mainstay of President Kennedy on others.

The Senator, who headed Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., a \$200 million oil, chemicals, and uranium concern, led the fight last year against Mr. Kennedy's program of medical care financed through social security, but he was in the forefront of the battle for the President's trade expansion program. He upheld the 27½-percent depletion allowance, of vital importance to extractive industries, but the administration had hoped for his assistance in putting over a tax reduction program this year.

Although Senator KERR was a witty orator and a skilled debater, he exercised much of his power behind the scenes. He had a keen grasp of the inner workings of the governmental machine. A major source of his power was his ability to control pork-barrel projects through his chairmanship of a Public Works Subcommittee. He was a member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and of the Senate Finance Committee, and was chairman of the increasingly important Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee.

There will be important changes in the Senate other than those caused by Senator KERR's death. The defeat of Senators Wiley and Capehart has, for example, left two openings on the Foreign Relations Committee. The stature of the replacements chosen by the Republican Senators will measure the importance the party attaches to the conduct of a sound foreign policy, particularly with respect to bipartisanship.

A new factor in the Senate will be the presence of 30-year-old EDWARD KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, who will occupy a unique position because one of his brothers is President, and another is Attorney General. The new Senator has been described by the President as the best politician in the family, and he is confirming this judgment by deliberately choosing assignments that will keep him out of the limelight.

The Senate faces a heavy workload in the coming 2 years, and the factors noted here will influence the legislative product. By how much, time will tell.

[From the Warrensburg (Va.) Daily Star-Journal, Jan. 4, 1963]

#### IMPACT OF KERR DEATH

No one can say with precision just what effect Senator ROBERT S. KERR's death will have on the administration's legislative program in Congress. There is no doubt that White House measures will have tougher sledding without the powerful Oklahoman's strength and legislative skill behind them.

Administration leaders thus have particular reason to mourn Senator KERR's passing. Others, of whatever political complexion, may regret the departure of one who acted boldly and resourcefully in behalf of strong convictions.

During the past year or so it had often been remarked that Senator KERR had become the most powerful man in the Senate. In a sense, he filled the power vacuum created when LYNDON B. JOHNSON left the Senate to become Vice President. Though he jumped on the Kennedy bandwagon with notable tardiness in 1960, he quickly became the President's right-hand man in the Senate. It was he whose support was principally instrumental in administration successes with trade, tax, and other legislation.

Now the White House must find another man, or men, to take up the slack in leadership. Particularly, a man must be found to manage administration tax proposals and maneuver them through the Senate. Senator KERR's shoes will be hard to fill.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, Jan. 4, 1963]

#### POWER VACUUM IN SENATE

Calling him "the Senate's single most powerful Member," Washington officials and correspondents are speculating on how the death of Senator ROBERT S. KERR will affect the Kennedy program in the upcoming session of Congress.

The power vacuum Senator KERR leaves is the one he stepped into 2 years ago. Up until then, he had spent 12 years in the Senate building up seniority, acquiring influence, but not exercising active leadership, which was held pretty firmly in the strong political hands of Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

With Senator JOHNSON moving up to the Vice Presidency, MIKE MANSFIELD was supposed to take both his title and his place but, somehow, couldn't manage to fill his shoes. That gave Senator KERR his opportunity.

In the absence of a strong liberal or strong conservative who could exercise effective control of the Senate, the Oklahoman, hardly classified as either, simply took it over.

As was to be expected under these circumstances, Senator KERR used it for moderation. He supported those parts of the Kennedy program which he approved, but opposed those he didn't. Frequently, he would trade with the President, making concessions to the administration in exchange for some he wanted as a Senator.

That, particularly, is why Washington is trying to estimate how the Kennedy legislative program will fare in the absence of Senator KERR, who could give it the strongest support or the strongest opposition of any Member of the Senate.

Initially, objective observers feel that it could help Mr. Kennedy with his medicare proposal, which Senator KERR—coauthor of the Kerr-Mills plan—opposed, but hurt him with his tax-cut program, which the Senator favored. On these measures, however, the final decision may well come in the House. The House would probably spike both.

In the Senate, itself, the effect will be determined by who now steps into the power vacuum which Senator KERR filled the last 2 years. It is a tribute to his great service to the Congress and to the country that both are left wondering who can fill his place.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, in the passing of Senator KERR, the Senate lost one of its most forceful personalities and the Democratic Party one of its most vigorous adherents.

Senator KERR fought hard for the things he believed in; he was an able advocate and, as many in this body learned to their sorrow, a formidable adversary in debate. As a fellow Democrat, I was grateful for his effectiveness in this regard for he could rally support for common causes. One of the best speeches I ever heard was the keynote address he gave at the Democratic National Convention in 1944.

Many of my fellow Tennesseans knew him as one of the principal architects of the self-financing act for the Tennessee Valley Authority, under which TVA may issue bonds for the needed expansion of its power production facilities.

Senator KERR was one of the most important figures on the American political scene in modern times, and history will not soon forget him.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I should like to join my colleagues in expressing my deep sense of loss at the passing of Senator KERR, and my conviction that the Senate, the Nation, and the State of Oklahoma have suffered a truly great loss. During my brief service here, I have learned that there are few men who could so completely win the hearts, friendship, and loyalty which BOB KERR won in his long and honorable Senate service. He was a strong man, yet a kind man, and he had the deepest sense of humility. He was a man who had strong convictions and the courage to fight for his beliefs, but all of his struggles were devoid of bitterness or rancor.

In his personal life Senator KERR was a devoted family man, and one deeply moved by charity and the spirit of religion. He was a natural leader of men, a man of both character and moral strength, and big enough to consider the views of other men because of his dedication to justice, democracy, and the perpetuation of this great body.

I had the privilege of serving with him during the period that he was chair-

man of the Senate Space Committee. I know of his deep commitment that this Nation be preeminent in space and science. I know of his devotion to education and the development of the resources of this country for the use of its citizens. Some have said that he is a man who had everything and with this I would agree; but he had the humanity to care about the aged and the sick, about the less privileged, and the economically distressed.

Many bills which have passed this body to become law, bear his indelible signature. He has given much to this Nation, and we as a people are thankful for his having been here to serve and to leave his mark on present and future generations.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to the memory of a great American who has been recognized by many as one of the most distinguished and effective public servants ever produced by the great State of Oklahoma. Senator ROBERT KERR earned an enviable reputation as a man who turned his every endeavor into success, whether it be in the business world, in the Governor's chair, in the U.S. Senate, or as a lay leader in the Baptist church. His meteoric rise from his humble beginnings in a log cabin to a position of strong leadership and powerful influence in the councils of government and also his almost unmatched success as a businessman present a ringing testimony to the great and vast opportunities which our form of government and our free enterprise system offer to all Americans. BOB KERR proved that a man who is willing to work hard and face all the challenges of life can meet with eminent success in America. I must admit, however, that BOB KERR possessed many more valuable traits which contributed considerably to this success, including, of course, his warm and friendly personality, his integrity, his vast store of knowledge and intelligence, and his dedication to his State and Nation.

I had the pleasure of serving with the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma on the Public Works Committee, and I value my associations with him while serving on that committee and while working with him on many legislative matters in the Senate.

The State of Oklahoma and the people of this country have lost the services of a valuable and dedicated public servant, and I join my colleagues in extending my deepest sympathy to the people of Oklahoma and all the members of the Kerr family.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, as we all know, the Senate and the Nation have suffered a grave loss in the sudden passing of Senator ROBERT KERR; and I have lost a dear friend.

BOB KERR was one of the most brilliant men ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. His great mental capacity was only matched by his boundless physical drive, in behalf of those things he believed to be necessary and right.

To him the most complex problems seemed simple, and the most herculean tasks possible.

Senator KERR was one of the most successful and industrious businessmen ever to serve in the legislative branch of our Government. Nevertheless, he maintained a close and affectionate relationship with all the people of his State.

He was an expert in the field of conservation. His observations on that subject have been permanently recorded in a book of such quality that it is now widely used as a textbook in the colleges of Missouri.

BOB was an outstanding Biblical scholar, whose impressive knowledge substantiated his own great faith as well as that of others.

His rare oratory and his unforgettable humor will always be remembered by those who knew him.

With this abundance of talents, it is as though we have lost many men.

To his gracious wife and fine children Mrs. Symington and I extend our deepest sympathy.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it is with profound humility that I add my voice to those of my colleagues in lament and praise for Senator ROBERT SAMUEL KERR. He will always be remembered as a pillar of strength and power in this body. But there were many other attributes to the man which will always make him memorable and his example one to respect. Colorful in speech and dress, forceful in oratory, the late Senator KERR was never one to allow himself or his interests to be submerged in the anonymity of government. And this, it seems to me, is the great lesson of his career to us all, as it was the source of his great influence in this body. The record of his life reads like a lexicon of the history of his State. Born in what was then Indian Territory, he grew up in that lusty area, won from her his education and his well-being, saw her come to statehood and became her Governor. And when he came to Congress, he was always first to say that Oklahoma's interests were his interests and that his interests were Oklahoma's. ROBERT KERR had his critics, but the lesson he left for us, it seems to me, was that he persisted in being his own colorful, independent self. The result was that we in the Senate always had a fresh burst of Oklahoma sunlight to illuminate our way, and we shall always be the richer for having had it.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to BOB KERR, late a Senator from the State of Oklahoma, and a man who honored me with his friendship. The Members of this body who knew Senator KERR are aware that he was a man who stood apart in many ways. He was a giant among us, physically, mentally, and in the mark he left by his generalship here of legislation of far-reaching significance. He was the kind of man of whom legends are made. Indeed, he was a living legend while yet among us—which can be said of few men, and never of little men. The legends will grow and flourish, for the basic stuff was there, and BOB KERR will enter into the folklore of our politics, as one of the rare ones of whom stories are

told and memories cherished. The tribute we pay today is but the beginning for BOB KERR. We may be as confident that he will live in the history of the Senate as we can be confident that he has now found communion with the one Master whom BOB KERR recognized and served in all he did on earth.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I, along with the entire Nation, was shocked to hear the news, last December, that BOB KERR, of Oklahoma, had died suddenly.

I have enjoyed my close working relationship with Senator Kerr, and it is much too difficult to crowd into this short tribute all the accomplishments which were his during the time he served in the U.S. Senate. While he had done so much, I truly felt that his star was just beginning to shine much brighter on the horizon had he been able to remain with us, to continue the work which he had so nobly advanced.

Senator KERR was born in a log cabin. He was a native son of the State of Oklahoma. He was a devout member of the Baptist church. He had served as president of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and as vice president of the Southern Baptist Convention. For several years before his death he had been president of the Baptist Foundation of Oklahoma. He struggled hard to get his formal education and came from a poor family. He was a great debater and became an expert on every subject he handled in the U.S. Senate.

BOB KERR served with honor and distinction on many committees in the Senate and his first love was the utilization of our natural resources.

I worked very closely with BOB KERR on the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, which he so ably chaired. One could not help but be amazed at the confidence which he always demonstrated on many of the seemingly impossible tasks which he handled. Were it not for his bipartisan effort for the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, our Nation today, would, indeed, be lagging far behind in this field. He was determined to make our country first. The speed with which he got our space program underway was most encouraging and had it not been for his background in business and politics, I feel that this would never had been accomplished.

I had looked forward to working with Senator KERR during the 88th Congress. We needed him and were counting on him.

I join with my colleagues in expressing my deep sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, the affection and respect for the great contribution of our former associate, Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, extended far beyond the limits of his home State. This has been said to the Senate many times. Another example of this respect is indicated by the resolution of the City Commission of the City of El Dorado, Kans., which I submit here for inclusion in the RECORD relating to the designation of the lake at Ponca City, Okla., on the Arkansas River as Lake Robert S. Kerr.

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

*Be it resolved by the governing body of the city of El Dorado, Kans., That in recognition of the commendable public services of the late Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of the State of Oklahoma, not only to the people of his State, but to the people of the State of Kansas, and in particular to the Arkansas Basin Development Association in Kansas, and as partial recognition for his efforts and contributions to the public good, that it be recommended to the proper authorities, that the lake to be created on the Arkansas River east of Ponca City, Okla., be entitled and called Lake Robert S. Kerr.*

Passed and approved this 5th day of February 1963.

PAUL F. MARTENS,  
*Mayor.*  
V. EUGENE PAYER,  
*Commissioner.*  
VIRGIL K. GODDING,  
*Commissioner.*

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the words spoken today here on the floor in tribute to Senator KERR make a lasting record of his love for Senators and of their love for him.

I consider it a great honor to have been privileged to serve 12 years as his junior colleague—the most happy relationship a man could possibly have.

His passing leaves a deep void in the State of Oklahoma, where his leadership was so effectively known.

All Oklahoma, and particularly myself and Mrs. Monroney, deeply sympathize with Mrs. Kerr and the wonderful family in this loss.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE CONTRACTS

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, compelling evidence is piling up of the need for full public disclosure of the basis on which national defense contracts are being awarded. Yesterday the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] made a statement highly critical of the President for remarks made last year during the course of the campaign which confirmed that politics, influence, and other extraneous considerations governed the selection of top Government contractors. I ask unanimous consent that an article appearing in the Washington Post on March 1 setting forth some of the comments of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

#### SENATOR CASE ASKS ARMS CONTRACT PUBLICITY RULE

(By Laurence Stern)

A top Republican liberal in the Senate called yesterday for broad public disclosure action to insure that political favoritism is kept out of the Pentagon's \$60-billion-a-year spending program.

Senator CLIFFORD CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, further said that President Kennedy during last year's election personally confirmed that politics, influence, and other extraneous considerations govern selection of top Government contractors.

CASE spoke as a Senate investigations subcommittee headed by Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, continued its closed inquiry into possible favoritism in the award of a \$6.5 billion TFX tactical

fighter aircraft contract to the General Dynamics Corp.

And on another front, the award of the TFX contract was defended yesterday by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara as a tremendous step forward that would save at least \$1 billion in research and development costs.

#### CONGRESS TAKES INTEREST

It was the controversial fighter contract that created a flareup of congressional interest in the perennial issue of favoritism in Government contract awards.

CASE cited the TFX award and the Mohole project of the National Science Foundation, designed to provide greater knowledge about the earth's interior, as cases in which top administration officials reversed the recommendations of expert panels in awarding contracts.

He criticized the President for having lowered campaigning standards by saying that Democrats could get more Government contracts for their States than Republicans. CASE's home State of New Jersey lost 17 percent of its prime Government contracts since the Kennedy administration took over, a recent Defense Department study disclosed.

#### THREE-POINT PROGRAM

The New Jersey Republican proposed a three-point program which he said would protect the integrity of the contract system:

Require that records be maintained, open to public inspection, of all written and oral communications (except by the bidder) on defense or space contracts, including those from Members of Congress. This is intended to prevent back-door wirepulling in behalf of contractors.

Require full, complete, and prompt public disclosure of the basis on which noncompetitive negotiated contract awards are made. Nearly two-thirds of all Pentagon contracts, he noted, are negotiated.

Create a joint House-Senate committee as a watchdog over all defense and space contract awards. He suggested that it be headed by a Republican during Democratic administrations and by a Democrat when a Republican is in the White House.

#### INTRODUCED IN HOUSE

Companion legislation was introduced yesterday in the House by Representative EARL WILSON, Republican, of Indiana, who charged that "influence, politics, manifestations of good will and other pressures are being used to channel defense contracts to favored manufacturers at all levels."

Protested WILSON: "Wining and dining of middle-grade civil servants in both skyrocketing the cost of defense procurement and disrupting efficiency of the military. \* \* \*"

At the McClellan committee hearings, meanwhile, investigating Senators pursued the question of why Defense Secretary McNamara ignored the unanimous recommendations of four evaluation boards and awarded the fighter contract to General Dynamics. The military boards, representing all the services affected by the fighter project, picked Boeing Aircraft.

The closed-door testimony was released to the press after being sanitized by Pentagon officials, who were instructed by McCLELLAN to remove only classified information.

#### COST CLAIMS DOUBTED

McNamara awarded the controversial contract to General Dynamics last November despite findings by military professionals that the Boeing airplane was superior in range, bomb-carrying capacity, radar evasion, and other military advantages. An Air Force review board also found that Boeing could produce the plane for \$100 million less than General Dynamics.

One of the factors that reportedly weighed in McNamara's reversal of the evaluation boards was doubts among his civilian analysts of Boeing's cost claims.

At his press briefing yesterday the Secretary, without referring to any individual company, mentioned during the discussion of the TFX project the "serious underestimates of program costs \* \* \* that have plagued us in the past."

McNamara pointed out that in 10 or 15 major weapons systems he has examined recently "no one of them had an actual cost less than 300 percent of the original estimate and several of them had final costs that were approximately 1,000 percent of the original estimate."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I call attention to unclassified testimony which

*Operational comparison of 2 TFX proposals, General Dynamics versus Boeing, as evaluated by U.S. Air Force*

[Only subcommittee selected items are shown]

	General Dynamics	Boeing
Contractor's proposal (millions) <sup>1</sup>	\$5,455.5	\$5,364.2
Air Force program estimate (millions)	\$7,083.2	\$6,983.0
Air Force program estimate adjusted figure (millions)	\$5,803.0	\$5,387.5
Ferry range (nautical miles)	X	X plus 1,100 miles.
Reaction time at minus 65° F. (minutes)	2 times X	X.
Landing distance over 50-foot obstacle (feet)	X plus 590 feet.	X.
Deceleration device	Dive brakes and spoilers.	Thrust reverser.
Air Force estimate of Navy weight (pounds)	X plus 2,208 pounds	X.
Air Force estimate of Navy mission A (loiter time in hours)	X	X plus 30 minutes.
Air Force estimate of Navy mission B (loiter time in minutes)	X	5/8 times X.
Aircraft carrier spotting <sup>2</sup>	X plus 5.	X.
Avoidance of foreign object damage	Deflectors.	High scoops.
Area intercept mission (radius in nautical miles) <sup>1</sup>	X	X plus 177 miles.
Ordnance carrying capability (pounds of demolition bombs):		
Wings out	X	X plus 69 percent.
Wings in	X	X plus 11 percent.
Contractor's proposed ordnance loading: <sup>1</sup>		
Nuclear bombs	X	X plus 50 percent.
Air-to-ground missile	X	Do.
Demolition bomb	X	X plus 105 percent.
Cluster dispenser	X	X plus 180 percent.
Fire bomb	X	X plus 250 percent.
Land mine	X	X plus 70 percent.
Rocket launcher	X	X plus 44 percent.
Air-to-air missile	X	X plus 100 percent.

<sup>1</sup> Contractor data.

<sup>2</sup> Navy evaluation.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, who is also the chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], stated yesterday that the Pentagon's civilian hierarchy overruled four times the recommendations of military evaluation boards for acceptance of the Boeing proposal as being a cheaper and far superior design.

I suggest that this testimony being received by the subcommittee reveals that the Air Force estimated the Boeing program would cost \$100 million less than the one offered by General Dynamics.

The Air Force further stated that with certain adjustments in both programs, the Boeing program would cost over \$400 million less. At the same time the comparison which I have had printed in the RECORD reveals that the Boeing model was estimated by the Air Force to have a ferry range 1,100 nautical miles greater, 177 nautical miles of greater radius for interception, capability of landing at a distance of 590 feet less, and a much greater ordnance carrying capacity than the General Dynamics model.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article written by Cecil Holland, appearing in the February 27 issue of the Washington Evening Star, and another article by the same writer appearing in the February 28 issue of the Washington Evening Star, on the

was received by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, showing Air Force evaluation of the operational characteristics and cost comparisons between the Boeing and General Dynamics TFX fighter aircraft proposals. I ask unanimous consent that this unclassified comparison be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

*Operational comparison of 2 TFX proposals, General Dynamics versus Boeing, as evaluated by U.S. Air Force*

[Only subcommittee selected items are shown]

	General Dynamics	Boeing
Contractor's proposal (millions) <sup>1</sup>	\$5,455.5	\$5,364.2
Air Force program estimate (millions)	\$7,083.2	\$6,983.0
Air Force program estimate adjusted figure (millions)	\$5,803.0	\$5,387.5
Ferry range (nautical miles)	X	X plus 1,100 miles.
Reaction time at minus 65° F. (minutes)	2 times X	X.
Landing distance over 50-foot obstacle (feet)	X plus 590 feet.	X.
Deceleration device	Dive brakes and spoilers.	Thrust reverser.
Air Force estimate of Navy weight (pounds)	X plus 2,208 pounds	X.
Air Force estimate of Navy mission A (loiter time in hours)	X	X plus 30 minutes.
Air Force estimate of Navy mission B (loiter time in minutes)	X	5/8 times X.
Aircraft carrier spotting <sup>2</sup>	X plus 5.	X.
Avoidance of foreign object damage	Deflectors.	High scoops.
Area intercept mission (radius in nautical miles) <sup>1</sup>	X	X plus 177 miles.
Ordnance carrying capability (pounds of demolition bombs):		
Wings out	X	X plus 69 percent.
Wings in	X	X plus 11 percent.
Contractor's proposed ordnance loading: <sup>1</sup>		
Nuclear bombs	X	X plus 50 percent.
Air-to-ground missile	X	Do.
Demolition bomb	X	X plus 105 percent.
Cluster dispenser	X	X plus 180 percent.
Fire bomb	X	X plus 250 percent.
Land mine	X	X plus 70 percent.
Rocket launcher	X	X plus 44 percent.
Air-to-air missile	X	X plus 100 percent.

of four military evaluation boards in favor of the Boeing design.

MEMORANDUM QUOTED

An excerpt from Mr. Zuckert's justification said:

"There are additional examples of exceptional optimism in the Boeing proposal—the apparent belief that thrust reversers can be developed without major problems and engineering changes; the view that the variable swept wing can be quite easily applied to the use of the TFX concept; the use of titanium structural members; the unique design of the propulsion installation.

"These examples suggest, if our experience is any guide, that much redesign and testing would be necessary, contrary to the reduced engineering estimates and costs indicated in the Boeing proposals."

The Boeing design was estimated at \$100 million less costly than General Dynamics and far superior in several features.

TO TOTAL \$6.5 BILLION

The contract is expected eventually to total \$6.5 billion and the subcommittee is undertaking to determine if there was any favoritism in awarding the award. Secretary McNamara, Mr. Zuckert, and Navy Secretary Korth, who overruled the military experts, will be called as witnesses later in the investigation.

Committee Counsel Jerome Adlerman questioned Mr. Stack about some of the advantages indicated in the Boeing design and asked if he considered the Seattle-based company was overoptimistic in its proposals.

"Why, no," Mr. Stack replied. Among advantages of the Boeing design indicated by Mr. Adlerman's questions were a lighter aircraft, a range of 1,000 to 1,100 miles greater and an ability to land on a field 600 feet shorter. Mr. Stack agreed that these and other features would make a plane more desirable.

The witness testified that from his knowledge while in Government service Boeing started design work on the TFX type of aircraft in 1959 and that General Dynamics began its work about a year later.

FEATURES DEFENDED

He also said that use of titanium would not detract from the aircraft and expressed confidence that competent engineers would be able to work into the aircraft the thrust reversers (for slowing the plane down for landings, for example) and the variable swept wing. Without the variable wing, the witness said, there would not be a TFX plane.

He also said the Boeing design of locating air scoops or intakes on the upper surfaces of the fuselage would seem to be better than General Dynamics design placing them under wings. He explained that there would be a hazard of drawing in pebbles and stones with the intakes under the wings when the aircraft was taking off from turfed or unpaved landing fields.

The witness also said the Boeing design offered more area for attaching weapons.

"It would make your head swim when you see how much stuff they are going to have in this \* \* \*," Mr. Stack said. "It will look like a porcupine."

OTHER WITNESSES CALLED

The investigation continued today, still behind closed doors, with a number of military officers and staff investigators as the witnesses.

The inquiry began yesterday with Chairman McCLELLAN detailing how the Pentagon's civilian hierarchy overruled four times the recommendations of military evaluation boards for a cheaper and far superior design.

While Boeing lost out on the airplane contract, the biggest since World War II, it scored yesterday in landing one for the development and production of 11 Saturn 1-C first-stage boosters for a spacecraft which it

subject of the investigation of the TFX contract, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 27, 1963]

TFX HEARING WITNESS DEFENDS BOEING DESIGN

(By Cecil Holland)

An aeronautics expert has told Senate investigators he does not consider that the Boeing Aircraft Co. was overoptimistic in its design of a fighter aircraft with numerous advantages over one for which the Defense Department has contracted.

The testimony was given by John Stack, a former official of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, before the Senate Investigations Subcommittee in its inquiry into the award of the TFX fighter aircraft contract.

Mr. Stack, vice president of Republic Aviation Corp., is known as the father of the new type plane designed for use by both the Air Force and Navy.

TRANSCRIPT RELEASED

He testified before the subcommittee in a closed session yesterday and a heavily censored transcript of what he said was released today.

The transcript revealed that the Boeing Co., which lost out to General Dynamics Corp. in the bid for the contract, was held by the Pentagon's top civilian officials as being too optimistic in its proposal.

The transcript showed to Air Force Secretary Zuckert made this point in a memorandum justifying the action of the civilian officials, including Secretary of Defense McNamara, in overruling recommendations

is hoped will carry a crew of astronauts to the moon in this decade.

The contract totals \$418.8 million.

While the hearings are closed because of security considerations, the subcommittee has ordered censored transcripts of the testimony released to the press.

At yesterday's opening hearing, Senator McClellan said an evaluation group known as the Source Selection Board recommended the Boeing design four times between January and November 1962.

#### STILL 2 YEARS OFF

First test flights of the plane, designed for use by both the Air Force and Navy, may be as much as 2 years away, Mr. Stack said. "I think we could have had an outstanding airplane flying today if those concerned with the project had moved faster," he added.

Mr. Stack helped develop the idea of the all-purpose "wonder plane" while stationed at the Langley Research Center in Virginia.

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 28, 1963]  
PROBERS SEEK DATE PENTAGON RULED ON TFX

(By Cecil Holland)

Senate investigators of the TFX fighter plane controversy want to know exactly when the Pentagon's civilian bosses decided to award the procurement plum to General Dynamics Corp. of Fort Worth, Tex.

The matter came up during the Senate investigation's questioning of two Air Force colonels in a closed hearing yesterday. The testimony, heavily censored, was made public today.

Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of the Air Force Zuckert, and Navy Secretary Korth overruled unanimous recommendations of military experts favoring the Boeing Aircraft Co. of Seattle, Wash., and gave the contract to General Dynamics. The program is expected eventually to total \$6.5 billion.

#### TWO COLONELS HEARD

Col. Charles E. Gayle, program director for the project, and Col. Roy A. Jaynes of Air Force headquarters testified, the transcript showed, that Mr. Zuckert was briefed on the fourth and final rival proposals last November 9.

Subsequently, Colonel Jaynes said, Secretary Zuckert requested on November 14 a history of the rival proposals and supporting documents. The officer said he understood the Secretary wanted the material for use in making a decision.

However, Senator MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, said, "We have reason to believe the decision was made before November 13 or 14." He did not elaborate, and Senator CURTIS, Republican, of Nebraska, suggested that the Secretary may have requested the material to back up a decision already reached by the Pentagon civilian leaders.

The award to General Dynamics was announced on November 24.

#### SECRETARIES TO TESTIFY

Mr. McNamara and the two service secretaries will be called as witnesses later in the investigation.

It was brought out during the questioning of the two colonels that it was unusual for the civilian secretaries to overrule the unanimous recommendations of the military boards and other high-ranking officers who recommended Boeing as the producer of the plane. Both said they were unaware of any other incidents of this kind.

"I want to find that out," Chairman McClellan said. "I think it is important \* \* \* if this is a most unusual thing, that a weapons system or procurement problem like this would be processed as much as it is, and have such apparent unanimity among those who are presumed to know most about weapons and how to use them, and their judgment is overruled."

The committee was told yesterday that the civilian defense officials ordered an unusual course before making the award.

#### COMPETITORS ASSISTED

After the third rejection of the board's recommendation of Boeing as the producer of the multipurpose aircraft for use by both the Navy and Air Force, Colonel Gayle told the subcommittee, the officials ordered an evaluation team to give the major competitors every assistance in reworking their designs.

Colonel Gayle said this was the first time as far as he knew that such instructions had been issued. Colonel Gayle also was recalled as a witness.

The colonel also testified that during the months while the award was pending, he took the position that the successive rejections of the board's recommendations by the civilian officials and their orders to rework the designs brought the two companies closer together in their proposals and made it harder to reach a decision.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I also call attention to a report in the press that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara considered doubts of the Pentagon's civilian analysts of Boeing's cost claims in his reversal of the Military Evaluation Board recommendations. However, I wish to point out that I am not concerned about the Boeing estimates. I am concerned about the Air Force estimates which I have previously inserted in the RECORD. I suggest that if there was any concern on the part of the Secretary of Defense, it should be couched in the light of the Air Force estimates rather than the estimates of the unnamed civilian analysts in the Pentagon.

I shall not prejudice the hearing, but I do suggest that if public confidence in the integrity of our defense contracting system is to be maintained, there must be much less secrecy surrounding the system. Coupled with the news management policy of the administration, its cynical hinting that Democrats can get more contracts for their districts than Republicans, and the fact that about two-thirds of Pentagon contracts are negotiated on a noncompetitive basis, I think the public's right to know how its money is being spent in this area is vital. Furthermore, I trust that the claim of executive privilege, which seems to be increasingly put to use in denying facts to investigating committees of the legislative branch, will not be interposed in the defense contract award area.

In that connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a copy of the address by Mr. Clark Mollenhoff, one of the Nation's leading reporters, who is affiliated with the Washington Bureau of the Cowles Publications.

The address was delivered at the University of Oregon on February 15, 1963. Mr. Mollenhoff is the author of the book "Washington Cover-Up," and the address which I have requested to be printed in the RECORD gives an excellent description of the way in which executive privilege can be whimsically interposed between the executive branch and the public, which has the right to know how its affairs are being conducted by those in whom it has placed its trust.

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

#### WASHINGTON COVER-UP

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

Much has changed in the newspaper world in the 50 years since Eric W. Allen founded the department of Journalism at the University of Oregon. Reporters and editors are better educated than in the period of even 25 or 30 years ago. There has been a specialization on many of our larger newspapers that is regarded by some observers as a tremendous step in giving the public a better understanding of such fields as education, science, and labor. Certainly, most local newspaper staffs are better equipped today to report and analyze the activities of local and State governments than they were in 1912. Much credit for this progress belongs to men like Eric Allen.

However, there is real reason for asking if the newspapers are keeping pace with the national and international problems that confront our society. These problems involve both bigness and complexity. They are best illustrated by a simple reference to the tremendous increase in Federal responsibilities and Federal expenditures.

In 1912, Federal expenditures were less than \$1 billion—\$689,881,000 to be exact. Recently, President Kennedy has proposed a budget of \$98.8 billion, and it could easily soar over the \$100 billion mark. More than \$50 billion of the Federal spending will be for defense. This means it will be spent behind a heavy curtain of military security that will prevent the press and the public from examining many of the decisions of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

There can be little doubt, we have reached the point where it is impossible for any newspaper reporter, or any group of reporters, to engage in a comprehensive analysis of Government spending. The size of the spending is staggering. The complexity of the laws and regulations is overwhelming. The powers assumed by the executive branch are almost unbounded.

Yet, somehow we must manage to examine and criticize this mammoth Federal Government if we are to carry out our assignment in the American democracy. Somehow, we must find the means to expose corruption or favoritism even if it involves areas where the Defense Department may seek to use false claims of military security for a shield. Somehow, we must oppose the arbitrary and arrogant use of authority within the huge bureaucratic agencies. Somehow, we must keep all channels of information open unless the real military security of our Nation is at stake. And even in those areas where genuine military security can be claimed, we must assure ourselves that the Congress has provided an effective check on the use of arbitrary power by the executive branch.

Bounded up in these press responsibilities is the most vital issue of our time: Can the United States fight effectively in the long range cold war, and also continue to function as a real democracy?

The newspapers of the United States must carry a heavy responsibility, if not the major responsibility, in the determination of how that question will be answered in the next 10 or 20 years ahead of us. Newspaper editors and reporters must be able to understand the problem of obtaining information from Government. They must know all the avenues for obtaining information, and must recognize when those avenues are being barricaded. They must recognize when a false claim of military security is used to cover up matters that are simply embarrassing to the executive branch.

It is not enough for our editorial pages to shout freedom of information or news

management with a fervor. It can be relatively easy to deplore the news managers on a well-publicized Federal case where others have led the way. However, it is more important that you be able to do your own analysis of Government operations to expose the unjustified secrecy that slips into Government agencies under many different guises.

Many journalism schools and many professional newspaper organizations are doing a laudable job of trying to promote a greater interest in depth knowledge of Government information problems. However, the effort is still far from successful.

It is unfortunate that deep splits have developed in the ranks of the working newsmen that tend to hurt the entire cause. One group tends to scoff at the resolutions passed by freedom of information committees as being ineffective. This group may point to an enthusiastic resolution supporter who does not follow through in his daily operations. There is the claim that all that is needed is good reporting to break through any of the information barriers.

Such feuding tends to weaken the newspapers on an issue upon which they should be united. There is no doubt that good aggressive reporters and editors can do a great deal to break through news barriers. However, when the problem becomes national in scope, there is also the need for strong and unified support from other newspapers and from professional organizations. It is seldom that one reporter or one newspaper can break through a secrecy wall on the national level if there is not general newspaper support. It is even more difficult if there is active opposition from well-known but poorly informed national columnists.

Fortunately, most of the columnists are reasonably well informed on this issue, but some are not. One well-known columnist screamed about news management but a short time later supported a total arbitrary secrecy in a claim of Executive privilege.

How could he complain that an administration was engaged in news management by putting out favorable press releases, and then defend that administration for arbitrarily barring Congress from investigating behind the self-serving declarations in the news releases. Some might contend that the man was forsaking journalistic principles to promote the things he felt were expedient.

He was not dishonest. It was worse than that. He simply does not know Government operations. He writes the big picture, second-guessing the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of State on all types of broad policy issues. Yet, I know from considerable personal experience that he is unfamiliar with the detailed little pictures that are necessary if one is to draw sweeping conclusions on the so-called big picture.

This columnist had no understanding of the laws, regulations, or court decisions involved in the problem of Executive privilege. Secrecy was wrong one week because it interfered with a story he was pursuing. Broader secrecy was acceptable the next week because it seemed to bar information from a Senator he did not like.

Over a period of years, I believe that the activities of our journalism schools and our professional newspaper organizations can do a lot to eradicate or minimize such misleading commentary.

As far as the overall information picture is concerned, I do not want to be an alarmist. However, I do want to express concern over a number of actions in the Kennedy administration that deal with the information policy. Some are mere extensions of the Eisenhower administration's policies, and some seem to carry the New Frontier stamp.

I do not believe we are faced with public officials who want to interfere with the rights

of a free press or the proper operations of our democracy. However, this does not mean that I believe we can count on the good intentions or the self-serving statements of any administration. The President and others charged with the responsibility for military defense can easily rationalize steps to bar the press or Congress from embarrassing information. The political aspirations of nearly every high official in the executive branch tend to make it easy to justify press releases that give an overly optimistic picture of how well Government is being administered.

The men heading our Government may have the best interests of the press at heart, but it is cause for concern when Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester starts to talk of "an inherent right to lie" about defense matters. This is particularly troublesome when it is accompanied by a directive which makes it necessary for all civilian and military officials at the Pentagon to report all conversations with reporters before the close of business each day.

Take such pronouncements in context with other developments in recent years, and it is apparent why newsmen should be giving more serious study to the laws and practices on Government information. Just review some examples:

When an Air Force navigator was crippled for life in a bomber crash, the Air Force denied him Government records he needed to press a damage claim.

When a Government investigator displeased his superiors with a report on misuse of U.S. foreign aid to Cambodia, the State Department refused him access to his own personnel records which, he claimed, would show he was railroaded out of his job.

The Defense Department refused to allow a Senate committee to question Defense censors on their official actions.

The State Department refused Congress access to records containing evidence of fraud in foreign aid spending in Laos and Peru.

The Atomic Energy Commission and the Budget used an arbitrary secrecy ruling to hide a conflict of interest which made a multimillion-dollar power contract illegal.

A State Department official refused to give the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a copy of a controversial foreign relations planning paper.

High State Department officials accused a foreign government representative of bribery, but refused to produce documents or testimony to support the charge.

Even a Government agency, the General Accounting Office, was denied access to official Navy, Air Force, and State Department records despite a specific law giving GAO such right of access.

These are not examples of what might happen in the United States under an all-powerful authoritarian executive branch of Government. These are only a few of the cases demonstrating what has happened in the American democracy in recent years under an arbitrary claim of a right to unlimited secrecy.

This unlimited secrecy has been promoted under the term "Executive privilege." Through a simple self-serving declaration that the public interest is involved, officials of the executive branch have pulled down the broad secrecy curtain. The public, the press, the Congress, and even the courts are barred from records of testimony from Government officials or records of official acts.

President Eisenhower claimed his administration could bar Congress and the GAO from any records or testimony containing advice of high level officials.

President Kennedy has taken the Eisenhower thesis and extended it to declaring that he will not allow the questioning of

"subordinate officials of our career service" on their official acts.

Executive branch officials admit there is hardly a paper of importance in any executive agency that does not include the opinions, conclusions, or recommendations to qualify for an "Executive privilege" secrecy stamp.

The result is a doctrine that disregards the law, flies in the face of court decisions, scoffs at the right of the public to be informed and arrogantly rejects the processes of Congress.

In its simplest form, it is a proclamation that the executive branch cannot be challenged in its invocation of total secrecy. It strips away, or diminishes, the constitutional right of the Congress to investigate the administration of laws.

Neither the Eisenhower administration nor the Kennedy administration has used the ultimate power inherent in the "Executive privilege" doctrine. Total application of this doctrine would create a public uproar for it would be executive tyranny. Both administrations have made much information available that might have been hidden by Executive privilege, and in some cases information was revealed that was against the political interests of the administration in power. However, in many of these cases, the executive branch officials had no real choice for there was already enough information in the public domain to make a coverup impractical.

It would have been poor politics for the Kennedy administration to have tried to use Executive privilege to pull down the secrecy curtain on the Billie Sol Estes case. When the McClellan committee started its investigation of Estes in April there had already been an exposure of large segments of the Estes case by a Texas newspaper and by Texas Attorney General Will Wilson.

Use of Executive privilege at that point would have meant political disaster for Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman. Pulling down a secrecy curtain in the face of strong evidence of fraud would have been similar to claiming the fifth amendment. Freeman couldn't afford secrecy in the face of evidence indicating fraud or favoritism. The Kennedy administration couldn't afford to face a charge of cover-up on the first major scandal problem.

The Kennedy administration opened the records for Chairman McClellan, and for a House subcommittee headed by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina. Investigative reports were made available to the press and to the Senate and House investigators. High level officials testified on their opinions, conclusions, and recommendations in the cotton allotment decisions that favored Billie Sol Estes, and on the decisions that resulted in Estes being named to the National Cotton Advisory Board.

Low level officials testified in detail on their dealings with Estes. Nothing was withheld, the administration claimed.

The open Government policy in the Estes case was a complete reversal of form for the Kennedy administration. Less than 2 months earlier, President Kennedy had given his approval to a Defense Department decision to refuse to allow a Senate Armed Service subcommittee to question Defense censors on their official actions.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara used the secrecy of Executive privilege to block the Stennis subcommittee from questioning the censors on specific changes in speeches of high ranking military officers.

On February 8, 1962, President Kennedy wrote to McNamara:

"I have concluded that it would be contrary to the public interest to make available any information which would enable the subcommittee to identify and hold accountable any individual with respect to any particular speech that he has reviewed.

"I therefore direct you, and all personnel under the jurisdiction of your Department, not to give any testimony or produce any documents which would disclose any such information."

President Kennedy did not contend that the national security of the country might be jeopardized in the questioning of the censors. He did not contend that Defense or State secrets of a highly classified nature might be involved. This would have been ludicrous.

So, the President simply gave his view that it was in the public interest and the secrecy of executive privilege was claimed.

It was politically practical to assert a claim of unlimited secrecy in the censors hearings because Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, was the major opposition. Senator THURMOND held a position on racial and economic matters which had little national appeal, and he was regarded as a symbol of extreme rightwing thinking. It was Senator THURMOND who contended that the Pentagon and State Department censors were watering down the speeches of generals and admirals, and were in essence pursuing a no-win philosophy. The Defense and State Departments denied the allegation, and the Armed Services Subcommittee, under Chairman JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, was established to do a full investigation of the controversial blue penciling.

The Defense Department made copies of the public speeches available, and McNamara and others testified on the general policy under which censors operated. However, the important question was how the policies were interpreted and applied by the actual censors. That question was never answered because the claim of executive privilege was used to avoid pinpointing of responsibility for specific actions.

This was not a wild and free-swinging investigation under an irresponsible chairman. This was not a committee operating outside of its jurisdiction, and engaging in abusive treatment of witnesses. It was a properly authorized subcommittee of the Senate Armed Service Committee, it was operating within its jurisdiction, asking for Government records and asking questions that were pertinent to the inquiry.

McNamara declared that the Congress would have to content itself with his self-serving declaration—his high-level handouts—and would be prevented from going behind his assertions. Amazingly, the editorial cheers for McNamara were deafening. He was cheered because he was defying Senator THURMOND.

The question of whether Senator THURMOND was right or wrong in his conclusions on the censors was not important. He had the right to be wrong, as long as he conducted himself in a proper manner, and asked pertinent questions in a legitimate investigation. He had fully as much right to ask questions as any member of the press, and he had a right to expect answers that were truthful.

The press should examine its performance in this case as it considers information policies that were adopted later by McNamara and Sylvester. The press forgot principles for the moment in the interest of kicking a Senator who held an unpopular view. The press also forgot its own long-time self-interest.

McNamara was arbitrary, he was defiant of the power of Congress, and he was crowned a hero. Was it any wonder that he and Sylvester were confident in seeking the maximum in their more recent news managing ventures in connection with the Cuban affair? Was it any wonder Pentagon officials and the White House believed it was possible to adopt the Sylvester directive to control press contacts at the Pentagon?

Pentagon reporters have characterized the Sylvester directive on press contacts as a "Gestapo" tactic. They comment that they feel the Sylvester directive, if implemented, will have the potential for shutting off legitimate dissent on policy matters that have nothing to do with national security. Even if the order is not fully implemented, it is felt it will be a club over the heads of military and civilian personnel. It is a formal order, and can be used as a basis for disciplinary action at the times when the McNamara team wants to use it to curb dissent.

Defense Secretary McNamara may want to run the Defense Department in the best and most efficient manner. We can credit him with wanting to achieve the maximum military strength for the minimum expenditure. We can assume that he believes his policies are in the best interest of the Nation. However, the same thing could have been said for most of our past Secretaries of Defense and their military chiefs.

The present administration did not accept the Eisenhower administration's assessment of its achievements. In fact, President Kennedy and Gen. Maxwell Taylor, the present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were sharply critical of the defense policies of President Eisenhower. Since assuming office, they have stressed that the Eisenhower administration policies resulted in what they believed to be serious military weaknesses. They have assured us that Defense Secretary McNamara and General Taylor have been working feverishly and have repaired many of the weaknesses in our defense armor.

The men who are now leading our Nation did not want us to accept the self-serving declarations of the Eisenhower administration on our defense posture. Now they contend that what they found demonstrated the former policies were wrong.

Are we now to assume that we have finally found that infallible team composed of men who will instinctively know what is best for us? Are we to assume that McNamara, only 2 years in the job, can produce the right answers on complex problems of defense without the benefit of dissent or public debate?

The press should be insistent that the Sylvester directive is wiped off the books. The effectiveness of the press in opposing the directive will depend upon its persistence. While it has been encouraging to see the Nation's press genuinely irritated over the Sylvester order and the attitudes that surround it, it is doubtful that this fury will continue.

If there is sharp and continued criticism, I have no doubt the Sylvester order will eventually be modified or withdrawn.

However, if the Nation's newspapers follow a characteristic pattern, the fury will soon give way to a few mild protests, and these will in turn give way to a whimpering acceptance of the chains. The short attention span of many newspapers will mean that the Sylvester directive will be forgotten, and the high-level handout collecting that goes with it will become an accepted part of the Washington newsgathering picture.

The press has an obligation to rip the Sylvester directive apart at every opportunity, not only because it is bad, but because it can become the pattern for further similar directives if it survives.

Past history should pretty well demonstrate that the executive branch does not do a good job of investigating itself. This is particularly true of the Military Establishment. It was the Congress that revealed the scandals involving Gen. Benny Meyers. It was the Congress that pulled loose the scandals involving Harry (the Hat) Lev and the New York procurement office. It was the Congress that produced the "chamber of horrors" on military buying practices gen-

erally. It was the Congress that revealed the details of the classic military corruption and mismanagement, in the construction of an airstrip at Fort Lee, Va.

These scandals were actually being hidden or disregarded by the Pentagon until the Congress stepped in and forced aggressive action. Our thinking on future problems should be keyed to these documented studies of the past.

We should remember that the Symington Armed Services Subcommittee has demonstrated that several billions of dollars were wasted in the stockpiling of strategic and critical material. A vast curtain of secrecy covered the stockpile purchasing and the political letters and questionable decisions that went into the creation of that \$9 billion stockpile.

By now the lesson should be clear. Government secrecy has been used to hide corruption, mismanagement, and arbitrary abuse of power.

However, we must accept some secrecy as necessary to cover some military matters and some diplomatic negotiations. (Also, some secrecy is provided by law, such as in the income tax field.)

Our job is to see that the secrecy is limited to the areas clearly defined by laws and regulations. Even in the areas of military security and diplomatic negotiations there must be an avenue for review by proper committees of Congress and by the General Accounting Office.

Today we have four basic information problem areas:

1. The common news management in which an administration releases information that is most favorable to its activities, and makes it difficult to obtain contrary facts.

2. Such special directives as the Sylvester order of October 27, 1962, to control all press contacts at the Pentagon.

3. The misuse of military security classifications to cover up mistakes of judgment, malfeasance, and incompetence on the part of an incumbent administration.

4. The arbitrary and unlimited secrecy claim inherent in the Executive privilege doctrine as stated by President Eisenhower and carried on by President Kennedy.

Of all these problems, I am least concerned about simple news management as it is usually defined. Usually this term refers to the timing and wording of Government press releases to put the best foot forward for the incumbent administration. I am concerned only when the administration insists we accept these self-serving declarations, and then refuses to allow us to go behind them.

I am most gravely concerned about the Executive privilege doctrine. This doctrine is a naked claim to unlimited secrecy on the whim of the executive branch. It has been used to bar the press, the public, the Congress, and the General Accounting Office from examining Government business. It has been used to hide scandals and mismanagement in our regulatory agencies, in the foreign aid program, and in the Defense Department.

There is one thing that every citizen can do, and that every newspaper should do, in opposing the Washington coverup.

Give full support to Congress in asserting its right to investigate Government activities and Government spending.

I am not advocating that you should agree with the conclusions that any or all committees of Congress may reach in an investigation. I do suggest that you support the full right of Congress to call for documents and testimony in properly authorized investigations of Government activities.

The executive branch of the Government has grown more powerful year after year, and it seems unlikely that this power will

be cut. It may be that a powerful executive is needed in dealing with the problems of the cold war.

However, I do not believe that many of us would suggest that this great power that is lodged in the President and his official family should go unchecked. If that power is unchecked then we will have lost one of the most important aspects of our form of government—the checks and balances.

The Congress represents the only effective check on the executive branch. All legislative power resides in the Congress, and this means the power to pass laws, to investigate to see how the laws are being administered, and to investigate to determine if new laws are needed.

Every curtailment of the right of Congress to investigate is a curtailment of the right of the press to learn about the operations of Government. This is a curtailment of the public's right to know.

Congress may have its scoundrels, its scandals, and its abuses. But it is well to remember that Congress is a bipartisan body. It has within it the representatives of every shade of political thinking in our society from extreme liberal to extreme conservative. This diversity of thought is the strength of our Congress, and it is the real strength of our system of government. It is our only protection against the arbitrary and unauthorized use of power by the powerful executive branch that exists today.

In the last few weeks, I have read all of the earlier Eric Allen memorial lectures. They covered a wide range of interests, as diverse as were the interests of the men who gave them. However, it did seem to me that through them all ran one dominant theme—one basic belief:

Freedom of the press exists only to provide for reporting and commentary on public affairs. We are true to our profession only as we work to provide the light that makes the democratic process more effective.

It cannot be emphasized too often that our basic responsibility is governmental affairs. It was encouraging to see that all of your past Eric Allen speakers were in agreement on this point. In one way or another, each of them sought to demonstrate that the comics, gossip columns, fashions, sports, and puzzles—necessary as they may be in making mass appeal—are not the press activities the framers of our Constitution had in mind in guaranteeing a free press.

I believe Eric Allen would have found something of value in each of those earlier lectures, and I am sure he would have found the compiled lectures carried an inspiration greater than any single one.

We need a full measure of inspiration, as well as perspiration, to handle our responsibilities in these days of \$100 billion budgets. We need a persistent devotion to our tasks if we are to understand and control the high cost of Government secrecy at the city, county, State, or Federal level.

The future of democracy is contingent upon whether we can subordinate political partisanship and petty differences for basic principles. This is the least we can do to honor the memory of men like Eric Allen.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the three deceased Senators, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Monday, March 4.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 17 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 4, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CIX—213

## NOMINATIONS

### Executive nominations received by the Senate March 1, 1963:

#### PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following candidates for personnel action in the regular corps of the Public Health Service subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law and regulations:

##### To be senior assistant surgeons

Eugene A. Arnold, Jr.  
Jo Anne F. Holzman  
Joseph T. English

##### To be assistant surgeons

David L. Child Robert K. Heide  
John R. Furman George A. Reich  
Allan L. Brakensiek

##### To be senior assistant dental surgeons

Raymond E. Goepfrich  
Richard D. Lowe  
Terrance W. Baker

##### To be assistant dental surgeons

Richard P. Frank Paul J. Heins  
Richard F. Rappl Bruce R. Thorburn  
Robert F. Williams Louis S. Vozzak  
Sheppard M. Levine William S. Driscoll  
Charles A. Borgman Stephen J. Christensen  
Paul J. Carr Joseph Schwartz  
James C. Dunkel Fred D. Greenblatt  
John A. Matis Robert H. Dumbaugh  
Jack L. Cox

##### To be assistant sanitary engineer

Vincent P. Barnaba

##### To be junior assistant sanitary engineers

Donald S. Baker  
Robert L. Thoen  
Joseph R. Tynsky

##### To be senior assistant sanitarian

William P. Wollschlager

##### To be assistant sanitarian

Edwin J. Heldig

##### To be senior assistant veterinary officers

Arnold S. Kaufmann  
Melvin J. Worth, Jr.  
Donald D. Smith

##### To be assistant veterinary officers

Albert S. Ricker  
John G. Orthoefer  
Larry T. Grubbs

#### POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

##### ALABAMA

Ersie J. Palmer, Birmingham, Ala., in place of J. R. Moncus, retired.  
Erskine W. Bonds, Docona, Ala., in place of J. A. Hyde, transferred.  
Thomas P. Weeks, Moundville, Ala., in place of M. E. Sims, transferred.

##### ALASKA

Marshall C. Higginbotham, Aniak, Alaska, in place of I. A. Begin, resigned.  
Mildred J. Sanford, Tok, Alaska, in place of L. F. Trafton, resigned.

##### ARIZONA

Marion L. Massey, Jr., Claypool, Ariz., in place of J. S. Raymond, retired.  
R. Odie Shipp, Miami, Ariz., in place of H. P. Williams, retired.

##### ARKANSAS

Ellot T. Bush, Arkinds, Ark., in place of Deedy Newsome, retired.  
Marvin J. Wilber, Maysville, Ark., in place of Clara Evans, retired.

##### CALIFORNIA

Floyd H. Erickson, Ahwahnee, Calif., in place of G. H. Crooks, retired.  
Joy L. Fansler, Big Pine, Calif., in place of E. D. Willson, retired.

Carl W. Fischer, Jr., Camarillo, Calif., in place of C. B. Schmill, removed.  
Clayton F. Malling, El Cerrito, Calif., in place of L. W. McNeil, retired.  
Nathaniel R. Evans, Fortuna, Calif., in place of C. L. Batten, retired.  
Frances M. Reed, Glen Ellen, Calif., in place of G. A. Rock, retired.  
Jack J. Snyder, Harbor City, Calif., in place of A. E. Collins, deceased.  
John F. Bushell, Oakland, Calif., in place of K. E. Francis, deceased.  
Nancy C. Avery, Pacoima, Calif., in place of L. M. Friedman, retired.

##### COLORADO

Harley O. Mullins, Aurora, Colo. Office established July 2, 1962.  
Elmer D. Vagher, Bristol, Colo., in place of H. L. Elmore, resigned.  
Claude T. Cecil, Gill, Colo., in place of Clarence Townley, retired.  
Phyllis M. Jenkins, Gilman, Colo., in place of L. M. Heyer, resigned.  
Goldie L. Simpson, Monument, Colo., in place of W. W. Carrothers, resigned.  
Frank A. Batman, Jr., Pierce, Colo., in place of E. F. Huit, retired.  
Fredda H. Mizner, Pine, Colo. Office re-established July 22, 1961.  
Vernon L. Morris, Ramah, Colo., in place of William Kloster, retired.  
Archie N. Hain, Wellington, Colo., in place of A. L. Carlson, transferred.

##### CONNECTICUT

B. Woodruff Clark, Litchfield, Conn., in place of S. A. Beckwith, retired.  
John H. Murphy, New Canaan, Conn., in place of F. B. Leslie, retired.  
Eugene D. Lynch, New Milford, Conn., in place of J. J. Berger, resigned.  
Donald T. Hogan, Plymouth, Conn., in place of M. E. Ryan, retired.  
Stanley L. Zaprzalka, Seymour, Conn., in place of A. H. Forst, retired.  
Carl J. Gniadek, Southport, Conn., in place of E. J. Speer, retired.  
Matthew J. Monahan, Thomaston, Conn., in place of M. T. Doyle, retired.  
Louis P. Gage, Washington Depot, Conn., in place of J. F. Connerty, retired.  
John J. Slattery, Waterbury, Conn., in place of W. J. Phelan, retired.

##### GEORGIA

Fred A. Kimler, Damascus, Ga., in place of J. A. Webb, retired.  
Clifton H. Conner, Gainesville, Ga., in place of H. R. Tucker, Sr., retired.  
Rothwell A. McCaskill, Sparta, Ga., in place of H. H. Berry, retired.

##### ILLINOIS

Eugene J. Tafel, Algonquin, Ill., in place of M. W. Struwing, removed.  
Ralph E. Haffenden, Belvidere, Ill., in place of P. I. O'Brien, retired.  
Carl H. Vaughn, Kinderhook, Ill., in place of M. E. McCarl, retired.  
C. Kenneth Sizemore, Paris, Ill., in place of Grady O'Hair, deceased.  
Vincent E. Stephenson, Pittsfield, Ill., in place of A. B. Caughlan, retired.  
Owen A. Reimer, Roscoe, Ill., in place of V. M. Wallace, retired.  
Curtis J. German, Rossville, Ill., in place of Joseph Brown, deceased.  
Thomas A. Wood, Wheaton, Ill., in place of C. E. Carlson, retired.  
Harold G. Minor, Windsor, Ill., in place of D. M. Wallace, resigned.

##### IOWA

Kenneth A. Madigan, Council Bluffs, Iowa, in place of J. C. Jensen, resigned.  
Vernon M. Hill, Davis City, Iowa, in place of C. L. Evans, transferred.  
Helen A. Bellmann, Durango, Iowa, in place of Elizabeth Grimme, retired.  
Leon L. Wilson, Nevada, Iowa, in place of C. S. Price, retired.

Rex V. Ritz, Selma, Iowa, in place of W. W. Fulton, retired.

## KANSAS

Henry L. Smith, Abilene, Kans., in place of R. M. Hill, retired.  
 Donald I. Beamgard, Atwood, Kans., in place of Sophia Kesselring, retired.  
 Joseph B. Nick, Basehor, Kans., in place of J. D. Grisham, retired.  
 Virgil W. McCune, Benton, Kans., in place of M. P. Hill, transferred.  
 Francis R. Gorman, Chapman, Kans., in place of C. W. Taylor, resigned.  
 Fred A. Riggs, Cottonwood Falls, Kans., in place of R. D. Bennett, retired.  
 Myrl H. Kliesen, Dodge City, Kans., in place of C. V. Houlton, retired.  
 Harold D. Brown, Eureka, Kans., in place of R. L. Marlin, resigned.  
 Clarence E. Zarnowski, Halstead, Kans., in place of E. H. Malleis, retired.  
 Lawrence V. Ferrell, Independence, Kans., in place of Benjamin Taylor, retired.  
 Donald E. Plank, Iuka, Kans., in place of B. M. Dillon, retired.  
 E. Maxine Nelson, Lenora, Kans., in place of R. A. Fuller, retired.  
 Mabel B. Hoss, Ness City, Kans., in place of J. E. Clouston, retired.  
 Daryl M. Ford, Valley Falls, Kans., in place of Clayton Wyatt, retired.

## KENTUCKY

David S. Miranda, Ashland, Ky., in place of H. D. Shanklin, retired.  
 M. Alleen Hall, Betsy Layne, Ky., in place of A. M. Boyd, retired.  
 Henry M. Fannin, Ezel, Ky., in place of Roy Murphy, retired.  
 Joseph L. Thomas, Glendale, Ky., in place of L. M. Stuart, retired.  
 Bremer Ehrler, Louisville, Ky., in place of J. D. Scholtz, retired.  
 James H. Hicks, New Haven, Ky., in place of C. R. Johnson, resigned.  
 Mary R. McCormack, Sparta, Ky., in place of E. K. Riley, retired.

## LOUISIANA

Rowland C. Regan, Egan, La., in place of F. E. Richey, retired.  
 Lloyd E. Chachere, Eunice, La., in place of Rene Tate, retired.  
 Phillip A. Hanks, Greensburg, La., in place of E. M. Barbier, retired.  
 William E. Scott, Lake Providence, La., in place of T. G. Biggs, retired.  
 Chester L. Guidry, Morse, La., in place of DeLuxe Thibodeaux, retired.  
 Cecile B. Cheramle, Paradis, La., in place of F. C. Bertrand, retired.  
 Marvin E. Schauf, Saint Joseph, La., in place of J. A. Schuchs, deceased.

## MAINE

Sidney W. Bessey, Buckfield, Maine, in place of G. C. Thurlow, retired.  
 Samuel A. Saunders, Calais, Maine, in place of N. F. Townsend, deceased.  
 Ervin D. McCluskey, Jr., Freeport, Maine, in place of E. H. Stowell, retired.  
 Erma M. Small, Monson, Maine, in place of H. E. Johnson, deceased.

## MARYLAND

Eugene G. Bujac, Bowle, Md., in place of J. M. Porter, resigned.  
 Ora H. King, Clarksburg, Md., in place of J. M. Hess, resigned.  
 Henry J. Mundell, North Beach, Md., in place of M. G. Van Edsina, retired.  
 W. Conway Beall, Upper Marlboro, Md., in place of E. V. Dorsey, transferred.  
 M. Ilene Trotter, Waldorf, Md., in place of W. L. Ryon, retired.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Edward F. O'Leary, Holliston, Mass., in place of W. P. O'Grady, retired.  
 Marion O. Lantagne, Linwood, Mass., in place of G. V. Brady, retired.

William A. Latraverse, Northbridge, Mass., in place of C. E. Dion, retired.  
 George E. Owens, Jr., Wayland, Mass., in place of T. E. Hynes, retired.

## MICHIGAN

Donald G. Bachman, Sr., Ann Arbor, Mich., in place of O. J. Koch, deceased.  
 Florence W. Letvenow, Atlantic Mine, Mich., L. M. Pyykkonen, retired.  
 Stennette E. Walsworth, Augusta, Mich., in place of J. B. Woodrow, Jr., transferred.  
 Robert E. Mohr, Clinton, Mich., in place of R. F. Richardson, transferred.  
 James M. Mahoney, Decatur, Mich., in place of H. H. Creagan, removed.  
 William H. Schwartz, Flint, Mich., in place of W. O. Kelly, resigned.  
 John W. Kelly, Manistique, Mich., in place of F. M. Gierke, Sr., retired.  
 Leo E. Osterberg, Pleasant Lake, Mich. Office established October 2, 1961.  
 John H. Brule, Watervliet, Mich., in place of J. R. Crumb, retired.

## MINNESOTA

William J. Pattinson, Currie, Minn., in place of H. I. Gervais, retired.  
 Audrey A. Johnson, Esko, Minn., in place of C. M. Mattinen, retired.  
 Earl W. Dressen, Green Isle, Minn., in place of J. C. Myers, retired.  
 Virgil R. Buffington, Kenyon, Minn., in place of J. S. Cole, deceased.  
 Walter A. Dietz, Mapleton, Minn., in place of W. B. Lievan, retired.  
 Loren L. Marsden, St. James, Minn., in place of C. J. Strom, resigned.  
 Chester L. Stimpert, Sleepy Eye, Minn., in place of A. D. Bertrand, retired.  
 Gordon W. Friesen, Solway, Minn., in place of M. S. Dalby, transferred.  
 Dellin F. Segar, Wells, Minn., in place of W. P. Horan, retired.  
 Clarence B. Minyard, Lexington, Miss., in place of A. R. Alexander, retired.

## MISSOURI

Albert D. Teter, Callao, Mo., in place of W. P. Clarkson, deceased.  
 Lewis D. Baldwin, Collins, Mo., in place of D. C. Selvidge, deceased.  
 Charles A. Reed, Concordia, Mo., in place of E. E. Sagehorn, retired.  
 Johnnie Moyer, Jr., Corder, Mo., in place of W. M. Riley, deceased.  
 John W. Volker, Craig, Mo., in place of C. M. Randall, retired.  
 Kenneth W. Alexander, Greentop, Mo., in place of J. H. Goeke, transferred.  
 William B. Bales, St. Peters, Mo., in place of A. B. Iffrig, retired.  
 Clyde E. Maxwell, Thompson, Mo., in place of D. A. Meyer, retired.  
 James M. Crighton, Willard, Mo., in place of B. L. McLin, retired.

## MONTANA

Jean M. Hanson, Simms, Mont., in place of E. N. Skinner, retired.  
 George A. Henderson, West Glacier, Mont., in place of H. P. Gibb, retired.

## NEBRASKA

Blaine T. Larsen, Beaver Crossing, Nebr., in place of P. C. Geis, transferred.  
 Wilfred L. Kozisek, Bruno, Nebr., in place of E. L. Spatz, retired.  
 Carl C. Larson, Edgar, Nebr., in place of C. A. Scism, retired.  
 Elgar R. Dempsey, Eustis, Nebr., in place of A. R. Montgomery, transferred.  
 Mary E. Hartigan, Inman, Nebr., in place of J. M. McMahan, deceased.  
 Frederick G. King, Lynch, Nebr., in place of N. L. Nelson, deceased.  
 John P. Munnely, Omaha, Nebr., in place of Walter Korisko, resigned.  
 W. Edward Chamberlain, Rushville, Nebr., in place of H. J. Mayes, retired.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Ernest F. Rossi, Jr., Milford, N.H., in place of J. J. Kirby, retired.

## NEW JERSEY

Vincent T. Fagan, Jackson, N.J., in place of F. A. Asay, retired.  
 H. Pearl Hinshaw, Long Valley, N.J., in place of Clarence Frone, retired.  
 Herbert J. Jackson, North Bergen, N.J., in place of J. V. Zoppel, not commissioned; over-age.

## NEW YORK

Daniel F. Mulvana, Bombay, N.Y., in place of Frank Crowley, deceased.  
 John J. Frazer, Earlton, N.Y., in place of H. G. Haines, retired.  
 Floyd A. Jones, Marathon, N.Y., in place of C. L. Kelley, retired.  
 Edna K. Baldassare, Tomkins Cove, N.Y., in place of J. M. James, retired.

## NORTH CAROLINA

L. Hubert Collins, Brunswick, N.C., in place of Redden Gaskin, retired.  
 Patricia S. Fipps, Clarendon, N.C., in place of M. H. Pittman, retired.  
 Josephine D. Riggs, Cove City, N.C., in place of H. R. Heath, retired.  
 Giles F. Bryson, Marble, N.C., in place of B. H. Mintz, retired.

## NORTH DAKOTA

Richard D. Grieve, Buffalo, N. Dak., in place of J. U. Pavlik, deceased.  
 Chester C. Cowee, Crosby, N. Dak., in place of M. J. Wallin, removed.  
 Robert E. Fischer, Hague, N. Dak., in place of K. E. Fischer, retired.  
 Clements H. Weigum, Hazen, N. Dak., in place of Ronald Keenley, deceased.  
 Margaret L. Keenan, Portal, N. Dak., in place of N. L. Taimo, retired.

## OHIO

Louise E. Hoover, Bascom, Ohio, in place of J. H. Glick, deceased.  
 Mabel M. Bendetta, Malvern, Ohio, in place of H. H. Hart, retired.  
 Russell E. Yackee, Martin, Ohio, in place of A. C. Witt, retired.  
 Paul L. Cascl, Middleport, Ohio, in place of J. W. Waddell, retired.  
 Harold A. Schonhardt, Venice, Ohio, in place of Jane Neuscheler, retired.

## OKLAHOMA

Don A. Neumeyer, Council Hill, Okla., in place of H. H. Swadley, retired.  
 Jack E. Clement, Fairfax, Okla., in place of J. J. Quarles, Jr., retired.  
 Youvon W. Martin, McAlester, Okla., in place of H. S. Howard, retired.  
 Paul D. Sockey, Red Oak, Okla., in place of W. L. Smith, transferred.

## OREGON

Orval R. Layton, Lakeview, Oreg., in place of F. R. Peat, retired.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Harry D. Hess, Bangor, Pa., in place of A. R. Cramer, retired.  
 Donald M. Crouch, Butler, Pa., in place of P. R. Faux, retired.  
 Carolyn F. Singley, Cashtown, Pa., in place of I. G. Ridinger, retired.  
 Ernest W. Parsons, Pen Argyl, Pa., in place of R. W. Mosteller, retired.  
 Stanley T. Wagner, Penns Creek, Pa., in place of J. C. Showers, retired.  
 Russell G. Kratzer, Richfield, Pa., in place of O. G. Leitzel, deceased.  
 Russell S. Powell, Jr., Riegelsville, Pa., in place of R. S. Powell, Sr., deceased.  
 Ethel E. Murphy, Rossville, Pa., in place of M. E. Spangler, resigned.  
 Kenneth A. Harrison, St. Thomas, Pa., in place of J. M. Martin, retired.  
 Barbra M. Wissinger, Salix, Pa., in place of B. F. Wissinger, deceased.  
 Joseph Kosik, Townville, Pa., in place of L. D. Kingsley, retired.

## PUERTO RICO

Sixto G. Mercado, Isabela, P.R., in place of Luis Domenech, deceased.

## RHODE ISLAND

Pasquale D. Frisella, Wakefield, R.I., in place of E. W. Belknap, deceased.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

David B. Brockman, Greer, S.C., in place of W. B. Smith, retired.

John W. Rogers, Pelzer, S.C., in place of Sue Scott, retired.

William D. Russell, Ware Shoals, S.C., in place of E. M. Wharton, retired.

## SOUTH DAKOTA

William C. Feather, Marty, S.D., in place of M. E. Becking, retired.

Wanda M. Humiston, Oelrichs, S. Dak., in place of Marie Logue, removed.

Virgil C. Guderian, Waubay, S. Dak., in place of Marion Paterson, retired.

## TENNESSEE

Raymond B. Cox., Cottage Grove, Tenn., in place of D. F. Ross, transferred.

Harvey G. Fitzgerald, Humboldt, Tenn., in place of E. H. Gibson, retired.

Robert E. Harris, Kingston Springs, Tenn., in place of Wilton Rust, transferred.

Roscoe M. Hill, Luttrell, Tenn., in place of J. C. Davis, retired.

R. Frank Cunningham, Oblon, Tenn., in place of H. B. Fox, deceased.

James H. Armstrong, Rogersville, Tenn., in place of G. B. Kyle, retired.

John L. Norris, Jr., Tiptonville, Tenn., in place of P. W. Campbell, retired.

Jeff J. Blanks, Jr., Trezevant, Tenn., in place of J. B. Goodwin, retired.

## TEXAS

Thomas H. Journeay, Angleton, Tex., in place of J. A. Armstrong, resigned.

Erwin O. Dallmeyer, Burton, Tex., in place of L. W. Fisher, retired.

Thava H. Brown, Canutillo, Tex., in place of E. L. Jackson, resigned.

Graham M. Phillips, Cranfills Gap, Tex., in place of O. J. Bronstad, deceased.

Alma J. Littleton, Dryden, Tex., in place of B. R. Farley, retired.

James J. Kaster, El Paso, Tex., in place of C. T. Boyce, retired.

Anna L. Franklin, Fort Hancock, Tex., in place of M. E. Franklin, retired.

Frank A. Yeager, Galveston, Tex., in place of R. A. Stewart, retired.

James W. McMillan, Kingsville, Tex., in place of P. D. Cauley, Sr., retired.

Harold I. Line, O'Donnell, Tex., in place of Hal Singleton III, transferred.

Milton H. Elliott, Shallowater, Tex., in place of A. J. Evans, transferred.

Charlene Westbrook, Talco, Tex., in place of G. L. Barber, retired.

Bertha L. Delz, Texon, Tex., in place of B. F. Irby, transferred.

## VERMONT

Robert W. Swann, Roxbury, Vt., in place of F. B. Tilden, deceased.

## VIRGINIA

John H. Glass, Dewitt, Va., in place of L. R. Bolte, retired.

Gary H. Helms, Stafford, Va., in place of V. M. Dent, retired.

## WEST VIRGINIA

Fletcher E. Andrews, Proctor, W. Va., in place of V. M. Dunham, retired.

## WISCONSIN

Clarence G. Buss, Belmont, Wis., in place of P. R. Sornberger, retired.

Keith E. Anderson, Eleva, Wis., in place of B. E. Sands, retired.

Gordon H. Mollers, Glenwood City, Wis., in place of H. E. Lauber, resigned.

Frederick W. Pagel, Watertown, Wis., in place of R. W. Lueck, Jr., resigned.

John F. Graham, Whitewater, Wis., in place of R. J. Chamberlain, retired.

## ALABAMA

Ida L. Colgrove, Boligee, Ala., in place of B. M. Means, deceased.

## ALASKA

J. Raymond Roady, Ketchikan, Alaska, in place of P. N. Ripley, retired.

## ARIZONA

Merle W. Heap, St. Johns, Ariz., in place of J. A. Brown, deceased.

## ARKANSAS

James G. Ramey, Everton, Ark., in place of D. A. Trammell, deceased.

Kathryn R. Richards, Gamaliel, Ark., in place of E. E. Maynard, retired.

Maxine R. Edmondson, Gentry, Ark., in place of E. E. Epperson, transferred.

Herbert Miller, Jr., Junction City, Ark., in place of J. A. Fairly, deceased.

John A. Graves, Siloam Springs, Ark., in place of J. E. Trahin, retired.

Erwin B. Medart, West Fork, Ark., in place of E. R. Robinson, transferred.

## CALIFORNIA

E. Vernon Putnam, Arbutuckle, Calif., in place of I. M. Griffin, retired.

Joe R. Edde, Five Points, Calif., in place of N. J. Marshall, resigned.

Robert M. Lee, Freedom, Calif., in place of M. C. Tierney, deceased.

Ralph E. Lozano, Greenville, Calif., in place of F. M. Taylor, deceased.

Louis L. Brunneer, Los Molinos, Calif., in place of C. T. Gadwood, retired.

## COLORADO

William J. Smith, Craig, Colo., in place of E. E. Sullivan, retired.

Laurence Montano, Leadville, Colo., in place of C. A. Fitzsimmons, removed.

Clara W. Dennison, Hesperus, Colo., in place of Ethel Dunn, retired.

## CONNECTICUT

Warren A. Holbrook, Amston, Conn., in place of S. G. Turshen, deceased.

Philip V. Rokosa, Bristol, Conn., in place of H. C. Polhill, retired.

Ruth C. Soracchi, Columbia, Conn., in place of L. W. Beck, retired.

Charles N. Doane, Jr., Essex, Conn., in place of P. D. Guptill, deceased.

Arline M. Fife, Falls Village, Conn., in place of B. S. Reymers, resigned.

Merle E. Phelps, Staffordville, Conn., in place of Benjamin Phelps, retired.

Leopold A. Szczygiel, Uncasville, Conn., in place of M. P. Geary, retired.

## FLORIDA

William C. Hurston, Laurel Hill, Fla., in place of J. L. Adams, resigned.

## IDAHO

Oscar H. Egbert, Heyburn, Idaho, in place of G. F. Bixler, retired.

## ILLINOIS

Clem T. Pelfer, Beecher City, Ill., in place of V. U. Barr, retired.

Marvin H. Stewart, Brighton, Ill., in place of A. A. Moehle, retired.

Orville E. Van Brocklin, Caledonia, Ill., in place of M. A. Ralston, retired.

Lee Bush, Cambria, Ill., in place of Edmond Lovel, retired.

Maynard R. Koltz, Capron, Ill., in place of M. M. Boyd, removed.

Marvin C. McCulley, Chatham, Ill., in place of L. W. Tice, retired.

James T. Bobbit, Dalton City, Ill., in place of G. A. Morrison, retired.

Mabel J. Atkins, Dawson, Ill., in place of C. B. Stanton, deceased.

Joel F. Parker, Divernon, Ill., in place of J. W. Rettberg, retired.

George C. Cavanaugh, Gillespie, Ill., in place of H. R. Ganey, retired.

Russell W. Martin, Hanover, Ill., in place of A. E. Young, deceased.

Haven W. Hammond, Martinsville, Ill., in place of Clem Wisner, retired.

Betty J. Jones, Mound City, Ill., in place of C. A. Stout, deceased.

Leroy M. Smith, McHenry, Ill., in place of E. R. McGee, retired.

Donald W. Ferris, Marshall, Ill., in place of Leroy McNary, retired.

Henry W. Roehrkasse, Red Bud, Ill., in place of A. H. Brandt, retired.

Cornelius L. DiPlotti, Taylorville, Ill., in place of S. W. Hershey, deceased.

Eldon R. Bristow, Waynesville, Ill., in place of A. E. Swan, retired.

James T. Shinnebarger, Williamsville, Ill., in place of G. T. Hobkirk, retired.

Ruth P. Spraggins, Yale, Ill., in place of R. J. M. Howard, transferred.

## IOWA

Leonard R. Brasel, Dow City, Iowa, in place of B. L. Bremser, transferred.

Florence K. Hamilton, Riverside, Iowa, in place of J. R. Shebek, retired.

Irvin F. Husmann, Scotch Grove, Iowa, in place of E. F. Plueger, transferred.

## KANSAS

Herbert P. Franz, Goessel, Kans., in place of Mary Warkentin, retired.

Raleigh J. May, Haven, Kans., in place of W. M. Stoffer, transferred.

Robert W. Foster, Sterling, Kans., in place of F. H. Chesky, retired.

## KENTUCKY

Newell M. Hargett, Maysville, Ky., in place of N. M. Hargett, removed.

James E. Morris, Neon, Ky., in place of J. M. Caudill, resigned.

Charles M. Crawford, Olive Hill, Ky., in place of W. H. Roe, removed.

## MAINE

William E. Comer, Bangor, Maine, in place of J. S. Dinsmore, retired.

Keith G. Robinson, Pembroke, Maine, in place of S. A. Gillis, retired.

Edward E. Scribner, Stratton, Maine, in place of H. T. Ricker, retired.

## MARYLAND

Joseph E. Kenney, Frostburg, Md., in place of M. J. Byrnes, retired.

Virginia M. Goode, Marbury, Md., in place of L. S. Henderson, retired.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Francis J. Mooney, Andover, Mass., in place of S. A. Boland, retired.

Howard M. Hayden, Athol, Mass., in place of Richard Mullen, retired.

John F. Keefe, Dracut, Mass. Office established February 3, 1962.

## MICHIGAN

Allen J. Dahl, Iron River, Mich., in place of P. J. Nora, retired.

Leslie C. Willer, Marlon, Mich., in place of C. E. Rawson, transferred.

## MINNESOTA

Marvin G. Loeck, Balaton, Minn., in place of T. H. Lohrke, retired.

M. Wallace Post, Cottonwood, Minn., in place of E. M. Kolhei, deceased.

Fred M. Colwell, Morton, Minn., in place of R. R. Keefe, retired.

Eugenie A. Wollum, Porter, Minn., in place of B. W. Meyers, retired.

Bertrand H. Strandlund, Stacy, Minn., in place of L. E. Hewson, removed.

## MISSISSIPPI

James H. Simpson, Winona, Miss., in place of C. M. Jaco, retired.

## MISSOURI

Griffith E. Benson, Chillicothe, Mo., in place of J. D. Stewart, retired.

Walter E. Bamman, Jacksonville, Mo., in place of H. R. McDaniel, retired.

George E. Bennett, Purdy, Mo., in place of F. W. Aderhold, retired.

Herbert L. Coggin, Republic, Mo., in place of H. L. Wells, retired.

Barclay T. Cortelyou, Troy, Mo., in place of T. W. Withrow, retired.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

George A. Clement, Chester, N.H., in place of R. N. Ray, retired.

## NEW JERSEY

Claude R. Poyer, Belvidere, N.J., in place of N. H. Deshler, retired.  
 Helen M. Emley, Creamridge, N.J., in place of L. G. Wygant, deceased.  
 William F. Martin, Elmer, N.J., in place of L. L. Bignell, retired.  
 Ida E. Smith, Goshen, N.J., in place of H. C. Shaw, deceased.  
 Emma M. Stout, Island Heights, N.J., in place of E. V. Sharp, retired.  
 Stewart J. Hyland, Lakehurst, N.J., in place of H. J. Pucelle, retired.  
 Rita M. Kosminsky, Liberty Corner, N.J., in place of E. J. Burnett, retired.  
 Joseph W. McCauley, Millburn, N.J., in place of H. F. Jacobus, deceased.  
 Frank W. Howell III, Newton, N.J., in place of M. N. Strader, retired.  
 Ralph J. Caneva, Park Ridge, N.J., in place of J. J. McNally, retired.  
 Oscar N. Benson, Rumson, N.J., in place of P. G. Peterson, retired.  
 John B. Porter, Runnemede, N.J., in place of F. R. Barker, retired.  
 Frank A. Maressa, Stratford, N.J., in place of E. B. Carr, retired.  
 Lawrence H. Friedman, Teaneck, N.J., in place of J. F. Carroll, removed.  
 John R. Latourette, White House Station, N.J., in place of W. W. Lance, retired.

## NEW YORK

Erma B. Tenney, Alexander, N.Y., in place of E. R. Harrington, retired.  
 John J. Blondillo, Avon, N.Y., in place of J. L. Light, deceased.  
 Edward K. Sutryk, Bradford, N.Y., in place of F. R. Schuh, retired.  
 Michael Pokitko, Burt, N.Y., in place of C. W. Rentschler, retired.  
 Richard J. Lobdell, Canton, N.Y., in place of E. R. Wood, retired.  
 Edwin J. Faber, Caroga Lake, N.Y., in place of Burton Yates, retired.  
 Oreina L. Lavole, Champlain, N.Y., in place of E. A. Coonan, deceased.  
 John M. Edwards, Chester, N.Y., in place of J. J. Diffily, deceased.  
 Alan R. Mann, Cobleskill, N.Y., in place of L. R. Mann, retired.  
 Henrietta B. VanDerheyden, Coeymans, N.Y., in place of G. C. Hazelton, retired.  
 Marcella J. Lee, Crown Point, N.Y., in place of C. S. Kloos, deceased.  
 Donald J. Fitzpatrick, Dannemora, N.Y., in place of Jacob Tolosky, retired.  
 Jams A. Mulholland, Delmar, N.Y., in place of A. I. Ryan, retired.  
 Thomas J. Dolan, Dover Plains, N.Y., in place of K. C. Lasher, removed.  
 Christene S. Myers, Eldred, N.Y., in place of E. C. Stevens, retired.  
 Mae S. Cohen, Fallsburgh, N.Y., in place of Sam Rosenberg, resigned.  
 Marie M. Olds, Freeville, N.Y., in place of W. F. Moore, retired.  
 John L. Kress, Jr., Galway, N.Y., in place of J. T. Hunter, retired.  
 Helen S. Victor, Grand Gorge, N.Y., in place of A. V. Joslyn, retired.  
 William E. Vaughn, Greenville, N.Y., in place of W. P. Stevens, retired.  
 Raymond E. Skinner, Greenwood Lake, N.Y., in place of I. J. Posten, retired.  
 Rodney N. Lockwood, Hinsdale, N.Y., in place of E. S. Baxter, deceased.  
 Jean T. Kiemann, Honeoye, N.Y., in place of Pauline Clement, deceased.  
 Martin J. Harr, Jr., Indian Lake, N.Y., in place of J. F. Farrell, retired.  
 Clarmarie S. Kenerson, Jacksonsville, N.Y., in place of M. C. Baker, deceased.  
 Raymond W. Gould, Jamestown, N.Y., in place of O. K. Palm, deceased.  
 Lawrence J. Daley, Kanona, N.Y., in place of D. K. Griesa, resigned.

George L. Longyear, La Fayette, N.Y., in place of I. B. Locke, retired.  
 Alton E. Briscoe, Laurens, N.Y., in place of M. D. Taylor, deceased.  
 Jean V. McQueen, Little Genesee, N.Y., in place of P. D. Kuhn, resigned.  
 Guy E. Hobbs, Jr., Manlius, N.Y., in place of W. C. Farnham, retired.  
 Mary V. Quigley, Mottville, N.Y., in place of J. F. Quigley, retired.  
 Benjamin N. Ketcham, Mountainville, N.Y., in place of B. S. Ketcham, retired.  
 Donald E. Van Vliet, Niverville, N.Y., in place of G. L. Crausway, retired.  
 Grant D. Morrison, Northville, N.Y., in place of P. H. Griffing, retired.  
 Arthur C. Jacobia, Old Chatham, N.Y., in place of A. M. Tobin, deceased.  
 Shirley A. McNally, Olmstedville, N.Y., in place of E. C. Sullivan, retired.  
 Francis P. Secor, Otego, N.Y., in place of R. A. Southard, declined.  
 Joseph J. Farrell, Paul Smiths, N.Y., in place of R. J. Longtin, retired.  
 Nathan R. Walker, Phelps, N.Y., in place of J. F. Cudebec, retired.  
 George R. Low, Pine Bush, N.Y., in place of G. H. Stanton, retired.  
 Joseph Espinar, Plattekill, N.Y., in place of P. K. Fleming, retired.  
 Karl E. Putnam, Prattsburg, N.Y., in place of G. L. Patch, retired.  
 Michael L. Odak, Red Hook, N.Y., in place of J. S. Hobbs, deceased.  
 Donald M. Slocum, Richfield Springs, N.Y., in place of R. J. Conklin, deceased.  
 Raymond R. MacDonald, Rock Tavern, N.Y., in place of Winifred I. Fisher, retired.  
 Albert G. Evans, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., in place of J. T. Bryant, deceased.  
 Helen H. Kirker, Seneca Castle, N.Y., in place of M. P. Leadley, deceased.  
 Margaret B. Belmont, Sidney Center, N.Y., in place of D. L. Hoy, removed.  
 Maurie G. Flanigan, Slingerlands, N.Y., in place of W. P. Degenaar, retired.  
 Frank H. Doyle, Jr., Stuyvesant, N.Y., in place of F. H. Doyle, deceased.  
 Arthur H. Withall, Ulster Park, N.Y., in place of C. H. Schoonmaker, retired.  
 Robert A. Nussbaum, West Hurley, N.Y., in place of L. E. Joyce, retired.  
 Irene I. Carson, York, N.Y., in place of V. A. Spring, resigned.

## NORTH CAROLINA

J. Preston Andrews, Jr., Bahama, N.C., in place of M. W. Harris, retired.  
 Henderson W. Haire, Garner, N.C., in place of J. G. Penny, retired.  
 Edward K. Leggett, Hobgood, N.C., in place of R. R. Wyatt, retired.  
 Helen H. Huggins, Laurel Hill, N.C., in place of M. H. Calhoun, retired.  
 Louis E. Bottiglier, Lillington, N.C., in place of M. D. Lanier, retired.

## NORTH DAKOTA

Ronald E. Monson, Edinburg, N. Dak., in place of W. D. Flaten, retired.  
 William L. Arenstein, Washburn, N. Dak., in place of H. C. Nelson, retired.

## OHIO

Kenneth W. Gerber, Kidron, Ohio, in place of H. R. Sprunger, deceased.  
 Frances M. Adams, Ludlow Falls, Ohio, in place of J. R. Gallagher, deceased.  
 John W. Sharick, Nankin, Ohio, in place of R. E. Funk, transferred.  
 Ruth E. Kenny, Paris, Ohio, in place of E. F. Kintner, retired.  
 Josephine E. Pittenger, Pavonia, Ohio, in place of A. W. Pittenger, deceased.

## OKLAHOMA

Guy E. Warren, Norman, Okla., in place of M. L. Autrey, retired.  
 Eura V. Furr, Stringtown, Okla., in place of T. J. Winters, Jr., resigned.  
 Buster T. Robb, Sulphur, Okla., in place of G. E. Snethen, retired.

## OREGON

Joseph L. Dail, Nyssa, Oreg., in place of L. W. Lewis, deceased.  
 Bernice M. Ladd, Tualatin, Oreg., in place of C. W. Adams, retired.  
 Laura A. Wassenmiller, Tygh Valley, Oreg., in place of D. B. Ritchie, deceased.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Robert I. Grove, Alexandria, Pa., in place of R. N. Lankard, resigned.  
 Charles H. Heffner, Arendtsville, Pa., in place of W. A. Raffensperger, retired.  
 Bernard F. Cooney, Jr., Austin, Pa., in place of M. G. Collins, retired.  
 Robert E. Dibble, Cedars, Pa., in place of Isadore Sacks, deceased.  
 Joseph W. Kudasik, Jr., Central City, Pa., in place of J. W. Kudasik, retired.  
 Derry A. Miller, Clearville, Pa., in place of Marshall Troutman, retired.  
 John A. Reph, Jr., Danielsville, Pa., in place of E. M. Reph, retired.  
 Edward L. Thomas, Drifton, Pa., in place of N. E. Breslin, retired.  
 Edward P. O'Connell, Eagleville, Pa., in place of M. E. Honsberger, retired.  
 Dorothy R. Karpyn, Egypt, Pa., in place of E. A. Breinig, retired.  
 John W. Richard, Elysburg, Pa., in place of S. L. Hower, removed.  
 George T. Steinberger, Fairfield, Pa., in place of J. W. Beach, resigned.  
 Charles W. Pentz, Gettysburg, Pa., in place of L. E. Oyer, deceased.  
 John H. Reynolds, Grove City, Pa., in place of G. C. Bower, deceased.  
 James J. McLaughlin, Holmes, Pa., in place of N. G. Landenberger, retired.  
 Blanche G. Smyers, Hopewell, Pa., in place of E. T. Smith, retired.  
 Oscar W. Laucks, Hummelstown, Pa., in place of L. W. Fisler, retired.  
 Carl F. Englehart, Hunlock Creek, Pa., in place of S. C. Croop, deceased.  
 A. Thomas Carty, Lafayette Hill, Pa., in place of H. G. Mack, retired.  
 Michael J. Clark, Lansdowne, Pa., in place of E. S. Husband, Jr., deceased.  
 Merle C. Bamat, Lanse, Pa., in place of Adolph Johnson, retired.  
 Stephen W. Ochs, Lucinda, Pa., in place of F. G. Neuland, retired.  
 W. Deen Lauver, McAllisterville, Pa., in place of L. I. Leister, retired.  
 Thomas F. Doyle, Marion Center, Pa., in place of R. M. Dodson, retired.  
 George M. Guswiler, Mechanicsburg, Pa., in place of G. C. Dietz, transferred.  
 Jay F. Pollock, Mount Union, Pa., in place of R. E. Bell, retired.  
 Luther D. Clewell, Nazareth, Pa., in place of J. U. Fetherolf, retired.  
 Robert A. Feinour, New Tripoli, Pa., in place of F. D. Weiss, retired.  
 Roy C. Brey, Red Hill, Pa., in place of E. T. Thomas, deceased.  
 Dean A. Risch, Sarver, Pa., in place of F. I. Risch, deceased.  
 Walter S. Morrison, Jr., Transfer, Pa., in place of R. D. Helle, retired.  
 James F. Acker, Venango, Pa., in place of George Acker, retired.  
 Glen E. Cluck, Waynesboro, Pa., in place of C. L. Johnston, retired.  
 Thomas W. McIntyre, West Chester, Pa., in place of J. F. Sullivan, deceased.  
 Agnes K. Timko, Windber, Pa., in place of C. W. Baumgardner, deceased.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

J. Lawton Harper, Estill, S.C., in place of C. W. Ellis, retired.

## TENNESSEE

William A. Roberts, Newport, Tenn., in place of H. C. Mantooth, retired.

## TEXAS

James Q. Pennington, Bluegrove, Tex., in place of R. O. Childs, removed.

Oscar R. Hawkins, Crawford, Tex., in place of R. B. Miller, transferred.  
 Burton L. Kirtley, Jr., Graham, Tex., in place of W. E. Simpson, removed.  
 James H. Jones, Jarrell, Tex., in place of M. C. Watkins, retired.  
 Bobby L. Raspberry, Keller, Tex., in place of Alex Jones, retired.  
 Junius P. Ray, Llano, Tex., in place of A. P. Box, retired.  
 Hiram C. Hughes, Munday, Tex., in place of F. L. Haymes, retired.  
 Clarence E. Garrett, Pittsburg, Tex., in place of G. H. Holman, resigned.  
 Mary L. Rutherford, Putnam, Tex., in place of E. C. Waddell, retired.  
 Elmo W. Ullrich, Randolph Air Force Base, Tex., in place of F. A. Benedict, retired.

## UTAH

Don A. Mayhew, Duchesne, Utah, in place of W. H. Case, retired.  
 Harry J. Bigelow, Kamas, Utah, in place of R. F. Lambert, Jr., retired.  
 Bryce R. Jensen, Roy, Utah, in place of E. M. Russell, retired.

## VERMONT

Helen A. Howrigan, Fairfield, Vt., in place of E. J. Howrigan, deceased.

## VIRGINIA

Alfred P. Tirellis, Alberta, Va., in place of E. R. Johnson, deceased.  
 Robert J. Sturgis, Belle Haven, Va., in place of E. L. Willis, retired.  
 Doran W. Fary, Deltaville, Va., in place of J. H. Norton, removed.  
 Hume P. Doyle, McKenney, Va., in place of D. M. Cliborne, deceased.  
 John G. Mizell, Richmond, Va., in place of J. F. Bates, deceased.  
 Charles M. Mastin, Spotsylvania, Va., in place of M. M. Blaydes, resigned.

## WASHINGTON

Lila E. Cahill, Kittitas, Wash., in place of F. W. Cahill, deceased.  
 Donald F. McLennan, Sedro Woolley, Wash., in place of W. R. Allhands, retired.

## WEST VIRGINIA

Maynard W. Weaver, Arthurdale, W. Va., in place of R. R. Vanaman, removed.  
 Robert F. Wilson, Decota, W. Va., in place of M. I. Jackson, resigned.  
 Kenneth L. Taylor, Hopemont, W. Va., in place of Herman Taylor, retired.  
 Dennis P. Stanley, Superior, W. Va., in place of S. L. Sinnett, retired.

Ross White, Weston, W. Va., in place of S. M. McWhorter, retired.  
 Benjamin F. Lowe, Jr., Yolyn, W. Va., in place of Geraldine Chambers, removed.

## WISCONSIN

John W. Crimi, Brookfield, Wis., in place of W. G. McCoy, transferred.  
 Max H. Bergen, Chetek, Wis., in place of P. H. Moe, transferred.  
 Cleo N. DeLaura, Menomonee Falls, Wis., in place of M. M. Minten, retired.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 1, 1963:

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Roland R. Renne, of Montana, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

## COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Roland R. Renne, of Montana, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

## FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Philip N. Brownstein, of Maryland, to be Federal Housing Commissioner.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## Liberalism in the United States

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 1, 1963

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the fact that the so-called liberals of our political life in this country have been usurping the real meaning of that term is beginning to get through to the American people. They are realizing, as the Europeans have for many years, that the end result of the phony liberal proposals will destroy freedom instead of extending and protecting it. More Americans are speaking out on this bold theft of a word and the twisting of it to mean something it never was meant to mean. The most articulate argument I have read thus far is one made by our brilliant colleague, the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]. This appears in the Penn State University magazine Critique January issue. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

"TODAY'S LIBERALS," BETTER CALLED 20th CENTURY TORIES

(By Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Republican of South Dakota)

"All down the ages the fight of the true liberals has been to take power from the executive and give it to the legislative branch. Now the so-called liberals want to give more power to the executive."—Former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat of Montana.

Nobody familiar with the political history of this Republic during the past three decades can deny that Burt Wheeler, of Montana, is rightfully one of the great fighting liberals of this era. It is likewise pertinent

that Wheeler's liberalism was demonstrated on the floor of the U.S. Senate and in his public career rather than in the safe, serene atmosphere of a college classroom or the impersonal and untested philippics of a book. Senator Wheeler expressed his convictions in public debate with a consistent courage that made him an effective advocate willing to wager his reputation and political future on the logic and wisdom of his viewpoints.

As a consequence, when former Senator Wheeler speaks of today's "liberalism" and the curious and irrational projects which its present day disciples advocate, he speaks as an authority on what comprises genuine liberalism in public life and what principles and concepts give validity to the term liberal as a political philosophy. Thus, he serves the Nation well when he bluntly calls attention that our latter-day "liberals" have deserted the traditional liberal crusade and have, strangely enough, associated themselves with power drives similar to those of the Tories of early America.

It is my conviction that those who inaccurately describe themselves as liberals today, while persistently advocating policies and programs promoting authoritarian government in the United States, might be described more accurately as the 20th century Tories.

Somewhere along the line these Tories have lost confidence in the American people and have, by some curious form of self-delusion, convinced themselves that only the Federal politicians are motivated by a high sense of ethics; only the Federal politicians can be trusted to do what is right; and only the Federal politicians can understand and provide what the people need and want. Thus, these misnamed and misdirected liberals, Tories, in fact, continue to chip away at the power, the rights, and the free choice of the people while transferring to bigtime politicians in Washington the authority to determine the people's destiny. This does not imply that these self-proclaimed but thoroughly deluded liberals are evil men. It definitely does mean, however, that they would substitute for a government devoted to promoting the general welfare one imbued with the paternalistic concepts of ancient times and Tory governments. The function of such government would be to provide

for the general welfare rather than to promote the conditions through which the people can advance themselves in accordance with their desires, deserts, and abilities. They have lost sight of, or propose to destroy, the careful distinction between the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide for the common defense and the responsibility of the Central Government only to promote the general welfare as it is set out so clearly and meticulously in the preamble to our Constitution: "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Our wise and prudent constitutional forefathers used the English language carefully and thoughtfully. They evaluated and weighed every word before it was enshrined in our great charter of freedom. It was with specific purpose and prudent forethought that they drew the distinction between the terms "promote" and "provide" \* \* \* it was not by accident that they did not connect the phrases dealing with the common defense and the general welfare by the conjunction "and" \* \* \* they deliberately emphasized their conception of the vast difference between the Federal responsibilities for the common defense and the promoting of the general welfare. The programs and projects which our modern liberals espouse would eliminate that difference and shift to the Federal state the same responsibilities and authority for the general welfare that are rightly exercised by it in protecting the common defense and maintaining the national security.

By placing their primary confidence and trust in the bigtime politicians, instead of in the people our Government was designed to serve—not control—these illegitimate liberals would receive a golden age of toryism when the king, the Federal Government, "could do no wrong." It would seem that Hitler and Mussolini, Stalin and Khrushchev should have disproved that naive assumption during the lifetimes of most of those hiding the desire for increased political power behind a mask of liberal concepts and phrases

which either they do not understand or refuse to implement.

During the past 25 or 30 years, the growing influence of those I prefer to designate as "20th century Tories" instead of identifying them as "liberal," to which they claim, but repudiate by their actions, while embracing with their adjectives, has made an important, and in the main, unfortunate impact upon our national destiny. During this era, we have been following a global drift toward the overcentralization of government and the glorification of the central politician over the rights and privileges of the individual citizen.

Some 24 years ago when I first came to Congress, an oldtimer told me that a good political axiom for reelection was to remember that "economic conditions determine political decisions." He recommended that a candidate identify himself and/or his party with every upswing of economic conditions, with full employment, good profits, and happy living conditions. A great many voters, he argued, vote for the candidates whom they believe to be associated with their economic well-being. I believe there was some truth to his observations and, perhaps, his formula for victory still has a validity. During the intervening years, however, many new issues have come into play and new political alignments, the influence of big city political machines, labor organizations, ethnic groups, and other developments have tended to blunt the truism that "economic conditions determine political decisions."

Today we confront a comparatively new political axiom which has unquestioned validity and which all Americans should recognize when deciding their personal preference for either a steadily expanding power for the Federal Government, which means personal power for politicians, elected or appointed to Federal positions, or for a return to the concepts of keeping the Federal Government subject to the desires and controls of the voting citizens. This latter-day axiom is the converse of the earlier axiom. It now is stated, "political decisions determine economic conditions." Federal taxes are now so high that any alteration has a vital impact on business; inflation has gained so much headway that adding any further increase could destroy the base of many successful economic enterprises; new and mighty regulatory agencies and commissions in Washington hold life or death power over many economic activities. Even the sharp verbal expression of Federal displeasure drove the steel industry into ignominious and discredited defeat.

We live in an era of big government with big powers. We are witnessing a shift toward an authoritarian American state in which big politicians hold the whip and in which "who you know" in Government circles seems likely to replace "what you know." As yet, this consolidated central state is neither Socialist nor Communist nor Fascist in nature. But, neither is there anything remotely liberal about its nature or its design. It is big time politics in action, and regardless of which "ism" it eventually embraces or which embraces it, it would be a careless student of history who could not envision the possibility that our basic American concepts of private ownership, reward of merit, self-determination, and effective control of the politicians by the people are being threatened.

This switch of emphasis and the glorification and exaltation of the Federal politician at the expense of the private citizen is a deplorable change. It is the more deplorable because it has been promoted by a sustained drive for concentrated political power led by self-designated liberals who have practiced a semantic sham unprecedented in political history. The one notable exception must be

those masters of doubletalk, the Russian Communists, whose standard stock in trade is to talk of "democracy" when they mean "dictatorship," to talk of "coexistence" when they mean "capitulation" and to talk of the "peoples' rights" when they mean the "politicians' privileges." It is a sham because it espouses the same type of proposals for expanding political controls over the people as advocated by the reactionaries, the Tories, and the royalists of a century or two ago.

The true, tried, and tested liberal of history and of today is the private citizen or public official who advocates the maintenance or extension of individual liberties free alike from the power and the encroachments of an economic or political monopoly. It is the danger, and the presence, of a political monopoly and of programs moving toward that ugly goal which is the blind spot in the thinking of our latter-day liberals who are so busy looking at the problems of our times that they fail to see the even greater perils created by their proposals for solution.

Analyzed from the political standpoint of the predominant political performance of the members of each major party, one must conclude that the Republican Party, by supporting the concept that the size of Government should be reduced rather than expanded is far more identified with the great American liberal ideal than is the Democratic Party. And the always ready and willing handmaiden of the Democratic Party, Americans for Democratic Action, is no more liberal in concept or progressive in action than a Scotsman playing poker in an Edinburgh club.

Our American dream has evolved from the idealistic concept that proper ethics, sound morals, good judgment, prudent economy, and wise decisions are not the exclusive monopoly of those holding public positions of power and authority in Washington. It is an ideal our current pretenders to the liberal label seem entirely unable to comprehend or to accept. While the Republican Party has excelled its major adversary in clinging to this liberal ideal which has had its greatest fruition on American soil and which has provided more happiness for more people and greater individual liberties than man has attained in any other era or area of human history, it must be admitted that among Republicans, also, there are some who have succumbed to the seductive concept that the people must be pushed around by their political officials rather than have them retain the power and push the politicians toward the goals which they desire.

It is not, however, the purpose of this discourse to identify basic Republicanism with true liberalism nor to stigmatize all Democrats as people seeking personal and political power after the manner of Tories. Rather, it is my purpose to point up the forensic fakery involved in trying to identify a candidate, a party, or a cause involved in seeking more power over more people through Central Government, with any realistic, accurate, honest, or historic relationship with liberalism unless the relationship is to show how these linguistic liberals differ so sharply and so deeply from the programs and philosophies of such recognized liberals as Jefferson, Wilson, and Wheeler.

One of the great responsibilities of any administration in this country is to protect and wisely use what we usually term "the American system." To me, the American system means that system which seeks to provide a maximum of opportunity and freedom for our individual citizens. It is no more abstruse nor complicated than that. It is a system which manifests confidence in its people, and it is a system which has produced results unequalled and unexcelled by any other, any place, any time.

Those who would change our American system so as to place the basic responsibility for progress in the hands of Federal politi-

cians instead of with the local citizens and governments are turning back the clock of history. Just as there is nothing liberal about such drives for increased political power in concentrated hands, there is also nothing new or novel in their proposals.

If one were to accept the pratings of the current crop of self-appointed liberals as providing courses of action and programs of progress which are, in fact, liberal in nature, one would logically be forced to the conclusion that the greatest liberals of current history are such advocates of concentrated power as Khrushchev, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar, and Castro. Each of these promised the more abundant life, better schooling, better health, better economic opportunities, and greater well-being to their people. Each sought to provide them by reducing the areas of self-determination and free choice enjoyed by the private citizen and by expanding the areas of control and power enjoyed by the politicians in the capital cities of their lands. Each failed to achieve the degrees of well-being and human happiness enjoyed by the peoples of free countries where even the right to err in judgment is an inherent part of any system which provides unlimited rights to succeed and to aspire. To those who argue that it is not our system which has made America so outstanding but rather something else—our temperature, our resources, our good fortune, or our great complex population—it should be pointed out that West Germany has employed this system with spectacular success and even such formerly backward countries as the Philippines and Japan are making it work.

How, then, can one recognize an actual liberal in the great American tradition and in conformity with the true meaning of the term as shaped by the flow of human history everywhere? Obviously, not by accepting the unsupported boast of an ambitious politician who proclaims, "I am a liberal" much as Louis XIV boasted, "L'etat c'est moi". A real liberal must be tested by his actions, by his programs, by his goals, and by his methods just as we test the veracity and worth of any sloganer or propagandist who hopes to persuade us by his rhetoric rather than his reason. The wisdom of Emerson is as sound now as it was when he wrote his immortal observation that what you do speaks so loudly that no one can hear what you say.

Let us apply that what-you-do test to today's misleading or misled liberals rather than limiting ourselves to an artless acceptance of their what-you-say pronouncements. There is available for each of us a test which every intelligent and thoughtful citizen should use to decide whether any public proposal or public personality is in fact liberal in conception and nature. We need not become involved in a battle of semantics or in a controversy over terminology. Simply stated, a man or a program is appropriately described as liberal if identified with circumscribing excessive power over the people from any source whether it be concentrated economic, political, or hereditary power. On the other hand, if any man or program is identified with expanding and increasing the power of politicians or economic tycoons over the average citizen, that smacks of reactionism, Toryism, and has no place anywhere in the dictionary of valid liberalism.

This yardstick of good government, this do-it-yourself test of whether a political party, an individual citizen, or a proposed change is in fact liberal in nature, can be employed by applying the following tests to any given circumstance:

(1) Does the proposal expand individual freedom or does it expand the power and authority of the central state?

(2) Does the proposal give a greater choice to the greatest number or does it give greater decisions to be made by a steadily decreasing number of politicians at the top?

(3) Does it enlarge the powers and opportunities of all individual citizens to determine their own destiny or does it give greater power and additional opportunity to politicians at the Federal level to determine the destiny of all citizens?

After examining a public proposal or a suggested reform; after analyzing the speeches, votes, and positions of a politician or a public figure; after studying the recommendations of an organization, a political party, or a reform group, and after asking the foregoing questions and relating your honest answers to the steps which have been advocated, you will know whether what it proposed is actually liberal, or reactionary, and paternalistic in conception. With the clarification of its character, one can still be for or against a proposal or consider it wise or unwise, but it will be assured that no literate and prudent citizen will be found supporting an issue or a cause on the pretext that it is liberal when in fact it is demonstrably a step backward toward the eras of the overpowering central state.

Since 1776, the march of human freedom in this Republic has been in the direction of expanding and protecting the rights of self-determination by each individual citizen. We have been happily moving toward a more effective implementation of the goals set out in our Declaration of Independence and in the Preamble to our Constitution. We have been endeavoring to extend the vote to all our citizens; to correct imbalances of political power between urban and rural areas; to reform our electoral college system so that every citizen shall have the right to exercise equitable authority through the vote he casts for a President.

But, the ebb tide of freedom is in motion in our country. It is imperative that we seriously question ourselves as to whether, in our impatience to get things done and to bring about improvements, we may be destroying a system of checks and balances which has helped shape the basic formula by which in less than 200 years, we have developed a system so successful that no other country has remotely approximated it. Not only have we provided more happiness and more opportunity for more people than the world has ever seen but we are today also contributing to the support of over 80 less fortunate—or perhaps less prudent—countries in the world.

We have done all this under a constitutional charter of freedom which provides for the most liberal government in the world, one in which the wishes, the desires, and the ideals of the people can predominate. The light of human liberty burns brightest when the will of man is given free rein—uncontrollable by the politicians of his time and place. Let us not reduce that light of liberty to a mere smudgepot of low-level security by casting aside our traditions in reckless pursuit of illusory goals that require a subjugation of the individual to achieve the false promises of any form of authoritative or totalitarian government. Let us examine each new proposal with an analytic test rather than accepting or rejecting it because of a political label or the mistaken notion that because it is noble in objective it must be liberal in nature.

All Americans are challenged these days—but the greatest challenge is to the real American liberal of 1962. If he is true to the liberal traditions of the past, the liberal heritage which is his as an American, he can not embrace concepts of collectivism or of centralized controls which would have been as much anathema to Thomas Jefferson as they are to the real constitutional libertarians of today.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1963

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Ephesians 3: 16: That He would grant you to be strengthened with might by His spirit in the inner man.*

Almighty God, during this Lenten season may we become richer in the culture of our souls and stronger in gaining the mastery over every insurgent impulse, every inordinate desire, and every self-indulgent habit.

May we daily cultivate a more intimate and radiant fellowship with the spirit of the lowly Man of Galilee who went about doing good and who called upon His followers to share their strength with the weak, their sympathy with the sorrowing, their substance with the poor, and to give their hearts to God.

Inspire us to live among our fellow men as messengers of helpfulness whose minds and hearts are impervious to the spirit of self-seeking and self-glory but who are defining and interpreting life in terms of its usefulness and its value in contributing to the building of Thy kingdom and the blessedness of all mankind.

In Christ's name we offer our prayer. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 28, 1963, was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 6, of February 27, 1963, on House Joint Resolution 249, I am recorded as being absent. Had I been present I would have voted "yea."

### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL WEDNESDAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next.

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

There was no objection.

### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF LABOR DEPARTMENT

Mr. PELLY. 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 Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to note that it was just 50 years ago that President Taft signed into law the bill creating a new Department of Labor.

Thereby the concern of America for its working men and women was evidenced and in the ensuing years of expanding industrialization the wisdom of having the Government interest itself in workers and working conditions has been fully demonstrated.

Under free labor and a free system of enterprise, and under also our great Constitution and Bill of Rights, this Nation has been producing 35 percent of the world's goods through the organized effort of only 6 percent of the world's population.

This achievement has been possible because of our system of economic freedom and the wage and profit incentives under it during the past half century.

I want to express my appreciation of the Department of Labor and extend this tribute to the workers of America who look to this Department to oversee their interests and basic rights.

### DISARMAMENT AGENCY DEPUTY'S STATEMENT IS BLUEPRINT FOR SELF-MUTILATION

Mr. HOSMER. 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 California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Administrator of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, speaks for himself, William G. Foster, the Agency's Administrator, and for the President. His statement today on the administration's test ban position in answer to Senator Dodd's recent speech is shocking and tragic.

Mr. Fisher has at last revealed the Kennedy administration's blueprint for an American strategy of gradual nuclear self-mutilation.

Fisher's claim that "the strategic military balance between the United States and the U.S.S.R. could not be altered in any major way" by clandestine Soviet test cheating flies in the face of repeated statements to the contrary by several U.S. experts in the actual making of nuclear weapons.

More than that, however, it completely undercuts any reason for U.S. demands for an adequate control system in any test ban treaty. Why should such machinery to detect and verify cheating be included in a treaty if the contention is