

der the direction of Postmaster James De Maio the Post Office of the Township of Cedar Grove has achieved a notable record of efficient and courteous service. But beyond this, the post office has moved to create a more beautiful environment. The Verona-Cedar Grove Times of January 23 has an excellent editorial describing the post office's contribution to enhancing the beauty of the community, and I ask that it be included in the Record at this point. As the editorial states, "Esthetics is a virtue," but unfortunately it is one not

much exercised. So it is with distinct gratification that I hail the efforts of Postmaster De Maio and this signal recognition of the Cedar Grove Post Office's efforts:

POST OFFICE HONORED

Esthetics is a virtue of the Cedar Grove Post Office as well as efficient and courteous service and the facility under the Postmastership of James De Maio is to be congratulated for having been chosen for a "Citation of Merit" award recognizing the efforts which have been made to support the natural beauty program of President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson.

The citation was made after a rigid inspection by postal authorities from regional headquarters. They took note of added shrubbery, flower boxes placed in attractive places and rose bushes supplied from the Garden of the Patriots, Cape Coral, Florida.

Not only has the landscaping made the Post Office building attractive. It has enhanced the area surrounding the township's municipal building which for a long time has received the attention of the Cedar Grove Garden Club also. The efforts of Mr. De Maio and his fellow-workers as well as of the civic organization should encourage others in the area to make Cedar Grove even more attractive.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, January 29, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Very Reverend Stephen Blak, pastor, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, Philadelphia, Pa., offered the following prayer:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Almighty God, we beseech Thee to look with favor upon our great country—the United States of America. Thou hast made us great among the nations of the earth. Let us not forget that this place and power have come of Thee, and we have them as a trust to use in Thy service. We implore Thee, O Lord, instill us with brotherly love, bring order, unity, and understanding. Guard and keep in good health our esteemed President, the Members of the Congress, and all those to whom has been committed the government of this Nation.

O Merciful God, on the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, we commend to Thy gracious care the enslaved Ukrainian people, and pray, O Lord, that Ukraine once again become free from this atheistic communistic oppressor and modern slavery.

O Heavenly Father, help the Ukrainian people in their heroic fight against tyranny, symbolized and practiced by the Red empire. Help all the oppressed nations to become free, as well. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE JESSE PAINE WOLCOTT

(Mr. HARVEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound regret and great sadness to formally notify my colleagues that former Congressman Jesse Paine Wolcott passed away yesterday—Tuesday, January 28, 1969, in Bethesda, Md., at the age of 75. Jesse would have celebrated his 76th birthday in a few weeks on March 3.

There are many, many Members in this Chamber who can speak more knowingly and personally of Jesse Wolcott and the 26 years that he served as a Mem-

ber of the U.S. House of Representatives, representing the old Seventh District of Michigan, from 1931 to 1957.

It was my privilege to meet Jesse for the first time shortly after my arrival in Washington back in 1961. Jesse was then a director of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and appeared before our House Committee on Banking and Currency, on which I served at the time.

From the more senior members of the committee I quickly learned of Jesse's fine reputation and the high esteem in which he was held by all. Then, in 1964, Michigan's congressional districts underwent a great change. As luck would have it, I fortunately ended up with most of the counties of Jesse's old Seventh District. This included, as now, Jesse's home county of St. Clair.

Thus, through my service on the Banking and Currency Committee, my Michigan background and acquisition of much of the old Seventh District, my friendship with Jesse and his lovely wife, Grace, prospered. A friendship my wife, June, and I cherished and shall always remember with great fondness and affection.

We shall always recall with great delight an overseas trip with Grace and Jesse a few years ago. It was a wonderful time made so enjoyable by the witty and sparkling personality possessed by Jesse.

As we pause to pay tribute to Jesse today, I think it is important to cite at the outset that this man devoted over 45 years of his life to public service.

Imagine the impact this fine gentleman has left in helping to chart our Nation's future when he first arrived in Washington on March 4, 1931, to take the oath as a Member of Congress for his first term in the 72d Congress.

In 26 years, he served on such committees as Territories, Banking and Currency, Revision of the Laws, Roads, Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, and Special Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations.

It is of special honor to point out that Jesse Paine Wolcott was chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency both in the 80th Congress—1947-48—and 83d Congress—1953-54. Under his chairmanship the following bills were passed: the Mortgage Insurance Act of 1947; the Consumer Credit

Controls Act of 1947; the Rent Control Acts of 1947, 1948, and 1953; the Veterans Housing Act of 1948; and the Housing Acts of 1953 and 1954. I am certain that the present chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, can well recall Jesse's contributions to that committee over the years.

I think that I shall always recall with particular fondness a special trip that Jesse made to Capitol Hill back in September 1963. I needed help as I knew that I would be campaigning for reelection in a new district in 1964. Much of that new district would be Jesse's old territory from which he had voluntarily retired from Congress in 1957.

Puffing on his cigar, another of his trademarks over the years, Jesse predicted, "You won't have any difficulty, Jim. They are friendly, outgoing people in the Seventh District. It is just a question of getting acquainted." He lent his fullest support in my behalf.

In our small talk, I asked Jesse what he felt was the biggest change in the Federal Government over the last 35 years. In a wink he stated bluntly and concisely—"It's bigger." In talking about everyone depending on the Federal Government to solve their problems, Jesse added, "They should stay at home."

I have fond, warm memories of this man—little in stature, but so big and tall in greatness and in heart. He shall always rank with the very best who have served our country so well for so long.

And serve his country and his fellow man he did with distinction. There are 17 lines in the "Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961" on Jesse Paine Wolcott. A book could be written on each line.

Consider his birth and childhood in Gardner, Worcester County, Mass., where he attended elementary and high schools. Then his attendance at Detroit, Mich., Technical Institute and graduation in 1915 from the Detroit College of Law, Detroit, Mich.

He was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Detroit. He answered the call to serve his country during the First World War and did so with distinction as a second lieutenant in a machinegun company overseas as a part of the 26th Infantry, 1st Division, 1917-19.

After the war, Jesse returned to Michigan and settled in Port Huron, some 50

miles northeast of Detroit, and resumed the practice of law. In 1921 he was named assistant police judge of Port Huron and then assistant prosecuting attorney of St. Clair County in 1922-26. In 1927 he began his service as the prosecutor. A few years later, he began his long and fruitful service in the U.S. House of Representatives, winning in the 1930 election and formally becoming a Member of the 72d Congress on March 4, 1931.

For 26 years, he was an outstanding Member of this body; certainly, one of the ablest men to serve. No one could surpass his dedication or his devotion. Always a gentleman who thought of others before himself. We have lost a great man but our country, our State of Michigan, and the present Eighth District and the old Seventh District of Michigan are better off for having had the benefit of the talents of this little giant—Jesse Paine Wolcott.

To his wife, Grace, and his family, I wish to express the heartfelt sympathy of the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and particularly those who are still here that had the honor of serving with this great and good man.

I also would like to include the article which appeared in today's—January 29, 1969—edition of the Washington Post reporting on Jesse's passing, at this point:

JESSE WOLCOTT, LEGISLATOR, DIES

Former Rep. Jesse Paine Wolcott, of Michigan's Seventh District, who served in the House for 26 years, died yesterday at his home in Chevy Chase.

Mr. Wolcott, 75, had been in ill health in recent years and had suffered several strokes.

A Republican, Mr. Wolcott was first elected to the House in 1930 and served continuously until his retirement in 1957. He served as board chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. from 1958 to 1964.

Mr. Wolcott was chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee in the Republican-controlled 80th Congress from 1947 to 1949 and again in the 83d Congress of 1953 to 1955.

After World War II, he played a major role in handling legislation that guided the transition from strict wartime economic controls to the more lenient regulations of the postwar period.

In 1946, he was an important figure in obtaining Republican support for a loan to Great Britain. His postwar position, favoring certain international commitments, differed from the isolationist viewpoint he had held up to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He cast his vote for a munitions embargo in 1937, against Selective Service in 1940 and against Lend-Lease to Britain in 1941.

On domestic affairs, he was regarded as a conservative throughout his career, with a few exceptions. He strongly fought the agricultural policies of the New Deal but voted for Social Security and the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Mr. Wolcott was a member of a special committee to investigate tax-exempt foundations during the 1950s.

He signed a controversial report assailing foundations for showing a "distinct tendency to favor political opinions to the left."

A native of Gardner, Mass., Mr. Wolcott was a direct descendant of William Bradford, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He moved to Michigan in 1912.

He is survived by his wife, Grace A.; a son, Jesse Paine Jr., of Rockford, Ill.; a

niece, Mrs. Franchon Castro of Washington, and five grandchildren.

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

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

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. I would like to add my word of sympathy to Jesse Wolcott's widow, his son, and his grandchildren. When I first came to Congress, Jesse was a ranking member on the Committee on Banking and Currency. He gave me as great help as any Member of this Congress. He was always kind, he was always sympathetic, and he was always wonderfully helpful to me. I cannot begin to express both my gratitude to his memory and my sympathies to his family.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ford).

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Michigan yielding.

Mr. Jesse Wolcott was one of the senior Representatives, not only on our side but in the House as a whole, when I was privileged to be sworn in as a Member on January 3, 1949. Prior to being sworn in as a Member, it had been suggested to me that I sit down and talk with Jesse Wolcott about committees and about other opportunities in the House of Representatives. Despite the fact that Jesse Wolcott had been a Member of this body for a number of years, and despite the fact that he had been the chairman of the great Committee on Banking and Currency, and despite the fact that he had a great multitude of duties and responsibilities, he took ample time to give me good counsel and advice.

I was deeply grateful then for his many courtesies, and as the years passed, and as we served together, there was no person for whom I had a higher regard and a greater admiration in the House of Representatives than the late Jesse Wolcott.

We were all sorry that he left the House voluntarily, but Jesse Wolcott assumed other duties in the executive branch of government and performed, as he always did any job, with the highest degree of effectiveness and results.

I knew Jesse as a friend. I respected him as a colleague. I will miss him, but I can say without hesitation or qualification that he left an indelible mark of excellence in the House of Representatives.

I extend to his family and to his friends our deepest condolences.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished minority leader.

I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Mills).

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to add my words of sorrow to those that have been expressed by our colleagues today over the passing of one of my very dear and personal friends, Jesse Wolcott.

When I came to the Congress in 1939,

I had the privilege of serving on the Banking and Currency Committee for almost 4 years before going on the Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Wolcott was the ranking Republican member of the committee during those 4 years. He was as kind and as considerate as any person it has been my privilege to know. He was always helpful to me, and I look to him as a Democratic Member of Congress many, many of my problems for purposes of consultation and advice.

I grew to love and respect him as a man. He was always a keen student of the legislation over which that committee had jurisdiction, and in those days the jurisdiction of the committee seemed to be somewhat broader than it is now under the Reorganization Act, but I can remember the work that was done in connection with mandatory prices on all agricultural products in the beginning of World War II and other legislation. I was always one who marveled at the depth of his understanding of many of these problems even though he came out of a background that did not deal with the particular subject matter. He was a serious and keen student, a very honorable person and one who had many friends while he was here, certainly on my side of the aisle, and I always included him among my very best friends.

I extend to his widow and to the members of his family my heartfelt sympathy on his passing.

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas.

I yield to the distinguished Speaker. Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I was very sorry to read of the passing of our dear and valued friend, the late Jesse Wolcott.

Jesse Wolcott served in this body for a period of about 27 years and thereafter for several years was Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

He also served our country during World War I.

Jesse Wolcott was one of the outstanding Members of this body for many years prior to his retirement in 1957. He occupied a position of outstanding leadership because of the respect and admiration his colleagues on both sides of the aisle had for him and for his ability, his knowledge and his courage. He clearly possessed qualities of leadership which commanded the attention of all of his colleagues.

Jesse Wolcott was not only a great American but also an outstanding legislator and public official.

I extend to Mrs. Wolcott and her loved ones my deep sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. HARVEY. I thank the distinguished Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I was very sorry to learn of the passing of our former colleague and my very warm and dear friend, Jesse Wolcott.

I had the real pleasure of serving with him in this body for many, many years. He was an active and a most intelligent member of the Banking and Currency Committee. I learned to respect him for

his tireless efforts in representing his district in Michigan and for the outstanding job he did when both as chairman and ranking member of the Banking and Currency Committee.

If anyone who serves in Congress might be termed an expert, I would say it would have been Jesse Wolcott. He was indeed an expert in the field of money and banking and economics generally.

It was my pleasure to talk with him time and time again, asking his advice on the intricate problems which came before the Congress. I saw in him a man who had the answers and one willing to give you the benefit of his detailed knowledge of the most complicated of subjects. His advice was invariably sound. Jesse Wolcott was a great American, a man of many accomplishments and one of the kindest men I have ever known. I believe the country is better for his having served in this body.

I extend to his family my most sincere sympathy at this time of their bereavement. I share their sorrow.

Mr. HARVEY. I thank the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman in this expression of sorrow on the death of a great American. Jesse Wolcott was not only one of the kindest men I ever knew but he was an intellectual giant and a scholar of the highest order.

Mr. HARVEY. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague from Michigan for yielding and would like to join in expressing my sorrow on learning of the passing of the Honorable Jesse P. Wolcott.

Although I never served with Congressman Wolcott, as he retired just before I came to the House, it has been my privilege to become well acquainted with him during the intervening years. As a freshman Congressman, I was assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee and immediately became aware of the high esteem in which Congressman Wolcott was held, not only by the members of that committee who had served with him, but other Members of the House, on both sides of the aisle, and also by those engaged in the banking profession throughout our country. I am satisfied that from what I have heard about this great man, and his tremendous talents, and his capacity for good, it would have been a rewarding experience to have served with him on the Banking and Currency Committee.

From his broad acquaintances and his legions of friends who have spoken so kindly of Mr. Wolcott, I know he served as a member of this House with dedication and zeal and in its highest traditions. Mrs. Wolcott and the members of their family have my sincere condolences and sympathy.

Mr. HARVEY. I thank the gentleman. Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, with a sense of sadness I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to our former

colleague, the Honorable Jesse Paine Wolcott.

I well remember the saged counsel I received from him when I came to Washington as a freshman Member of this august body. He had then been here nearly two decades, and I soon learned the great respect with which he was held by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Congressman Wolcott, in his typically quiet manner, provided us newcomers with a wealth of advice. His suggestions in the area of our conduct and procedure made our path easier to travel.

In the annals of the House of Representatives—yes, in the annals of our country we find written the distinguished service record of Jesse Paine Wolcott in behalf of our country.

World War I interrupted his plans to begin the practice of law because shortly after law school graduation he heeded the call to military duty. He went overseas as a lieutenant with a machinegun company. This marked his first service to his country, and he was on military duty from 1917 to 1919.

His second tour of duty as a public servant started after the war when he was installed as a judge and subsequently an assistant prosecuting attorney in Michigan.

Then for 26 years he served in this House, having been returned here biennially as the "favorite son" Congressman of the voters of Michigan's Thumb District. As has previously been related, he voluntarily retired from these Halls and later became a member of the board of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, where he concluded his career of public service.

History will include him in the top echelon of public servants who so faithfully guided our country during their era of duty.

To Mrs. Wolcott, the widow, and other members of the Wolcott family, Mrs. Cederberg and I extend our deepest sympathy.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the life, character, and service of the late Honorable Jesse P. Wolcott.

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

There was no objection.

TRIBUTE TO THE VERY REVEREND STEPHEN BILAK

(Mr. FLOOD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride and admiration that I listened to the invocation of Father Stephen Bilak.

Recently he celebrated his 25th anniversary as a Ukrainian Orthodox priest. Surrounded by more than 300 parishioners and friends in St. Vladimir Cathedral, the seat of his parish in Northeast Philadelphia, Father Bilak surely reflected on

the pilgrimage that brought him to that happy day.

As we mark the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence, and independence cynically and systematically destroyed by Balkan ambitions and Bolshevik imperialism, I would be remiss not to recount the journey of this valiant and inspired man.

He was born in the Ukraine during the First World War ferment for Ukrainian liberty. The land of his boyhood, however, was more often one of occupation—by the Germans, by the Poles, by the Hungarians, and finally, by the Soviets.

Attending schools in his hometown, Uzhorod, Father Bilak was graduated from seminary there as the storm clouds of the Second World War broke over Europe.

When his hometown fell to Hungarian troops, he was called into the Czechoslovakian Army. During his army service he met and married his lovely wife, Helen, who is also with us today.

Ordained in 1943 to the holy priesthood in Warsaw, Poland, he was assigned by the Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan of that city to Berlin, Germany. At war's end, when the Allies occupied Berlin, Father Bilak worked his way to the British zone and organized the city's first postwar Ukrainian Orthodox Church, a parish of 500 families.

Later, Father Bilak taught religion and language at a displaced persons camp in the Rhine Valley. The journey west was slow, but the goal, American liberty, was never out of sight.

Finally, in January 1950, through the efforts of Metropolitan John Theodorovich, now His Excellency, the Most Reverend John, archbishop of Philadelphia, and Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States, Father Bilak, his wife, and his daughter, Irene, were brought to the United States.

He soon became a well-traveled American, holding pastorates in Jones, Okla.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Woonsocket, R.I.; and Passaic, N.J. He came to Philadelphia in 1963 and we are proud and happy to have him as friend and fellow Pennsylvanian.

In 1955, in Minneapolis, Minn., he became a U.S. citizen.

To those of our fellow Americans who hold the privileges and responsibilities of freedom lightly, I direct attention to the inspired example and sacrifice of the Very Reverend Stephen Bilak, this man of God—this man of America.

THE PROBLEM OF CIGARETTE SMOKING

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, over 10 years ago a World Health Organization study called for effective action regarding the problem of cigarette smoking. This report stated:

The sum total of scientific evidence establishes beyond reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is a causative factor in the rapidly increasing incidence of human ep-

dermoid carcinoma of the lung. The evidence of a cause-effect relationship is adequate for considering the initiation of public health measures.

It has been 4 years since the Surgeon General of the United States issued his famous report declaring cigarette smoking as a health hazard of sufficient importance to warrant remedial action, and little action has been taken to effectively solve the problem.

In 1965, the Congress enacted legislation entitled, "The Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act." At the time that that legislation was enacted, I sought to have it defeated in this body and subsequently sought to have the President exercise his veto power. I did so because the simple meaningless statement on a package of cigarettes did not

reach the root cause of the problem which is basically one of advertising. Furthermore, the bill preempted the power of the Federal Trade Commission to take the necessary steps to deal with the problem. Unfortunately, however, the measure was signed and became law. On June 30 of this year, that law will expire. We are, therefore, Mr. Speaker, in a very real sense at the crossroads of one of the most important health issues to face this body in many years.

The magnitude of the problem has been underscored again and again by studies conducted by people eminent in the field. At this point, I would like to insert a table compiled by two gentlemen, Dr. John Dunn, Jr., and Mr. John Weir, which highlight the magnitude of the crisis before us.

RELATIVE RISK¹ OF SMOKERS FOR SMOKING AMOUNTS AND SELECTED CAUSES OF DEATH

Cause of death.....	(ICD code)	Non-smokers	About 1/2 pack or less	About 1 pack	About 1 1/2 packs or more	All smokers	Total observed deaths
Cancer of the lung.....	(162-163)	1.00	3.72	9.05	9.56	7.61	368
Cancer of the mouth.....	(141, 143-144)	1.00	3.69	1.17	5.52	2.76	19
Cancer of the pharynx.....	(145-148)	1.00	1.16	5.53	.76	13
Cancer of the esophagus.....	(150)	1.00	1.57	1.59	1.82	1.82	32
Cancer of the stomach.....	(151)	1.00	1.09	.94	1.25	1.04	109
Cancer of the large intestine.....	(153)	1.00	.73	1.21	1.00	1.00	72
Cancer of the rectum.....	(154)	1.00	.54	.99	1.91	.98	41
Cancer of the pancreas.....	(157)	1.00	2.34	2.67	1.44	2.43	71
Cancer of the larynx ²	(161)	1.00	1.00	5.99	5.84	11
Cancer of the prostate.....	(177)	1.00	.58	.98	.78	.78	37
Cancer of the kidney.....	(180)	1.00	.86	3.30	2.57	2.46	27
Cancer of the bladder.....	(181)	1.00	1.33	2.17	2.94	2.89	27
Cancer of the brain.....	(183)	1.00	.50	.67	.75	.64	41
Lymphosarcoma.....	(200)	1.00	2.34	1.28	.83	1.46	27
Leukemia.....	(204)	1.00	.49	1.73	.66	1.32	30
Arteriosclerotic heart disease.....	(420)	1.00	1.39	1.67	1.74	1.60	1,718
Vascular lesions, etc.....	(330-334)	1.00	1.01	1.18	1.49	1.19	241
Rheumatic fever and chronic rheumatic heart disease.....	(400-402, 410-416)	1.00	.83	1.20	.86	1.01	90
Nonrheumatic endocarditis and myocardial degeneration.....	(421-422)	1.00	.91	1.15	1.00	1.05	114
Hypertensive heart disease.....	(440-443)	1.00	.77	1.28	1.72	1.23	101
General arteriosclerosis.....	(450)	1.00	5.97	8.17	9.24	7.52	21
Aortic aneurysm.....	(451)	1.00	2.44	2.88	2.54	2.64	51
Influenza and pneumonia.....	(480-493)	1.00	1.16	2.58	2.00	1.99	66
Empysemas.....	(502, 527)	1.00	8.18	11.80	20.06	12.33	58
Gastric ulcer ³	(540)	1.00	1.00	1.17	2.38	29
Duodenal ulcer.....	(541)	1.00	.40	.59	.32	.53	24
Cirrhosis of the liver.....	(581)	1.00	1.34	1.74	1.61	1.60	198
Chronic nephritis.....	(592-594)	1.00	.78	.66	.20	.66	36

¹ Relative to the risk for nonsmokers which is set to 1.00.

² There were no nonsmokers dying of cancer of the larynx. The figures for risk given here are based on the under 1 package group observed rate which is set to 1.00.

³ There were no nonsmokers dying of gastric ulcer. The figures for risk given here are based on the under 1 package group observed rate which is set to 1.00.

Now I am well aware, Mr. Speaker, that there are many who will claim that an undue economic hardship would be incurred upon certain segments of our Nation by the legislation which I have introduced. Additionally, they continue to tell us that we are in error—that there is in fact no real threat to our physical well-being. I would at this point like to insert in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues a few paragraphs from a publication distributed by the Public Health Service which outline the effects that cigarette smoking has on the rate of cardiovascular diseases:

Cigarette smokers have a higher death rate from coronary artery disease than nonsmokers. Among males, the death rate from this disease averages 70 percent more for cigarette smokers than for nonsmokers; in some the risk may be twice as great—and even higher in the presence of other known "risk factors" such as high blood pressure and high serum cholesterol.

Recent data show that the risk of premature death from coronary disease is especially high among smokers 45 to 54 years of age—over three times as great for men, and over

twice as great for women if they smoke 10 or more cigarettes per day.

Autopsy studies show that cigarette smokers have a much greater frequency of advanced coronary arteriosclerosis than do nonsmokers. Clinical and experimental studies demonstrate that smoking produces abnormalities of cardiovascular physiology.

Cessation of smoking reduces the risk of dying from coronary disease.

In 1964, the Surgeon General's special advisory committee concluded that "It is more prudent to assume that the established association between cigarette smoking and coronary disease has causative meaning than to suspend judgment until no uncertainty remains." (The committee pointed out that the suspected causative role of other factors—high blood pressure, high cholesterol, and overweight—though not proven has caused countermeasures to be taken against them.)

By 1967, additional evidence pointed even more strongly toward cigarette smoking as a cause of death from coronary heart disease and suggested that some of the considerations may also apply to cerebrovascular disease. Recent research has indicated the nicotine and carbon monoxide in tobacco smoke may be important factors in the mechanism that produces coronary heart disease.

Furthermore, in 1967 then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John W. Gardner, related to Congress the minimums that would be required to reduce the death rate associated with smoking and halt cigarette-related disease before it reaches epidemic proportions. I insert in the RECORD those recommendations:

1. There must be a reduction in the number of persons now smoking—a number which amounts to 49 million adults, or 42 percent of our adult population.

2. We must encourage young people not to start smoking. At present, as many as half the boys and girls in this country have become cigarette smokers by the time they are 18.

3. We must work towards the development of a less hazardous cigarette—and, concurrently, help develop a climate of opinion so that if such a cigarette is developed, smokers will turn to it. There is no other way to protect those millions of present smokers who probably will never be willing or able to give up smoking.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a resolution on cigarette advertising which was adopted by the board of directors of the American Cancer Society in 1967:

The following resolution on cigarette advertising was proposed by the Public Information Committee of the American Cancer Society and adopted by the Board of Directors, Wednesday, October 18, 1967:

"The period of uncertainty is over. There is no longer any doubt that cigarette smoking is a direct threat to the user's health... today we are on the threshold of a new era, a time of action, a time for public and private agencies, community groups and individual citizens to work together to bring this hydra-headed monster under control."

This statement at the World Conference on Smoking and Health was by its Chairman, Luther L. Terry, M.D., the former Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. The Conference climaxed a remarkable series of recent developments, including the Federal Communications Commission ruling that the fairness doctrine includes cigarette advertising, the Public Health Service report to Congress, the striking analysis by the Federal Trade Commission of cigarette advertising.

While we applaud and support the FCC ruling, we regret that it is necessarily limited to broadcasting.

Congress is now considering, and we are supporting, legislation that would place a warning on all cigarette advertising. This would be a step forward.

However, we agree that the time has come for forthright action. The World Conference on Smoking and Health gave as a long-range goal the elimination of all cigarette advertising. We, the Board of Directors of the American Cancer Society ask now for a solution of the problem of cigarette advertising.

Advertising is too persuasive, too valid and vital a part of our American life, to be used in the sale of such a lethal product as the cigarette. In full awareness of the seriousness of the problem some influential publishers and some broadcasters have already voluntarily banned cigarette advertising.

Therefore, we, the Board of Directors of the American Cancer Society, Inc., recommend that all cigarette advertising in all media be terminated. It is hoped that this goal will be achieved by voluntary self-regulation and that governmental action will not be necessary.

Cigarette smoking is not the result of an advertising conspiracy. It is an extremely complex problem involving many little understood behavioral and pharmacological

factors. But the elimination of cigarette advertising may do much to destroy the social acceptability of this dangerous habit. It will make giving up smoking easier for many, and it will stop the constant media pressures on the young to start smoking.

The end of cigarette advertising will not be accomplished immediately. Many important actions which counterbalance advertising must be supported until the final goal is achieved.

Cigarette smoking must remain a matter of individual choice but we want the choice to be not only informed, but free from seductive advertising appeals.

The responsibility is clear. To continue to shirk it is a denial of the trust imposed on us by our constituents. The alarming rate at which young people in this Nation are becoming smokers is shocking. I cannot believe that they do so with any awareness of the hazards involved. They must know in a forthright fashion exactly what they are doing when they choose to start the habit. I am, therefore, introducing today companion measures to my H.R. 1236, a bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act with respect to the labeling of packages of cigarettes and the maximum length or maximum lengths of cigarettes. You will note that this legislation is being cosponsored by 42 of my colleagues. They are the Honorable:

GLENN M. ANDERSON, of California.
 JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, of New York.
 RICHARD BOLLING, of Missouri.
 JOHN BRADENAS, of Indiana.
 GEORGE BROWN, of California.
 DANIEL E. BUTTON, of New York.
 JAMES A. BYRNE, of Pennsylvania.
 JEFFERY COHELAN, of California.
 BARBER CONABLE, JR., of New York.
 JOHN CONYERS, JR., of Michigan.
 DOMINICK V. DANIELS, of New Jersey.
 CHARLES C. DIGGS, of Michigan.
 JOHN D. DINGELL, of Michigan.
 DON EDWARDS, of California.
 LEONARD FARBSTEIN, of New York.
 EDITH GREEN, of Oregon.
 HENRY HELSTOSKI, of New Jersey.
 FLOYD V. HICKS, of Washington.
 JAMES J. HOWARD, of New Jersey.
 ANDREW JACOBS, JR., of Indiana.
 ROBERT L. LEGGETT, of California.
 SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, of Hawaii.
 JOHN MCFALL, of California.
 ABNER J. MIKVA, of Illinois.
 GEORGE P. MILLER, of California.
 WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.
 CLAUDE PEPPER, of Florida.
 BERTRAM L. POBELL, of New York.
 THOMAS M. REES, of California.
 PETER W. RODINO, JR., of New Jersey.
 BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, of New York.
 WILLIAM F. RYAN, of New York.
 JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania.
 JAMES H. SCHEUER, of New York.
 SAMUEL J. STRATTON, of New York.
 JOHN V. TUNNEY, of California.
 MORRIS K. UDALL, of Arizona.
 JOSEPH P. VIGORITO, of Pennsylvania.
 JEROME R. WALDIE, of California.
 CHARLES H. WILSON, of California.
 LESTER L. WOLFF, of New York.
 JOHN W. WYDLER, of New York.

DEACTIVATION OF THE 29TH BRIGADE

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 min-

ute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to request and to urge the House Armed Services Committee to study a matter of great concern in my State and to many of my constituents; the early deactivation of the 29th Brigade, a National Guard unit that was called to active duty in May of last year. The men of that unit feel they have been deeply aggrieved by their Government, and 1,392 of them have signed a petition for redress.

Their basic grievance, Mr. Speaker, is one in which I concur, and that is the unfairness of their callup and the seeming duplicity with which they have been treated since then. As reservists, they had always been led to believe that they would be summoned to duty only in case of war or national emergency. At the time of their callup, after the seizure of our ship, the *Pueblo*, it did appear to some that a national emergency was at hand. And so, Hawaii's men of the 29th Brigade answered the call to duty as the loyal citizens they are. There was only one question in their minds at the time, and that question was this: Why was the State of Hawaii, with less than one-half of 1 percent of the Nation's population, required to provide 17 percent of the men involved in that national callup? They were told that it was because they constituted a crack unit which was needed as a unit, and they were further assured, Mr. Speaker, that they would be used as a unit which would not be broken up.

It was not long after that, Mr. Speaker, that the Army began breaking up the 29th Brigade and sending this supposedly "crack unit" to Vietnam in little bits and pieces, mostly as individual transfers. Not only is that still going on, but the rate of transfers is increasing until now, nearly half of the brigade is gone or are under orders to go.

At this rate, there will soon be nothing of the 29th Brigade except their flag and a sign over the headquarters door. Is that what the Army meant when it spoke of preserving the unit integrity of the 29th? Is that what the Army meant when it said that the 29th would be deployed as a unit and only in an emergency? Is that why the men of the 29th now charge their leaders with duplicity?

They want an answer to their charge, Mr. Speaker, and they deserve to have one. And so I present their petition signed by 1,392 loyal Americans, many of them now serving in Vietnam under conditions which they were surely led to believe would not be imposed upon them. And I urgently request that the Armed Services Committee consider their petition and prompt redress of their grievance.

RETIREMENT BENEFITS OF CIVIL EMPLOYEES

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today several bills designed to improve retirement benefits of the Nation's retired civil employees.

I feel strongly that the bills I introduce today should be carefully considered and studied.

During the past several years, the standard of living for active Federal employees has been raised greatly, while the standard of living for our Federal retirees has remained stationary, and in many cases, has been lowered, due to the tremendous effect the inflationary trend has had on living costs.

Of an approximately 800,000 retired civil employees and their survivors, some 279,000 receive a monthly annuity of less than \$100, and 513,000 receive less than \$200 per month. Using a poverty level income of \$3,000 per year, 611,000-plus former employees and their survivors are now living in poverty. The only way we can correct this great injustice is to grant these former Federal employees a substantial annuity increase and provide a minimum annuity for them.

The legislation I am introducing today will not bring all these retirees above the poverty level, but these bills will give them a substantial increase in their annuities and provide a minimum annuity.

Another bill will give an increase to all Federal retirees and their survivors. I am also sponsoring legislation that would provide a minimum annuity of \$200 per month for an annuitant with a spouse and/or dependents, or \$100 per month for an annuitant with neither spouse or dependents and legislation that would equalize Federal income tax exemptions by providing that the first \$5,000 received as civil service retirement annuity be excluded from gross income.

Federal retirees are burdened by present discrimination against retired Federal employees by the present Federal income tax laws. It is manifestly unfair to exempt retirement income under some systems from Federal income taxes while refusing to exempt retirement income under other systems. The most striking example is the exemption of social security and railroad retirement annuities from Federal income tax, while imposing the tax on the annuities of retired Federal workers and retired teachers of the District of Columbia, and retired municipal workers of the District of Columbia.

Finally I have the assurance of support from the National Association of Retired Civil Employees for these proposals.

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

(Mr. OLSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, public life is regarded by many as the crown of a career, and to young men it is the worthiest ambition. Politics is still the greatest and the most honorable adventure, spawning such greatness in men as we find in W. Averell Harriman.

The mettle of this man has been tempered by the conflagrations of a half century's fires. The coolness of his calculation is the command of his destiny, and what has been said before of the greatness in men can surely be applied here.

I first met Mr. Harriman during the crusading days of the early fifties when

we campaigned for President Harry Truman. In 1956 I was privileged to second the nomination of W. Averell Harriman for President and John F. Kennedy for Vice President. What has happened since then is well-known history. Mr. Harriman returned to Federal service in February 1961, when President Kennedy appointed him Ambassador at Large. He was named Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs in December of that year, serving in that capacity until April 1963 when he was named Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Mr. Harriman was appointed Ambassador at Large by President Lyndon Johnson on March 18, 1965, before tackling the recent specific assignment as chief negotiator for this country at the Paris Peace Conference.

Distinguished, unselfish service is the hallmark of this man's profession. An inspiration, an extraordinary man with extraordinary beliefs. Always dedicated to and never wavering in complete giving of self to his Nation.

My sincere belief in the future of this Nation and the goodness of our people is preserved and strengthened by such dedicated public servants as Mr. Harriman. He has worked and lived with giants, yet his humility has caused him never to shun the ordinary of us who are so fortunate to be his contemporaries.

His steadfast perseverance is exemplified most by his determined effort to end the war in Vietnam. Never has he faltered in believing that there can be a just and honorable end to the conflict. While others rebuked the President for the swelling, unending battle, Mr. Harriman supported his President. Throughout, his role has been the seeking of peace. Quoting Theodore Roosevelt, he said:

When we analyze the career of any man we must remember, especially, not to judge any public servant by any one act, and further should we beware of attacking the men who are merely the occasions and not the causes of disaster.

The Harriman career is marked by the statesmanship of Ben Franklin, the dedication of Adlai Stevenson, and the brilliance of John F. Kennedy.

It has been my privilege to so pay tribute to such greatness.

BILL OFFERED TO CUT FISHERIES IMPORTS FROM ECUADOR

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, barely 5 months ago, President Johnson signed Public Law 90-482, which was intended to discourage certain Latin American Governments from high-seas interference with our U.S. fishermen.

The new law represents the most positive step the United States has ever taken to assure protection for our fishing crews. For the first time, it requires the withholding of foreign aid from governments that refuse to reimburse this country for fines and other fees illegally extracted from the fishermen.

Congress approved the new statute after the most careful consideration, and

with some reluctance. The provision for mandatory aid cutbacks was thought by some members of the State Department to be a bit drastic. But traditional methods of diplomacy have patently failed to dissuade some governments from continuing to enforce their exorbitant claims to territorial water limits extending 200 miles out to sea.

Our fishermen have been pawns in the soccer game played by Ecuador and certain other countries on the high seas off the west coast of South and Central America. In the past 8 years, there have been 74 seizures involving U.S. tuna crews, who have been forced to pay more than \$736,000 in fines and related costs to their captors.

With many of our colleagues, I had hoped in the interests of international good will that Public Law 90-482 would be enough to deter further aggression. It now appears, however, that additional measures are needed, at least in the case of Ecuador.

Ecuador has, and is, the leading offender in the undeclared war on our fishermen. This small but ambitious nation seized seven of our boats in 1968 alone. As if to demonstrate her contempt for the moves taken by Congress in support of our fishermen's rights, tiny Ecuador responded by grabbing four ships in one fell swoop just a few days before Public Law 90-482 was signed by Mr. Johnson.

Just 3 weeks ago today, Ecuador did it again. This time there was not a seizure—just some gunfire directed without advance warning at one of our boats while it was cruising fully 35 miles off Ecuador's north coast.

By racing through heavy seas in the dead of night, the U.S. vessel and its 14 crewmembers managed to escape unharmed, after a harrowing 45-minute chase during which three machinegun bursts were fired by the pursuing Ecuadorean gunboat.

There is no logical explanation for the hostile Ecuadorean action. I can only surmise that with each blast from the machinegun Ecuador was punctuating her defiance of our efforts here in Congress to protect the fishermen.

Ecuador also was acting with some impunity, since the bill we enacted last year, which is good and effective as far as it goes, applies only in incidents where the American fishermen suffer a financial loss.

Accordingly, I am today reintroducing a measure I first offered during the 88th Congress—H.R. 6656—which would authorize and direct the President to ban fishery imports from countries that harass our fishing crews beyond the 12-mile territorial limit now widely accepted for territorial fishing rights.

Since Ecuador apparently is still oblivious to the time-honored principle of freedom of the seas, I have reluctantly revived my 1963 proposal—with the thought that it could serve as a vehicle for adding to the protections so clearly owed our fishermen by their Government. If enacted, my bill would complement Public Law 90-482. Our Government would have more flexibility in dealing with offending countries. It could cut

off aid, or imports, depending on the situation.

In examining the fishery problems we have been having with Ecuador and, to a lesser degree, Peru and Mexico, I turned up some rather ironic trade data:

We are buying more than 16,000 times as much fish and fish products from Ecuador as she is purchasing from us. In 1967, the last year for which complete Commerce Department figures are available, our fish and fish product imports from Ecuador were valued at \$8,885,767. Comparable purchases by Ecuador from the United States totaled a measly \$530. And, believe it or not, Ecuador's fishery exports to us have been increasing at the rate of about \$1 million a year. On the other hand, our fishery exports to Ecuador have dwindled from a little over \$15,000 in 1965 to the token \$530 in 1967.

The rewards of piracy have been generous for Ecuador, although our balance of payments has not been helped much in the process.

The very least we can do now, I believe, is keep some of those dollars home, rather than continue to enrich Ecuador by buying the fish that she denies our own fishermen.

SALARY INCREASES

(Mr. UDALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, since President Johnson on January 17 acted on the recommendations of the Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries, there has been some doubt in the minds of some of my colleagues about the position of the new administration on these recommendations. I am happy to say that any doubt can now be dispelled; the new administration does, in fact, support the salary increases set forth by the Kappel Commission and implemented, after scaling down, by the outgoing administration.

In a letter to the chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee the new chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, the Honorable Robert E. Hampton, makes clear that President Nixon stands behind these salary recommendations for Federal executives, members of the judiciary, and Members of Congress. He writes:

The Bureau of the Budget advises that the present Administration supports the Executive, Legislative and Judicial salary recommendations submitted by President Johnson as part of his 1970 budget, and believes that those recommendations should be allowed to go into effect.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment the task faced by the new administration in recruiting topflight executives to do the job it wants to do would be made infinitely more difficult if Congress acted to block the implementation of these salary recommendations. In his letter Chairman Hampton makes this same point. He writes:

Failure to adjust the salaries of top officers to currently needed levels is unfair to the individuals concerned and can be a seri-

ous handicap to the Government in securing and keeping the talent it needs.

The chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Honorable THADDEUS J. DULSKI, has made available to me a copy of that letter. Without objection I shall insert it at this point in the RECORD:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., January 21, 1969.

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI,
Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for the Commission's views on H. Res. 128 disapproving the recommendations which President Johnson made in his budget for adjustment of the salaries of Members of Congress, Federal Executives, and members of the Federal Judiciary. These recommendations were made pursuant to section 225 of the Federal Salary Act of 1967.

I wish to assure you that this Commission fully supports the recommendations which President Johnson made in his budget with respect to the adjustment of the salaries for these top officers.

The responsibility for the well being of this country which is placed in the hands of Congressmen, Federal Executives, and the Justices and judges of the Federal Judiciary fully justifies the recommended adjustments in salaries. Failure to adjust the salaries of top officers to currently needed levels is unfair to the individuals concerned and can be a serious handicap to the Government in securing and keeping the talent it needs.

The orderly method of adjusting top salaries provided in the Federal Salary Act of 1967 constitutes a very significant improvement in the total Federal salary system. The Commission strongly recommends support of the recommendations in the budget which represent the first action under this new quadrennial review.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that the present Administration supports the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial salary recommendations submitted by President Johnson as part of his 1970 budget, and believes that those recommendations should be allowed to go into effect.

By direction of the Commission:

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. HAMPTON,
Chairman.

JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION ON "PUEBLO"

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WOLFF, Mr. Speaker, we were all elated when the crew of the *Pueblo* was returned safely last month. The American people expected, as they had every right to expect, that there would be a complete and open investigation and report on the circumstances of the *Pueblo's* capture, the crew's imprisonment and general American policy in this matter. But this investigation has simply not taken place; the court of inquiry has not done this vital job.

There are serious and fundamental questions that remain unanswered for the American people. Was the potential value of the *Pueblo's* mission consistent with the inherent risks to the crew and possible loss of confidential information and equipment? Why were no contingency plans provided for so delicate an assignment? Why was there difficulty in communications between the *Pueblo* and

Tokyo in the period immediately before the ship was lost?

Is one man being made a scapegoat? Where does responsibility rest for loss of the ship? Are such missions continuing without better provisions for support?

These and other questions can and should be answered without compromising our security. On a matter such as this it is appropriate that the American people demand and receive honest answers.

In order to secure these answers I am today introducing a resolution to create a special joint congressional commission to study fully, and in public view, the entire *Pueblo* incident.

This Commission will be comprised of the chairmen and ranking minority members of the appropriate House and Senate committees and two appointed members, one to be appointed by the Speaker and the other by the President of the Senate.

The Commission shall have the necessary staff, funding and authority to investigate thoroughly the entire *Pueblo* affair and shall report its findings to the President and Congress.

Because this remains a clouded issue with so many unanswered questions, and because the answers to those questions may well prove vital to our national security and future international policy, I urge immediate action on the resolution I am introducing today.

Because of the urgency with which I regard this matter, and under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the resolution in the RECORD at this point:

H.J. RES. 334

A joint resolution to establish a commission to conduct a full and complete investigation of the seizure of the United States Ship *Pueblo*

Whereas the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by the North Korean Peoples Republic in January, 1967 was a source of great concern to the American people;

Whereas the treatment of the *Pueblo's* crew during the men's detention in North Korea reportedly involved inhuman harassment;

Whereas there remain serious questions that cloud the entire incident of the *Pueblo's* capture;

Whereas the American people have a right to a thorough and open investigation of the *Pueblo* affair: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

ESTABLISHMENT

SECTION 1. There is established a commission to be known as the "Pueblo Commission" (hereafter referred to in this joint resolution as the "Commission").

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Commission to conduct a full and complete investigation of the seizure of the United States Ship *Pueblo* and its crews by the North Korean Peoples Republic. The Commission shall also review all the conditions and details relating to the detention of the *Pueblo's* crew in North Korea.

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of 14 members as follows:

(1) The chairman and ranking minority member of each of the following committees of the House of Representatives:

- (A) Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- (B) Committee on Armed Services.

(C) Subcommittee on Military Operations of the Committee on Government Operations.

(2) The chairman and ranking minority member of each of the following committees of the Senate:

(A) Committee on Foreign Relations.

(B) Committee on Armed Services.

(C) Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations.

(3) One Member of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(4) One Member of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

(c) (1) Members of the Commission who are full-time officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional compensation on account of their service on the Commission.

(2) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as the expenses authorized by section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(d) Eight members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(e) The Chairman of the Commission shall be selected by the members of the Commission.

STAFF OF COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable.

(b) The staff of the Commission shall be appointed subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Joint Resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places, administer such oaths, and require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deem advisable. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the Chairman of the Commission, of such subcommittee, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman or member. The provisions of sections 102 to 104, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes (2 U.S.C. 192-194), shall apply in the case of any failure of any witness to comply with any subpoena or to testify when summoned under authority of this section.

REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF FIREARMS

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. Speaker, the legislation passed by the last Congress placing greater controls on the movement, possession, and use of firearms must not be regarded as constituting all that can be done to protect our society against the

misuses of dangerous weapons. The need for a truly comprehensive firearms control program has not yet been totally satisfied.

I have consistently supported strong gun control legislation, including provisions for registration and licensing. On two occasions I have had the privilege to propose registration provisions on the floor of the House—in 1967 as an amendment to President Johnson's Safe Streets Act, and in 1968 as an amendment to a watered-down version of the Firearms Control Act of 1968, sent to Congress shortly after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy.

The enormous outpouring of public demand and support for full protection against the misuses of firearms, without unduly inconveniencing responsible sportsmen and others who have a legitimate need for firearms and are capable of using them safely, cannot be ignored. We have a continuing commitment to finish the work begun on gun control with the 1967 and 1968 acts. Those acts have put a stop to interstate and mail-order sales of both hand and long guns and ammunition, except between federally licensed dealers. They require that a person be 21 years of age to purchase a handgun and handgun ammunition, and at least 18 years of age to purchase long guns. They make it unlawful for a dealer to sell a firearm or ammunition to anyone the dealer has reasonable cause to believe is a convicted criminal, a fugitive, a drug addict or a person who is mentally defective. But until we have a workable system of gunowner licensing, it will continue to be next to impossible for any dealer to know when he may be selling to such a person.

As of June 1968, 39 States had no licensing or permit requirements to purchase handguns, and even fewer required licenses or permits to purchase long guns. As a result, in those States, there is no way for a dealer to know anything about the people he sells weapons to, for local officials to verify whatever information purchasers may provide, or for local officials to undertake even the most cursory investigation to determine the medical or possible criminal backgrounds of individuals about to purchase guns. In short, it is still possible in many States for felons, convicted criminals, physically and mentally unstable persons, drug addicts, and other individuals unfit for firearms ownership to purchase them over the counter.

In the meantime, privately owned firearms continue to be involved in more than 20,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, and 100,000 assaults and robberies each year. Without a national firearms registry, our ability rapidly to trace the ownership of weapons involved in these violations of the law remains primitive and largely ineffective.

Granted, firearms registration and licensing will not prevent or eliminate crimes of violence. Nor will they keep guns entirely out of the hands of criminals and other irresponsible individuals. But it is no more rational to argue that strong gun control laws should not be passed simply because some individuals will violate them than it is to argue that any law or licensing arrangement should

not exist simply because some people will violate it. The fact is that a system of gun-owner licensing, while it would not totally keep guns out of the hands of unqualified people determined to obtain them, would make it much more difficult than it now is for these individuals to obtain guns—more difficult particularly in the expense which they would have to incur and the time they would have to spend to locate a weapon. Furthermore, licensing and registration laws would add to the penalties that could be imposed on criminals convicted of committing a crime using firearms if one accepts the argument that most of these individuals would be unlicensed and their weapons unregistered.

A great many Americans take pleasure in the use of firearms for hunting, target shooting, and other legitimate recreational purposes. None of the gun control provisions I have supported, or will continue to support, have been intended in any way to interfere with or place undue or discriminatory hardship on sportsmen. It is my firm belief and understanding that strong gun control requirements, including registration and licensing, will take considerably less trouble to satisfy than automobile registration and driver licensing. Yet no thoughtful person would argue that it is discriminatory, unnecessary, or unduly troublesome to require automobile owners to register their vehicles and drivers to obtain licenses. A firearm, like an automobile, is a device that can be recreational and constructive when used responsibly. But it can also be dangerous and highly destructive. The destructive potential of firearms, like that of automobiles, is so great that some reasonable provisions are needed to regulate access to them.

The vast majority of hunters and target shooters are reliable, responsible citizens in their respective communities upon whom, I am confident, registration and licensing would have no adverse effect and impose no real hardship.

Some sincere opponents of strong gun control legislation fear and contend that registration and licensing is just "a foot in the door"—the first step in a program of restrictions on the possession and use of firearms that will end with a situation in the United States like that in many European countries, where firearms can be used and housed only at special private shooting clubs, or like Japan, where personal ownership, possession, and use of firearms is prohibited entirely. I do not sympathize with this view. On the contrary, I feel strongly that a comprehensive gun control program consisting of the Federal legislation already on the books and an effective system of registration and licensing will preclude the possibility that there will ever be the necessity or the temptation at some future time to go to the very extreme measures that Japan and many of the European countries have adopted.

With these facts in mind, as well as my assurances to my own constituents that I will continue to do everything I can to build our present partial firearms control program into a fully effective and comprehensive one, I am today introducing legislation to provide for Federal regis-

tration of all firearms and Federal licensing of all firearms owners in those States whose licensing laws fail to meet minimum Federal standards. This legislation is identical to that already introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Celler), and I am pleased to join with him in its sponsorship.

TODAY'S PRAYER FOR THE UKRAINE

(Mr. ROBISON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, today's prayer for the Ukraine, which has become a tradition in this body at this time of year, is one which should be participated in by all who value the spirit of freedom in the face of oppression.

On January 22, 1918, the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed, and for the ensuing 50 years Ukrainians everywhere have honored and celebrated the spirit of freedom which has continued to burn in every Ukrainian heart.

I insert at this point in the Record the relevant proclamation of the mayor of the city of Binghamton, N.Y., which is self-explanatory as well as eloquent.

The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE CITY OF BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

Whereas: January 22, 1969 will mark the 51st Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, which fell under the Communist Russian military aggression two years later; and

Whereas: During its rule the Communist Russian regime, based upon terror unheard of in the history of mankind, has kept Ukraine and its people in colonial status; and by ruthless Russification, genocide, exploitation, destruction of Ukrainian Churches, forcible deportation of the Ukrainian youth to Siberia, has aimed at the complete effacement of Ukrainian National Identity; and

Whereas: Despite the terrible plight of Ukraine, the love and spirit of freedom live in the hearts of its people and manifest themselves in various forms and by various means in the unceasing struggle to regain freedom and political independence; and

Whereas: The fate of Ukraine, the first victim of the Communist Russian aggression, serves as the best reminder of what happens to a nation when freedom, the cornerstone of our Constitution, is allowed to perish;

Now, therefore, I, Joseph W. Esworthy, mayor of the city of Binghamton, do hereby proclaim Wednesday, January 22, 1969, as "Ukrainian Independence Day in Binghamton" and call upon our citizens to join those of Ukrainian origin in prayers for peace, freedom and justice in the world.

JOSEPH W. ESWORTHY,
Mayor.

EXTENSION OF NATIONAL COMMISSION ON REFORM OF THE FEDERAL CRIMINAL LAWS

(Mr. POFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, in the 89th

Congress I had the privilege of authoring Public Law 89-801, which created the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. The Commission was established to formulate and recommend legislation to improve the Federal system of criminal justice and to revise and reform the criminal laws of the United States. I have had the pleasure of serving on that Commission and the honor of being selected as its Vice Chairman.

Pursuant to law, the Commission submitted an interim report on November 8, 1968, and is to submit its final report on November 8, 1969. The progress of the Commission has been excellent and the importance of its work has been acknowledged by many departments and agencies of the Federal Government with law-enforcement responsibilities. It must be recognized that efficient and effective law enforcement demands efficient and effective laws. The existing Federal criminal laws are a patchwork of enactments with inconsistencies, contradictions, inequities, and injustices. The National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws is preparing a draft of a proposed new criminal code designed to remedy existing deficiencies in the Federal criminal law and provide new tools for better Federal law enforcement.

On January 16, 1969, the Chairman of the Commission sent a letter to Congress on behalf of the Commission requesting the enactment of legislation to extend the life of the Commission for one additional year and provide the necessary authorization for appropriations to complete the task of the Commission.

There are several reasons the Commission is requesting enactment of the proposed legislation. The Commission was delayed almost a year in getting started. The full Commission was not appointed until spring of 1967 and recruitment and organization of the staff was not completed until the fall of 1967. Although the Commission was slow in getting started and the dimensions of its task are great, it has proceeded at an accelerated pace and made substantial progress. The Commission is planning to publish a tentative draft of the proposed new Criminal Code this spring. However, the Commission believes that the tentative draft must be widely circulated to Federal judges, Federal agencies and departments, U.S. attorneys, and other interested parties for critical analysis. The staff in turn will be expected to present the criticisms and critiques of the tentative draft to the Commission before it makes final decisions on its recommendations for the new Federal Criminal Code. It is felt that additional time will be needed so that those who receive the tentative draft will have time for thorough analysis. It is also important that the Commission staff have ample time to accommodate those changes which the Commission may wish to be made in light of the analysis.

Finally, additional funds will be necessary to maintain the requisite staff, to convene Commission meetings to prepare the final report, and to print both the tentative draft and the final report of the Commission.

The Commission believes this procedure will enable it to present a well-considered document to the President and the Congress which is reflective of the best thinking in the Nation as to the statutory statement of the Federal criminal laws.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 4297 to extend the life of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws and urge that Congress give this matter early consideration.

TO NAME BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER LINKING TENNESSEE AND MISSOURI IN HONOR OF THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT A. EVERETT

(Mr. KUYKENDALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to name the bridge being constructed across the Mississippi River linking the States of Tennessee and Missouri in honor of our late beloved colleague, Robert A. "Fats" Everett.

"Fats" served in the House from February 1, 1958, until his untimely death last Sunday, January 26, 1969. During this period he proved to be an outstanding legislator and a true representative of his constituents. He became a key member of the important House Public Works Committee and sought diligently to enhance the quantity and quality of public highways and transportation.

There is presently under construction northwest of Dyersburg, Tenn., and southeast of Caruthersville, Mo., a bridge spanning the Mississippi River which will link the States of Tennessee and Missouri. This bridge, which is a vital link in our National Interstate and Defense Highway System, is located in the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee, formerly represented by our deceased colleague, "Fats" Everett. Therefore, I feel it is only fitting and proper that we honor "Fats" by naming this bridge in his honor. I ask all of you to give this proposal your attention and full support.

NIXON FIRST DEFEATED NONINCUMBENT TO MAKE COMEBACK

(Mr. MICHEL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an interesting article relating to Presidents of the United States has been prepared by Mr. Svend Petersen, and I include it in the Record at this point:

NIXON FIRST DEFEATED NONINCUMBENT TO MAKE COMEBACK

(By Svend Petersen)

(NOTE.—Dates in parentheses show terms as Presidents.)

Richard Milhous Nixon (1969-), who has just assumed the tremendous and awesome responsibilities of the greatest office in the world, is the first defeated nonincumbent candidate to make a comeback and win election to the presidency since the be-

ginning of the present two-party system well over a century ago. His achievement is the more remarkable when we consider his defeat for the governorship of his native state and the fact that he later moved to the opposite side of the country and tried for the top prize again eight years after his narrow defeat. (Stephen) Grover Cleveland (1885-1889, 1893-1897) also made a comeback, but this was as a former President.

Nixon is the first Vice President to become President after an interval, eight years. He also enjoys the distinction of having been born farther west than any other President of the United States, having made his mundane bow in Yorba Linda, California. Five of the last seven Presidents first saw the light of day west of the Mississippi River.

President Nixon's immediate predecessor, Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963-1969), was born farther south than any other President, Stonewall, Texas. When Dwight David Eisenhower (1953-1961) was in the White House, he had the records for both farthest west and farthest south, having been born in Denison, Texas. Abilene, Kansas, where he lived as a youth, is the closest to the geographical center of the United States of any presidential domicile, not counting Alaska and Hawaii, which were still territories when his tenure began.

Harry S. Truman (1945-1953), whom Eisenhower followed, had previously come from the farthest west and nearest to the then geographical center. Herbert Clark Hoover (1929-1933), who during his occupancy of the Executive Mansion, held these two records, also lived farther west than any other chief executive, his residence at the time of election having been Palo Alto, California.

John (1797-1801) and John Quincy Adams (1825-1829) were born in neighboring houses in Braintree (later Quincy), Massachusetts. One member of the only father and son combination to serve as chief executives—don't ask me which one—was born farther east than any other president.

Chester Alan Arthur (1881-1885) was born the farthest north, in Fairfield, Vermont, but he was not an elected President. Franklin Pierce (1853-1857) was born the farthest north of any elected chief executive, Hillsboro, New Hampshire.

Eisenhower, who was seventy when he left office, was the oldest man ever to serve as President. At forty-three, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1961-1963), who followed him, was the youngest man to reach the White House through an election, but the youngest President was Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), who was not quite forty-three when William McKinley (1897-1901) was assassinated.

The oldest President at the time of inauguration was William Henry Harrison (1841), who was sixty-eight. He could have become the oldest to serve, but he died one month after he assumed office; this was the shortest term. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-1945) had the longest service, over twelve years, having been elected to precedent-breaking third and fourth terms. He served only two complete terms, however, his first having been curtailed by the Twentieth Amendment and his last by death.

The oldest President at death was John Adams, who lived to the age of ninety years and eight months. Herbert Hoover was the only other nonagenarian, living almost three months after his ninetieth birthday. He lived over thirty-one and a half years after he left office; this is a record.

Some Presidents died in office and consequently had no retirement. James Abram Garfield (1881), the youngest at death, died at forty-nine, but his life was shortened by assassination. The youngest at death of those who died naturally was James Knox Polk (1845-1849), who was fifty-three; he also had the shortest retirement, leaving the White House March 4th and dying the following June 15th.

The area of the United States increased by 1,205,000 square miles during Polk's administration, through the annexation of the Republic of Texas, the acquisition of Oregon, and the Mexican conquests. Jefferson's first term saw an increase of 828,000 square miles, which was more remarkable than Polk's additions, as the nation's area was almost doubled; the expansion was brought about without a war, and it was all in one piece—the Louisiana Purchase.

Twenty-eight Presidents were born in seven states. Eight were born in Virginia, including four of the first five. During the first thirty-six years after 1789, four Virginians served for thirty-two years, each getting two terms. George Washington (1789–1797), the Father of His Country; Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) author of the Declaration of Independence; James Madison (1809–1817), the Father of the Constitution; and James Monroe (1817–1825), promulgator of the Monroe Doctrine; were the distinguished quartet. The Virginia dynasty was interrupted only by John Adams. It is a coincidence that the first two terms were the Adamases, father and son. The only other period when the White House occupant was not a southerner, up to 1850, was Martin Van Buren's tenure (1837–1841).

Seven Presidents were born in Ohio, including three in a row. Of the eleven who served from 1869 to 1923, seven were natives of the Buckeye State. Before Eisenhower's first inauguration, each Democrat elected since the Civil War who retired was succeeded by an Ohioan. Cleveland was followed by Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893) and William McKinley and (Thomas) Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921) by Warren Gamaliel Harding (1921–1923).

New York has furnished four Presidents; Massachusetts three; North Carolina, Texas, and Vermont two each; and California, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina one each.

Andrew Jackson (1829–1837) and Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1877–1881) were both posthumous children.

Van Buren was the first President born since we threw off the British yoke, 1782, but John Tyler (1841–1845) was the first born under the Constitution, 1790. Oddly enough, Tyler was elected to the Confederate Congress. Wilson lived under the Stars and Bars in Georgia and South Carolina.

The coach of the national football champions of 1878, who is listed in the record books as "T. W. Wilson," became more famous as Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft (1909–1913), and Theodore Roosevelt were born in 1856, 1857, and 1858, respectively, but served in the reverse order. Harding was elected on his birthday, November 2, 1920.

The first four Presidents celebrated their birthdays on different days as Presidents than they had as children. This was due to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar by England and her colonies in September, 1753. For example, Washington, who was born February 11, 1732, observed February 22nd from 1754 on. He died the last hour of the day, the last day of the week, the last month of the year, and the last year of the 1700's. The national capital and a state were named after Washington, the only President who never lived in Washington, D.C., while Jefferson City, Missouri; Madison, Wisconsin; Jackson, Mississippi; and Lincoln, Nebraska; are state capitals that were named for Presidents.

No President was born in June. While only one (John) Calvin Coolidge (1923–1929), was born on July 4th, three out of four in succession died on Independence Day. John Adams and Jefferson, signers of the Declaration, both died July 4, 1826, the golden anniversary of that immortal document, while Monroe passed away exactly five years later.

Every President who was elected in a year ending in zero either died in office or on the Fourth of July. Jefferson was first elected in 1800 and Monroe was reelected in 1820; both died July 4th. The elder Harrison was elected in 1840 and died in office. Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865), Garfield, McKinley, and Kennedy were elected in 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1960, respectively, it being McKinley's second election; all four were assassinated. Harding and the second Roosevelt were elected in 1920 and 1940, respectively, F.D.R.'s election being his third; both died in office.

There were once three Presidents in a month. William Henry Harrison succeeded Van Buren March 4, 1841. Tyler succeeded upon the former's death, April 4th. There were also three chief executives in 1881, Garfield succeeding Hayes and Arthur taking over after Garfield was assassinated.

Eight Presidents married widows; for two of them it was the second marriage. Three others were also married twice. James Buchanan (1857–1861) was the only President who never married, while Cleveland did not marry until his first administration. Tyler's second wife was thirty years younger than he. He was the father of fourteen children by his two marriages, the most for any President. His predecessor, Harrison, had the most for one marriage, ten.

Besides the Adamases, there were several other Presidents who were closely related to predecessors or successors. Benjamin Harrison was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, who was a son of the Benjamin Harrison who signed the Declaration of Independence. Madison and Zachary Taylor (1849–1850) were second cousins and the Roosevelts were fifth cousins. Franklin D. Roosevelt's mother was a third cousin of Ulysses Simpson Grant (1869–1877).

Eight Presidents succeeded to the office because they were Vice Presidents when the chief executives died. These included Tyler, Millard Fillmore (1850–1853), Andrew (Jackson) Johnson (1865–1869), Arthur, Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge, Truman, and Lyndon Johnson. Three others were Vice Presidents in the administrations preceding their own: John Adams, Jefferson, and Van Buren.

In the early days of the Republic, six men who had been Secretary of State became President: Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams (four in succession), Van Buren, and Buchanan. Only two Cabinet members have reached the White House since: Secretary of War Taft and Secretary of Commerce Hoover.

Congressional service has also been a stepping-stone to the Executive Mansion. The second Adams, Jackson, the first Harrison, Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan, both Johnsons, Kennedy, and Nixon served in both Houses.

Those who were Senators only were Monroe, Van Buren, the second Harrison, Harding, and Truman. Only Harding and Kennedy were elected President while serving in the Senate; both resigned before their terms as Senators expired.

Those who were in the House only included Madison, Polk, Fillmore, Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, and McKinley. Polk was the only Speaker of the House of Representatives to become President. From November 4 to 8, 1890, Garfield was simultaneously Representative, Senator-elect, and President-elect.

Ex-Presidents have served in every branch of our government. Two were in Congress, the second Adams serving in the House for almost seventeen years and Andrew Johnson for a few months in the Senate. Cleveland was the only former President to make a comeback. Taft was the only man to occupy both the highest elective and the highest appointive offices, as he became Chief Justice of the United States after having been President.

Washington and Madison were members of the Constitutional Convention; the former was its President. Seven of the early

Presidents had been diplomats. Both Adamases were Ministers to Great Britain; the elder was also Minister to the Netherlands and the younger also served as Minister to Portugal, Prussia, and Russia. Other Ministers to Great Britain included Monroe, Van Buren, and Buchanan; Monroe was also Minister to France and Buchanan was also Minister to Russia. Jefferson was Minister to France and the elder Harrison Minister to New Granada (Colombia).

Governors who became President included Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler, Virginia; Van Buren, Cleveland, and both Roosevelts, New York; Polk and Andrew Johnson, Tennessee; Hayes and McKinley, Ohio; Wilson, New Jersey; and Coolidge, Massachusetts.

Jefferson and John Quincy Adams were elected by the House, after the former tied Aaron Burr in the Electoral College in 1800 and the latter ran second among four candidates in 1824. Thirty-six ballots were necessary in the first case.

Quite a number of the Presidents had war records. Washington, Monroe, and Jackson fought in the Revolution; the latter was only thirteen at the time. He avenged himself against the British by winning the final battle of the War of 1812; the first Harrison and Buchanan also participated in that war.

Taylor, Pierce, and Grant all fought against Mexico. The latter's name was originally Hiram Ulysses Grant and was changed when he entered West Point, due to a Congressman's error, which the future President allowed to stand. He and Andrew Johnson, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and McKinley all took part in the Civil War, Cleveland being the only President from 1865 to 1901 who had not been a Union soldier. Theodore Roosevelt served in the Spanish-American War, Truman in World War I, and Eisenhower in World Wars I and II, and Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Nixon in World War II. Like another general who became President, Eisenhower's present name is not his original designation, as he was named David Dwight Eisenhower.

The United States, which now has three ex-Presidents, was without one during four periods, 1799 to 1801, 1875 to 1877, 1908 to 1909, and two months of 1933, not to mention Washington's incumbency. From March 4, 1881, to January 17, 1882, we had five ex-Presidents, Van Buren, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan.

REPRESENTATIVE KLEPPE INTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO PERMIT ADVANCE PAYMENTS TO WHEAT PRODUCERS

(Mr. KLEPPE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced, for reference to the Committee on Agriculture, a bill to amend the Agriculture Adjustment Act to permit advance payments to wheat producers. I introduced a similar bill in the last Congress, and a companion bill introduced by Congressman Dole passed the House on December 4, 1967.

The purpose of my bill is to permit advance price support payments to be made to wheat farmers in the same manner as these early payments have been made available to farmers participating in the cotton and feed grains program. A payment of up to 50 percent of the estimated value of the domestic marketing certificates would be made by the Secretary of Agriculture in advance of determination of performance.

I was a member of the Committee on

Agriculture during the last Congress, and as a member of the Livestock and Grains Subcommittee, know that the only opposition to similar bills came from the Department of Agriculture. All the other witnesses present at the hearings favored a bill of this type. Obviously, the committee felt that the Department's objections were invalid. The committee felt that the bill was needed and that the wheat farmers should be helped to the maximum extent possible. Under the bill, the wheat farmer, not the Department of Agriculture, would decide whether advance payments were needed. I think, as the committee did, that the wheat farmer should have the same options as the cotton and feed grains producers. He would, under my bill.

Mr. Speaker, the plight of the farmer is no better today than it was when this same type of bill passed the House in 1967. The reasons for passage then are valid now. With credit tight and interest rates at sky-high levels, such advance payments would make it unnecessary for a considerable number of wheat growers to seek operating loans in the spring.

I urge swift consideration of this bill in order that action may be completed during this session of Congress.

SKIDS APPEAR GREASED TO PUT UNCONSCIONABLE PAY INCREASE INTO EFFECT WITHOUT HEARINGS OR OTHER CONSIDERATION BY CONGRESS

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, throughout the campaign last fall and the months that have intervened since, the public has been warned of the dire consequences that would follow unless the Federal Government practiced economy, halted inflation, and stabilized the dollar.

Now it is proposed, and unbelievably with the support of the Nixon administration, to provide top officials and employees of this Government, with an unconscionable pay increase of 40 to 50 percent—a salary grab that will cost the taxpayers millions of dollars and further fuel the flame of inflation both in and out of Government.

And it appears the skids are greased to put this unconscionable pay increase into effect without any hearings or other consideration on the part of Congress.

I again call upon the leadership of the House, as I did yesterday, to bring my disapproving resolution to the floor of the House and give the Members an opportunity to vote on the record against this latest raid on the treasury and the contribution it will make to further inflation.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 133 CALLING FOR DISAPPROVAL OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RECOMMENDATION FOR HUGE PAY INCREASES

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 min-

ute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, on January 15, I joined in cosponsoring House Resolution 133 calling for disapproval of President Johnson's recommendation for huge pay increases for top members of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of Government, including Members of Congress. I am becoming increasingly concerned that an opportunity for a record vote will be denied the Members of the House and that we will, in effect, abdicate our constitutional responsibilities over our own salaries and the Federal Treasury's "purse strings," leaving the entire decision to our colleagues in the Senate—or indeed, the executive branch.

It appears that the assurances that were given in 1967, when the enabling legislation for this infamous Commission was first approved, that the House could work its will on the pay proposals of the President's Commission, are about as lasting as an "ice cube on a hot tin roof."

I saw this situation developing when I voted against the creation of said Presidential Pay Commission in the original bill, and against the bill on final passage which contained this unique "veto in reverse." At least before we began rewriting the Constitution by fiat, the President had a choice of whether or not to veto a bill. Now that the executive branch legislates and the legislative branch executes, our alleged power to veto has turned out to be as slippery as the streets of Washington following an all-night ice storm. If the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service does not send the opposing resolution to the House, and if the Committee on Rules does not discharge the resolution from the committee, then we actually have no veto power at all.

This pay proposal, coming as it does along with a proposed continuation of the tax surcharge, coming as it does when we are trying to hold down Federal spending and inflation, coming as it does at a time when the White House has been swamped with 80,000 applications for jobs from people who apparently are satisfied with pay scales as they are now, and coming as it does at a time when there was more than adequate competition for a seat in Congress at the present pay scales, ought not to have been reported to be considered, let alone adopted.

A BILL TO PROTECT THE ALLIGATOR AND OTHER ENDANGERED SPECIES

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which will be of tremendous assistance in the fight to protect domestic and foreign fish and wildlife that are in danger of becoming extinct.

The purpose of this legislation is threefold.

First, to assist the several States in stopping or reducing illegal traffic in cer-

tain protected animals, this legislation would make it unlawful for anyone to knowingly put into interstate or foreign commerce any amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof taken contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws or regulations. Present law extends this protection only to wild mammals or wild birds, or fish, or parts thereof.

Second, to eliminate known refuges for poachers, this legislation would permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire by purchase, donation, exchange, or otherwise any inholdings which have proven to be trouble spots in the effort to protect endangered species.

Third, to assist on an international level in the preservation of threatened species, this legislation would prohibit the importation of any species of wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean, or parts thereof that are threatened with extinction. The Secretary of the Interior could make exception for zoological, educational, and scientific purposes, and for the purpose of breeding for preservation and propagation.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is similar to H.R. 11618, which passed the House in the second session of the 90th Congress, and which was reported by the Senate Commerce Committee but did not come before that body for a vote.

I strongly supported that legislation in committee and during debate because man should not be callous and indifferent to the devastating exploitation of his natural resources. Nor should man naively believe that other species will continue to exist on the face of the earth without his aid and protection.

I am particularly interested in section 2 of this legislation because it is aimed at a problem with which I am most familiar: the threatened extinction of the alligator.

This majestic beast, a living fossil from the age of reptiles which flourished some 200 million years ago, is indigenous to the south central part of the State of Florida, the area which I have the privilege to represent in the Congress.

Human greed and vanity threaten the American alligator just as human greed and vanity threatened the American bison and the egret 100 years ago.

Today, a finished alligator suitcase will sell for up to \$1,000; men's alligator shoes retail at \$70 and more.

Prime alligator hides bring \$6 per linear foot from dealers who do not question their origin, and it is estimated that the illegal market of skins in Miami, Fla. alone is in excess of \$1 million a year.

Section 2 of this bill that I am introducing will be an effective instrument to stem this tide.

It would impose a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for up to 6 months on anyone who first, knowingly delivers, carries, transports or ships interstate or foreign commerce any alligator taken illegally; or, second, knowingly sells or causes to be sold any products manufactured, made, or processed from such alligators; or, third, knowingly receives, acquires, or purchases any alligator or parts thereof which were taken

illegally and shipped interstate commerce.

Under present law, if the poacher is not caught in the act of catching or slaughtering the alligators, and if he can get the carcasses or skins to a dealer, there is little State or Federal officials can do. This legislation would close that loophole in the law.

This is a strong bill, but I believe that such language is necessary if we are to preserve not only the alligator, but other domestic and foreign fish and wildlife that are in danger of extinction.

Conservation and civic groups in Florida have mounted an offensive against poachers and hunters of the alligator. Public attention is being rallied in support of local, State, and Federal action, and I praise these most worthwhile civic efforts.

I hope that my colleagues will hear this call, and that early action can be taken on this most necessary legislation.

THE LATE OSCAR ROSE

(Mr. STEED asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the House that Mr. Oscar Rose, superintendent of schools of Midwest City, Okla., and who for the last 20 years had become known as a friend to many Members of the Congress through his work in the Federal impacted school program, died at 4:15 this morning here in Washington while here to attend a school conference.

I know that all of those who have known and worked with this great educator will be as sad as I am at his untimely passing. Our deepest sympathy goes to Mrs. Rose and their family.

We are advised that the funeral arrangements will be made for the services to be held in the city of Midwest City, Okla., on Saturday next.

Oscar Rose attained a record of achievement in education surpassed by no one in the history of Oklahoma. Under his guidance the Midwest City school system grew from a tiny beginning to one of the largest and most respected in the State. It was his leadership that made this possible.

He contributed to the betterment of education nationally as well as locally. It was Oscar Rose who took the voluntary leadership in meeting by Federal legislation the needs of schools in communities affected heavily by the impact of Federal installations. The disproportionate amount of tax-exempt Federal property in such communities would leave them with a tax base too narrow to support an efficient school system were it not for the programs founded by Public Laws 874 and 815 of the 81st Congress. Under these laws the Federal Government makes contributions to the impacted area school systems on a formula based on the individual child.

I had the honor of serving as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor when these programs were written in the 81st Congress. Their passage and subsequent success are a monument to the vision and practical skill of Oscar

Rose. He became the nationally recognized authority in this field, and in the 20 years since enactment of the laws he has been unstinting in devoting time and energy to their continuing success. It was on another mission in their behalf that he came here this week.

Millions would have had a less adequate education today without the laws Oscar Rose helped to make effective. The principle of a formula under which aid is extended to the local districts on the basis of categories of individual children, with wide latitude in use, was the concept later used in title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Oscar Rose was a man of courage, of dedication, above all of effective action. Few have lived to see such tangible evidence of their contribution to the betterment of their fellow citizens.

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

Mr. STEED. I yield to our distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I join with my colleague in his expression of sorrow over the death of Oscar Rose. Every child who has benefited from impacted area legislation owes a debt of gratitude to this great man. More than anyone else, in the schools of America, Mr. Rose led the fight for aid to impacted areas. He was a real leader, and I am thankful that he was my friend.

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

WILLARD WIRTZ: DEDICATED HUMANITARIAN

(Mr. BURTON of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, for the last 8 years, this Nation has been waging a tireless and unyielding struggle against the misery and injustice wrought by human disadvantage.

History will properly note the leadership given in this struggle by both President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. Their choice to champion the cause was the Honorable Willard Wirtz who served as Secretary of Labor under both these distinguished Presidents.

Many dedicated men and women have distinguished themselves through their immense contributions to this vast undertaking. At the forefront, however, has been a man whose devotion to the task of perfecting our society has made him an outstanding champion of human rights. That man is Willard Wirtz who distinguished himself as perhaps the greatest Secretary of Labor in our Nation's history.

Indeed, when historians write their chronicles of the 1960's, Willard Wirtz will be remembered for his steadfast and courageous stand for human justice, human dignity, and human opportunity.

His able efforts to assist both working and jobless Americans have been guided by the deep and abiding conviction that a truly great society is one that provides

every individual with full opportunity to realize his potential and to make meaningful use of his abilities.

This firm belief—and the actions it has prompted—has earned Willard Wirtz a special place in the hearts and minds of the American people, especially the dispossessed of our urban and rural slums. And that special place is well justified, for his outstanding efforts have contributed much to the tremendous record of human progress this Nation has known during the 1960's.

A significant measure of that progress is the fact that more Americans are working for better wages than ever before in our history. Between January 1961 and December 1968, the number of working men and women rose by more than 11 million—16.8 percent. Compared to the meager 6.3-percent rise in employment during the preceding 8 years, this figure is staggering and heartening. By the same token, unemployment dropped by more than 2 million—44.6 percent—between January 1961 and December 1968. During the preceding 8 years, unemployment had risen—yes risen—by an unbelievable 185.5 percent.

The record of progress during the 1960's is also evident in the fact that during the last 8 years, real spendable earnings for a worker with three dependents have risen by 15.4 percent, almost double the rise during the preceding 8 years.

There are other statistics which document our tremendous economic and social advances, and I shall insert these in the RECORD following these remarks. Impressive as these figures are, however, they do not tell the full story. They do not explain, for example, that much of the rise in employment was due to a far-reaching effort to provide training and job opportunities for every American who sought work. They do not explain that much of the increase in earnings was due to a conscious effort to secure decent wages for underpaid workers. And they do not describe the excellence with which Willard Wirtz led these efforts to promote human progress.

The great contributions Willard Wirtz has made to the Nation's advancement during the 1960's become even more impressive in light of the fact that since becoming Secretary of Labor in 1962, he has been faced with manpower challenges equaled only in the years of the great depression.

When he assumed office, the unemployment rate was a high 5.8 percent. Today, it stands at a post-Korean war low of 3.3 percent. What is more, he was confronted with the task of coping with two great revolutions concerning men and work. The first was the great manpower revolution brought on by rapid technological change. The second was the still-continuing struggle for equal opportunity.

To solve the human problems of technological advancement, Secretary Wirtz skillfully focused the attention of the Labor Department more clearly than ever on the central problem of manpower development, use, and need. Committed to the belief that there should be no human hostages left in the wake of technological progress, the Department be-

gan—for the first time in history—to study the impact of technological change upon the labor force, and to assess the importance of proper education and training for our complex and modern economy.

The Labor Department also met the great challenge of technological change by putting in high gear the machinery needed to administer the Manpower Development and Training Act. This law had been enacted to retrain displaced workers for the higher skilled jobs required in our expanding economy, and by 1965 its training programs were proving their far-reaching effectiveness.

The other great revolution facing Willard Wirtz during his first year in office was the growing struggle for equal opportunity. More and more Americans were becoming aware of the urgent need to help prepare the disadvantaged—minority groups, the unskilled, the uneducated—to compete for decent jobs in our economy.

Congress responded to this need by broadening the scope of the Manpower Development and Training Act to provide more training opportunities for the disadvantaged. Administered by the Labor Department, these programs were aimed at solving the human problems which prevent the disadvantaged from playing a dignified and productive role in our society.

The Labor Department's efforts to insure equal opportunity for all were expanded with the passage of the Civil Rights and Economic Opportunity Acts of 1964. Secretary Wirtz welcomed his duties under these acts with a dedication and ability that spelled new hope and opportunity for America's disadvantaged.

Long a champion of the idea that employment opportunities must be opened to minority groups to whom they had been denied, Secretary Wirtz had already made the Labor Department an outstanding example of an equal opportunity employer.

With the passage of these new acts, Willard Wirtz' firm belief that every American is entitled to achieve his full potential—no matter what his color or sex or religion or national origin or economic background—was translated into powerful efforts to end job discrimination on all fronts.

Secretary Wirtz met—and magnificently overcame—another great manpower challenge at the end of 1964 when Congress allowed Public Law 78, a law authorizing the importation of Mexican nationals for farm labor, to expire.

The expiration of this law was adamantly opposed by farmowners who had become accustomed to importing foreign workers who would suffer low wages and extremely poor working conditions, thus depressing wages and conditions for domestic field hands. In my own State of California, the Nation's leading agricultural State, a misguided few even predicted that our whole agricultural economy would collapse if foreign contract workers were not available.

But Willard Wirtz was resolute in his resistance that alien workers would not

be allowed to fill jobs that could be performed by unemployed Americans. He was equally steadfast in his dedication to the task of improving wages and working conditions for domestic farmworkers.

Again, Willard Wirtz' courageous stand paid off. In my home State, man-months of domestic farm employment rose 14.5 percent—from 1,237,150 to 1,416,810—between 1964 and 1968, when not one foreign contract worker was employed on California crops. In that same period, hourly farm rates rose 25.9 percent, from \$1.35 to \$1.70.

America's farmworkers gained further advances in 1966 when amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act brought half a million farm laborers under Federal minimum wage protection for the first time.

Though Secretary Wirtz has played a major role in forging these advances, he is still not content with farmworker gains. Realizing how much more needs to be done if American farmworkers are to keep pace with nonagricultural workers, Willard Wirtz has tirelessly continued to battle for better working conditions and collective bargaining rights for this still-disadvantaged group.

The progress that farmworkers have seen during the past several years has been mirrored in other low-paying industries also brought under Federal minimum wage protection for the first time in 1966. Some 10.4 million workers, including those in laundries, motels, restaurants and other service industries, benefited from these amendments.

Through all these efforts, Secretary Wirtz continued his emphasis on the need to prepare the disadvantaged for dignified and productive jobs. Programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act were expanded, improved, made more effective. One mark of their effectiveness is the fact that over 1.1 million disadvantaged persons have enrolled in MDTA programs, and more than 1.7 million have enrolled in Economic Opportunity Act programs, since their inception.

During Willard Wirtz' term, the Labor Department has also placed new emphasis on identifying the disadvantaged, getting new and valuable statistics about their problems, and concentrating manpower efforts in the areas of greatest need.

As a result of these efforts, the Labor Department was well equipped to administer the concentrated employment program launched in 1967. The concept of the program was simple: through one contract with one sponsor, target areas of high unemployment would be provided with all manpower services needed to train local residents for decent jobs. The concept was simple, but the results have been heartening. In less than 2 years, more than 100,000 disadvantaged men, women, and youth have received CEP services, thousands of them landing decent jobs for the first time.

Secretary Wirtz has also fought long and hard battles to combat youth unemployment, provide women and older workers with greater job opportunities,

and provide safe working conditions for all wage earners. One shining example of this last effort was his humane decision to limit the radiation hazards of uranium miners.

In short, Secretary Wirtz has devoted his boundless talents and energies to all areas affecting the well-being of both the employed and unemployed, and his efforts have contributed much to the tremendous social and economic gains America has enjoyed during the 1960's.

As we all know, however, there is much more to be done in the fight to eliminate poverty and disadvantage. The new administration and the 91st Congress must take up with renewed vigor the unfinished business of perfecting our society, of giving every individual the opportunities to which he is entitled.

I have every hope that we will all continue that struggle with the kind of humanitarian dedication Willard Wirtz has displaced so well throughout his term as Secretary of Labor. Anything less will be an American tragedy.

The following are comparisons of major economic indicators between 1953 and 1961 and 1961 and 1968.

These comparisons clearly show the unprecedented economic progress the Nation has enjoyed during the 1960's and the slow economic growth of the 1950's. Willard Wirtz played a prominent part in forging the unprecedented progress reflected in this data:

ECONOMIC INDICATOR COMPARISONS

EMPLOYMENT

February 1953 to January 1961: Up 3,900,000 or 6.3%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Up 11,083,000 or 16.8%.

UNEMPLOYMENT

February 1953 to January 1961: Up 3,034,000 or 185.5%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Down 2,081,000 or 44.6%.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

February 1953 to January 1961: Up 153.8%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Down 50.0%.

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS—MANUFACTURING

February 1953 to January 1961: Up \$0.57 or 33.1%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Up \$0.81 or 35.4%.

AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS—MANUFACTURING

February 1953 to January 1961: Up \$18.73 or 26.6%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Up \$38.33 or 43.0%.

REAL SPENDABLE EARNINGS (WORKER WITH THREE DEPENDENTS)

March 1953 to January 1961: Up \$5.31 or 7.4%.

January 1961 to November 1968: Up \$11.82 or 15.4%.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

March 1953 to January 1961: Up 12.1%.

January 1961 to November 1968: Up 18.9%.

TOTAL INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

March 1953 to January 1961: Up 12.2%.

January 1961 to November 1968: Up 61.8%.

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX

February 1953 to January 1961: Up 9.4%.

January 1961 to December 1968: Up 8.7%.

CONSTRUCTION EXPENDITURES

February 1953 to January 1961: Up \$15.1 billion or 38.2%.

January 1961 to November 1968: Up \$32.1 billion or 58.8%.

TOTAL RETAIL SALES

March 1953 to January 1961: Up \$3.5 billion or 24.3%
 January 1961 to November 1968: Up \$11.2 billion or 62.7%.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

Third quarter 1953 to first quarter 1961: Up \$137.8 billion or 37.7%
 First quarter 1961 to third quarter 1968: Up \$367.2 billion or 72.9%.

DISPOSABLE PERSONAL INCOME

Third quarter 1953 to first quarter 1961: Up \$101.0 billion or 39.8%
 First quarter 1961 to third quarter 1968: Up \$237.9 billion or 67.1%.

PER CAPITA DISPOSABLE PERSONAL INCOME

Third quarter 1953 to first quarter 1961: Up \$355 or 22.4%
 First quarter 1961 to third quarter 1968: Up \$1,000 or 51.5%.

CORPORATE PROFITS AFTER TAXES

Third quarter 1953 to first quarter 1961: Up \$3.1 billion or 14.6%
 First quarter 1961 to third quarter 1968: Up \$26.8 billion or 109.8%.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from a committee:

HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I herewith submit my resignation from the House Armed Services Committee and request that proper record of the same be recorded.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK E. EVANS.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.
 There was no objection.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from a committee:

HON. JOHN MCCORMACK,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In view of the fact that I have been appointed to the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and have retained my position on the Government Operations Committee, I hereby tender my resignation as a Member of the House Administration Committee, effective immediately.

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM O. COWGER.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.
 There was no objection.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

(Mr. MINSHALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, today we are observing the 51st anniversary of the short-lived independence declared by the Ukraine in 1918.

After just 2 years of freedom, the Ukraine was crushed by the Communist juggernaut and has remained the unwilling and helpless victim of its oppression ever since. Ukrainians have been captives of the U.S.S.R. for so many years that in the minds of many it is assumed that they

have been totally absorbed into the Kremlin's totalitarian system, that the experience of and the love of liberty are unknown to them.

Those of us who represent districts in which numbers of Ukrainian-Americans reside know better. We know the worth of these great people. We know nothing has quenched the spirit which roused the Ukraine to declare its independence more than half a century ago. The prayer that the declaration of January 22, 1918, will one day again become a reality remains imperishable.

As we honor that cherished date in Ukrainian history, I wish to remind this House, as I have in past years, that we must give more than lip service to the cause of the Ukraine and of all captive people. I continue to urge committee action on two resolutions which could be first steps on the long road toward actual liberation. I reintroduced this legislation on opening day of this Congress. One would create a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations, the other calls upon the United Nations, the other calls upon the Soviet Union abide by its charter provisions on national self-determination and colonialism.

For the benefit of new Members of the House, and as a reminder to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Rules that action is long overdue, I wish to include with my remarks the full text of both my resolutions:

H. CON. RES. 59

Whereas the United States of America was founded upon and long cherished the principles of self-determination and freedom; and

Whereas these principles, expressed in the sovereign quality of nations, are the very reason for the existence of the United Nations, as set forth in the charter of that world organization; and

Whereas the United States and all other members of the United Nations have solemnly pledged themselves to make these principles universal and to extend their benefits to all peoples; and

Whereas, on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was accepted both by the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, defining said rights as relating to citizens of all member states; and

Whereas, since 1918 Soviet communism has, through the most brutal aggression and force, deprived millions of formerly free peoples of their right to self-determination; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has unanimously expressed in Public Law 86-90, approved July 17, 1959, its revision at the continued enslavement of the peoples of Eastern and East Central Europe who were described by the said public law as captive nations; and

Whereas the Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Carpatho-Ruthenian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, East German, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples may only look to the United States and the United Nations for the restoration of their national self-determination and political independence; and

Whereas the member nations of the United Nations have failed to bring before the General Assembly for successful discussion the problem of self-determination and political independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe; and

Whereas, despite the numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly, Russian occupation troops are still

maintained in Hungary and the issue of their removal has not come up for discussion in the Assembly since 1952; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States and to the perpetuation of free civilization that the nations of the world act in concert through the forum of the United Nations in demanding national self-determination and political independence for the peoples enslaved by Communist governments; and

Whereas the Constitution of the United States of America in article II, section 2, vests in the President of the United States the power, by and with the advice of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint Ambassadors; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to instruct the United States Ambassador to the United Nations to request at the 1968 session, that (1) the United Nations insist upon the fulfillment of its charter provisions based on self-determination of all peoples in the form of the sovereign equality of states and condemnation of colonial rule; and (2) the Soviet Union be asked to abide by its United Nations membership obligations concerning colonialism and interference with the sovereignty of other nations through the withdrawal of all Soviet Russian troops and agents from other nations now under Communist rule and through returning to their respective homelands all political prisoners now in prison and labor camps; be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States is further authorized and requested to use all diplomatic, treaty-making, and appointive powers vested in him by the Constitution of the United States to augment and support actions taken by the United States Ambassador to the United Nations in the interest of self-determination and political independence of these nations.

H. RES. 77

Whereas, on the issue of colonialism, the blatant hypocrisy of imperialist Moscow has not been adequately exposed by us in the United Nations and elsewhere; and

Whereas two Presidential proclamations designating Captive Nations Week summon the American people to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommend themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations; and

Whereas the nationwide observances in the first anniversary of Captive Nations Week clearly demonstrated the enthusiastic response of major sections of our society to this Presidential call; and

Whereas following the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959 by the Congress of the United States and again during the annual observances of Captive Nations Week, Moscow has consistently displayed to the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in all of the captive nations, and particularly the occupied non-Russian colonies within the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the indispensable advancement of such basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy, and monolithic military prowess and openly to expose the depths of imperialist totalitarianism and economic colonialism throughout the Red Russian Empire, especially inside the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas, for example, it was not generally recognized, and thus not advantageously made use of, that in point of geography, history, and demography, the now famous U-2 plane flew mostly over captive non-Russian territories in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas in the fundamental conviction

that the central issue of our times is imperialist totalitarian slavery versus democratic national freedom, we commence to win the psychopolitical cold war by assembling and forthrightly utilizing all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Iceland, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other subjugated nations; and

Whereas the enlightening forces generated by such knowledge and understanding of the fate of those occupied and captive non-Russian nations would also give encouragement to latent liberal elements in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic—which contains Russia itself—and would help bring to the oppressed Russian people their overdue independence from centuries-long authoritarian rule and tyranny; and

Whereas these weapons of truth, fact, and ideas would counter effectively and overwhelm and defeat Moscow's worldwide propaganda campaign in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and specifically among the newly independent and underdeveloped nations and states; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon us as free citizens to appreciatively recognize that the captive nations in the aggregate constitute not only a primary deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by Moscow's totalitarian imperialism, but also a prime positive means for the advance of world freedom in a struggle which in totalistic form is psychopolitical; and

Whereas in pursuit of a diplomacy of truth we cannot for long avoid bringing into question Moscow's legalistic pretensions of "noninterference in the internal affairs of state" and other contrivances which are astutely subject to examination under the light of morally founded legal principles and political, economic, and historical evidence; and

Whereas, in the implementing spirit of our own congressional Captive Nations Week resolution and the four Presidential proclamations, it is in our own strategic interest and that of the nontotalitarian free world to undertake a continuous and unremitting study of all the captive nations for the purpose of developing new approaches and fresh ideas for victory in the psychopolitical cold war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby established a committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The committee shall be composed of ten Members of the House, of whom not more than six shall be members of the same political party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. (a) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

(b) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. In the absence of the chairman, the vice chairman shall act as a chairman.

(c) A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of administering oaths and taking sworn testimony.

Sec. 3. (a) The committee shall conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations, and

means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms.

(b) The committee shall make such interim reports to the House of Representatives as it deems proper, and shall make its first comprehensive report of the results of its inquiry and study, together with its recommendations, not later than January 31, 1966.

Sec. 4. The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable.

Sec. 5. The committee may employ and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and other employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties.

PROVIDING NUMBER OF MEMBERS ON CERTAIN COMMITTEES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 174 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 174

Resolved, That during the Ninety-first Congress—

The Committee on Agriculture shall be composed of thirty-three members;

The Committee on Banking and Currency shall be composed of thirty-five members;

The Committee on Education and Labor shall be composed of thirty-five members;

The Committee on Foreign Affairs shall be composed of thirty-eight members;

The Committee on Government Operations shall be composed of thirty-five members;

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs shall be composed of thirty-three members;

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce shall be composed of thirty-seven members;

The Committee on the Judiciary shall be composed of thirty-five members;

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries shall be composed of thirty-seven members;

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service shall be composed of twenty-six members;

The Committee on Public Works shall be composed of thirty-four members;

The Committee on Science and Astronautics shall be composed of thirty-two members;

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs shall be composed of twenty-five members.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 175) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. Res. 175

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Agriculture: W. E. Poage (chairman), Texas; John L. McMillan, South Carolina; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; Watkins M. Abbott, Virginia; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; Graham Purcell, Texas; Maston O'Neal, Georgia; Thomas S.

Foley, Washington; Eligio de la Garza, Texas; Joseph P. Vigorito, Pennsylvania; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Mississippi; B. F. Sisk, California; Bill Alexander, Arkansas; Bill D. Burlison, Missouri; Allard K. Lowenstein, New York; John R. Rarick, Louisiana.

Committee on Appropriations: Frank E. Evans, Colorado.

Committee on Armed Services: Richard White, Texas; Bill Nichols, Alabama; Jack Brinkley, Georgia; Robert H. (Bob) Molloy, West Virginia; W. C. (Dan) Daniel, Virginia.

Committee on Banking and Currency: Wright Patman (chairman), Texas; William A. Barrett, Pennsylvania; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Georgia; Fernand J. St Germain, Rhode Island; Henry B. Gonzalez, Texas; Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey; Richard T. Hanna, California; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; Thomas M. Rees, California; Nick Galifianakis, North Carolina; Tom Beville, Alabama; Charles H. Griffin, Mississippi; James M. Hanley, New York; Frank J. Brasco, New York; Bill Chappell, Jr., Florida.

Committee on the District of Columbia: John L. McMillan (chairman), South Carolina; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; William L. Dawson, Illinois; John Dowdy, Texas; Charles C. Diggs, Michigan; G. Elliott Hagan, Georgia; Don Fuqua, Florida; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Brock Adams, Washington; Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana; Peter N. Kyros, Maine; William L. Hungate, Missouri; Earle Cabell, Texas; Ray Blanton, Tennessee.

Committee on Education and Labor: Carl D. Perkins (chairman), Kentucky; Edith Green, Oregon; Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey; John H. Dent, Pennsylvania; Roman C. Pucinski, Illinois; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; John Brademas, Indiana; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; Hugh L. Carey, New York; Augustus F. Hawkins, California; William D. Ford, Michigan; William D. Hathaway, Maine; Fatsy T. Mink, Hawaii; James H. Scheuer, New York; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Phillip Burton, California; Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania; Louis Stokes, Ohio; William (Bill) Clay, Missouri; Adam C. Powell, New York.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: Thomas E. Morgan (chairman), Pennsylvania; Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin; Wayne L. Hays, Ohio; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Leonard Farberstein, New York; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; William T. Murphy, Illinois; Cornelius E. Gallagher, New Jersey; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; John S. Monagan, Connecticut; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Edward R. Roybal, California; John C. Culver, Iowa; Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana; John V. Tunney, California; Abraham Kazen, Jr., Texas; Lester L. Wolff, New York; Jonathan B. Bingham, New York; Gus Yatron, Pennsylvania.

Committee on Government Operations: William L. Dawson (chairman), Illinois; Chet Holifield, California; Jack Brooks, Texas; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; John A. Blatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland; John E. Moss, California; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; John S. Monagan, Connecticut; Torbert H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Cornelius E. Gallagher, New Jersey; Wm. J. Randall, Missouri; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Jim Wright, Texas; Fernand J. St Germain, Rhode Island; John C. Culver, Iowa; Floyd V. Hicks, Washington.

Committee on House Administration: Augustus F. Hawkins, California; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Jonathan B. Bingham, New York; Bertram L. Podell, New York.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: Wayne N. Aspinall (chairman), Colorado;

James A. Haley, Florida; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Walter S. Baring, Nevada; Roy A. Taylor, North Carolina; Harold T. Johnson, California; Hugh L. Carey, New York; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Phillip Burton, California; John V. Tunney, California; Thomas S. Foley, Washington; Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; William F. Ryan, New York; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; James Koa, West Virginia; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Abraham Kazen, Jr., Texas; Bill D. Burlison, Missouri.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Harley O. Staggers (chairman), West Virginia; Samuel N. Friedel, Maryland; Torbert H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; John J. Jarmen, Oklahoma; John E. Moss, California; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Lionel Van Deerlin, California; J. J. Pickle, Texas; Fred B. Rooney, Pennsylvania; John M. Murphy, New York; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Daniel J. Ronan, Illinois; Brock Adams, Washington; Richard L. Ottinger, New York; Ray Blanton, Tennessee; W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Georgia; Peter N. Kyras, Maine; Bob Eckhardt, Texas; Robert O. Tiernan, Rhode Island; Richardson Preyer, North Carolina.

Committee on the Judiciary: Emanuel Celler (chairman), New York; Michael A. Feighan, Ohio; Peter W. Rodino, Jr., New Jersey; Byron G. Rogers, Colorado; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; Jack Brooks, Texas; John Dowdy, Texas; Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin; William L. St. Onge, Connecticut; Don Edwards, California; William L. Hungate, Missouri; John Conyers, Jr., Michigan; Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana; Joshua Ellberg, Pennsylvania; William F. Ryan, New York; Jerome R. Waldie, California; Edwin W. Edwards, Louisiana; Walter Flowers, Alabama; James E. Mann, South Carolina; Abner J. Mikva, Illinois.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Edward A. Garmatz (chairman), Maryland; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Alton Lennon, North Carolina; Thomas N. Downing, Virginia; James A. Byrne, Pennsylvania; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; John M. Murphy, New York; William L. St. Onge, Connecticut; Joseph E. Karth, Minnesota; William D. Hathaway, Maine; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; Richard T. Hanna, California; Robert L. Leggett, California; Michael A. Feighan, Ohio; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; Speedy O. Long, Louisiana; Mario Biaggi, New York.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Thaddeus J. Dulski (chairman), New York; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Arnold Olsen, Montana; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; James M. Hanley, New York; Charles H. Wilson, California; Jerome R. Waldie, California; Richard White, Texas; William D. Ford, Michigan; Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana; Frank J. Brasco, New York; Robert O. Tiernan, Rhode Island; Graham Purcell, Texas.

Committee on Public Works: George H. Fallon (chairman), Maryland; John A. Blatnik, Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; John C. Kluczynski, Illinois; Jim Wright, Texas; Kenneth A. Gray, Illinois; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma; Harold T. Johnson, California; W. J. Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Arnold Olsen, Montana; Ray Roberts, Texas; Richard D. McCarthy, New York; James Kee, West Virginia; James J. Howard, New Jersey; Glenn M. Anderson, California; Patrick T. Caffery, Louisiana.

Committee on Science and Astronautics: George P. Miller (chairman), California; Olin E. Teague, Texas; Joseph E. Karth, Minnesota; Ken Hechler, West Virginia; Emilio Q. Daddario, Connecticut; John W.

Davis, Georgia; Thomas N. Downing, Virginia; Joe D. Waggoner, Jr., Louisiana; Don Fuqua, Florida; George E. Brown, Jr., California; Earle Cabell, Texas; Bertram L. Poddell, New York; Wayne N. Aspinall, Colorado; Roy A. Taylor, North Carolina; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; Mario Biaggi, New York; James W. Symington, Missouri; Edward I. Koch, New York.

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct: Melvin Price (chairman), Illinois; Olin E. Teague, Texas; Watkins M. Abbt, Virginia; Wayne N. Aspinall, Colorado; F. Edward Hébert, Louisiana; Chet Holifield, California.

Committee on Un-American Activities: Richard H. Ichord (chairman), Missouri; Claude Pepper, Florida; Edwin W. Edwards, Louisiana; Richardson Preyer, North Carolina; Louis Stokes, Ohio.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: Olin E. Teague (chairman), Texas; W. J. Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; James A. Haley, Florida; Walter S. Baring, Nevada; Thaddeus J. Dulski, New York; Ray Roberts, Texas; George E. Brown, Jr., California; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; Roman C. Pucinski, Illinois; Don Edwards, California; Edward R. Roybal, California; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Mississippi.

The resolution was agreed to.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEES

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 176) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 176

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Agriculture: Page Belcher, Oklahoma; Charles M. Teague, California; Catherine May, Washington; William C. Wampler, Virginia; George A. Gooding, Pennsylvania; Clarence E. Miller, Ohio; Robert B. Mathias, California; Wiley Mayne, Iowa; John Zwach, Minnesota; Thomas S. Kleppe, North Dakota; Robert D. Price, Texas; John T. Myers, Indiana; Keith G. Sebellus, Kansas; Martin B. McKeenly, New York; Wilmer D. Mizell, North Carolina.

Committee on Appropriations: Jack Edwards, Alabama.

Committee on Armed Services: William H. Bates, Massachusetts; Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin; William G. Bray, Indiana; Bob Wilson, California; Charles S. Gubser, California; Charles E. Chamberlain, Michigan; Alexander Pirnie, New York; Durward G. Hall, Missouri; Donald D. Clancy, Ohio; Robert T. Stafford, Vermont; Carleton J. King, New York; William L. Dickinson, Alabama; Charles W. Whalen, Jr., Ohio; Ed Foreman, New Mexico; John E. Hunt, New Jersey; G. William Whitehurst, Virginia.

Committee on Banking and Currency: William B. Widnall, New Jersey; Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey; Seymour Halpern, New York; W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tennessee; Del Clawson, California; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; J. William Stanton, Ohio; Chester L. Mize, Kansas; Benjamin B. Blackburn, Georgia; Garry E. Brown, Michigan; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; William O. Cowger, Kentucky; J. Glenn Bell, Jr., Maryland.

Committee on the District of Columbia:

Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; William L. Springer, Illinois; Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin; William H. Harsha, Ohio; Frank Horton, New York; Joel T. Brophy, Virginia; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Catherine May, Washington; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland.

Committee on Education and Labor: William H. Ayres, Ohio; Albert H. Quie, Minnesota; John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Alphonzo Bell, California; Ogden B. Reid, New York; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; William J. Scherle, Iowa; John R. Delenback, Oregon; Marvin L. Esch, Michigan; Edwin D. Eshleman, Pennsylvania; William A. Steiger, Wisconsin; James M. Collins, Texas; Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana; Orval Hansen, Idaho; Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: E. Ross Adair, Indiana; William S. Malliard, California; Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey; William S. Broomfield, Michigan; J. Irving Whalley, Pennsylvania; H. R. Gross, Iowa; E. Y. Berry, South Dakota; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; F. Bradford Morse, Massachusetts; Vernon W. Thomson, Wisconsin; James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Paul Findley, Illinois; John H. Buchanan, Jr., Alabama; Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio; Sherman P. Lloyd, Utah; J. Herbert Burke, Florida; William V. Roth, Jr., Delaware.

Committee on Government Operations: Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey; Ogden B. Reid, New York; Frank Horton, New York; Donald Rumsfeld, Illinois; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; John W. Wyder, New York; Clarence J. Brown, Jr., Ohio; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; John T. Myers, Indiana; William O. Cowger, Kentucky; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; Paul Findley, Illinois; John H. Buchanan, Jr., Alabama; Lowell P. Weicker, Connecticut.

Committee on House Administration: James Harvey, Michigan.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; E. Y. Berry, South Dakota; Craig Hosmer, California; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; Laurence J. Burton, Utah; John Kyl, Iowa; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Howard W. Pollock, Alaska; James A. McClure, Idaho; Don H. Clausen, California; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; John Wood, Wyoming; John N. Happy Camp, Oklahoma; Manuel Lujan, New Mexico.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: William L. Springer, Illinois; Samuel L. Devine, Ohio; Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; Hastings Keith, Massachusetts; Glenn Cunningham, Nebraska; James T. Brophy, North Carolina; James Harvey, Michigan; Albert W. Watson, South Carolina; Tim Lee Carter, Kentucky; G. Robert Watkins, Pennsylvania; Donald G. Brotzman, Colorado; Clarence J. Brown, Jr., Ohio; Dan Kuykendall, Tennessee; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; Fletcher Thompson, Georgia; James F. Hastings, New York.

Committee on the Judiciary: William M. McCulloch, Ohio; Richard H. Poff, Virginia; William T. Cahill, New Jersey; Clark MacGregor, Minnesota; Edward Hutchinson, Michigan; Robert McCloskey, Illinois; Henry P. Smith III, New York; Thomas J. Meskill, Connecticut; Charles W. Sandman, Jr., New Jersey; Thomas F. Rallsback, Illinois; Edward G. Bicker, Jr., Pennsylvania; Charles E. Wiggins, California; David W. Dennis, Indiana; Hamilton Fish, Jr., New York; R. Laurence Coughlin, Pennsylvania.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: William S. Malliard, California; Thomas M. Pelly, Washington; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; James R. Grover, Jr., New York; Hastings Keith, Massachusetts; G. Robert Watkins, Pennsylvania; Henry C. Schadeberg, Wisconsin; John R. Delenback, Oregon; Howard W. Pollock, Alaska; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; Daniel E. Button, New York; George A. Gooding, Pennsylvania; William G. Bray, Indiana; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Robert J. Corbett, Pennsylvania; H. R. Gross, Iowa; Glenn Cunningham, Nebraska; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; Daniel E. Burton, New York; William L. Scott, Virginia; James A. McClure, Idaho; Thomas J. Meekill, Connecticut; Donald E. Lukens, Ohio; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland.

Committee on Public Works: William C. Cramer, Florida; William H. Harsha, Ohio; James R. Grover, Jr., New York; James C. Cleveland, New Hampshire; Don H. Clausen, California; Robert C. McEwen, New York; John J. Duncan, Tennessee; Fred Schwengel, Iowa; Henry C. Schadeberg, Wisconsin; M. G. (Gene) Snyder, Kentucky; Robert V. Denny, Nebraska; Roger H. Zion, Indiana; Jack H. McDonald, Michigan; John Paul Hamerschmidt, Arkansas; Clarence E. Miller, Ohio.

Committee on Science and Astronautics: James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana; Alphonzo Bell, California; Thomas M. Pelly, Washington; Donald Runsfeld, Illinois; John W. Wylder, New York; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Jerry L. Pettis, California; Donald E. Lukens, Ohio; Robert Price, Texas; Lowell P. Welcker, Jr., Connecticut; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida.

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct: Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Jackson E. Betts, Ohio; Robert T. Stafford, Vermont; James H. Quillen, Tennessee; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Edward Hutchinson, Michigan.

Committee on Un-American Activities: John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Del Clawson, California; Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana; Albert W. Watson, South Carolina.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: Charles M. Teague, California; E. Ross Adair, Indiana; William H. Ayres, Ohio; John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; Seymour Halpern, New York; John J. Duncan, Tennessee; John Paul Hamerschmidt, Arkansas; William L. Scott, Virginia; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; John M. Zwach, Minnesota; Robert V. Denny, Nebraska.

Committee on Ways and Means: Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELECTION OF JORGE L. CORDOVA, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO, TO CERTAIN STANDING COMMITTEES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 177) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 177

Resolved, That Jorge Luis Córdova-Díaz, the Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico, be, and he is hereby, elected an additional member of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives: Committee on Agriculture, Committee on Armed Services, and Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS TO SIT DURING SESSIONS OF THE HOUSE, 91ST CONGRESS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Ways and Means be authorized to sit

during sessions of the House in the 91st Congress.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I wonder if I might ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means if the Nixon administration, now supporting the outlandish pay increase for Congress and the executive and judicial branches of Government has in any way suggested to his committee increasing the taxes to help pay the bill for the many millions of dollars that will be necessary to finance that deal?

Mr. MILLS. It has not. No one has actually suggested to me the desirability of increasing any of our taxes.

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

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

There was no objection.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, just over 50 years ago a band of brave and patriotic Ukrainians unfurled the banner of revolt against their oppressors and proclaimed the Ukraine's independence. As the result of the revolution and the overthrow of the czarist regime in Russia, it was only natural that the largest non-Russian ethnic group in Russia's loosely held polyglot empire should be the first to assert its freedom and proclaim its national independence. But wartime events over which Ukrainians had no control and unforeseen, sweeping postwar international convulsions which quickly succeeded one another proved disastrous and tragic to the newly found Ukrainian independent state. Even before the end of the war it was attacked by the Poles in the north, and at the end of the war it was too weak to withstand the deadly onslaught of Russia's Communists. The sad result was that in the fall of 1920, a little over 2 years after achieving national independence, the Ukraine was forced to yield to the Red army, thus bringing to a close a short but momentous chapter in its modern history.

Today the Ukraine is the second largest Soviet Socialist Republic in the Soviet Union, second only to the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. The approximately 45,000,000 Ukrainians constitute about one-fifth of the Soviet Union's total population. The country has always been one of the most fertile grain-producing areas in Europe. As a matter of fact, the whole Soviet Union is dependent to a great extent for its grain supply and for a large variety of other foodstuffs on the Ukraine. Without the food produced by the hard-working Ukrainian peasants, the people of the Soviet Union would be living on the verge of famine.

It is tragic that so many millions of

Ukrainians, constituting such an important and large segment of Eastern Europe, do not enjoy in their historic homeland many of the elemental amenities of a good life which are considered in free societies as the birthright of all human beings. If the Ukrainian people were living under normal conditions—if they were somehow able to realize their national aspirations—there is no doubt that they would once again seize the opportunity to establish a democratic government based upon those freedoms which are essential to full intellectual and spiritual development. Unfortunately, however, for nearly five decades conditions have not been normal in the Ukraine. The unhappy Ukrainians have lived under conditions not at all suitable for the wholesome development of political, social, and economic life as we know it. They have been persistently denied the attainment of their supreme goal—to determine the form of their national political life.

The Ukraine's geographical location and modern international politics have largely determined the course of recent Ukrainian history. Situated between powerful political groups of Europe and Eurasia, the Ukrainian people have not been allowed to pursue an independent national existence. Though older than the state of modern Russia, the Ukraine became a part of that country in the middle of the 17th century through the workings of power politics. Thereafter, until the rise of the Russian Soviet regime, the Ukrainians made the best of a bad situation and managed to get along as best they could with the Russians. Since the advent of the Communist regime, however, this has been especially hard. Today, oppressed by their Communist overlords, they long to throw off the yoke.

It is hard to believe, and sad to think, that these 45,000,000 patriotic and sturdy Ukrainians would have put up with the most despotic of all contemporary forms of government for nearly 50 years. It is even harder to imagine that the free world would allow this to happen. Yet that is one of the sad commentaries on our age. Still, I firmly believe that there is hope in the Ukrainian struggle against Communist tyranny, and as long as the Ukrainians retain that hope, and abide by their spirit for independence, their righteous cause shall never die.

For nearly 50 years Communists have ruled Ukraine with an iron hand. They have turned that fair land into a large prison house. Since 1920 there has not been any semblance of freedom in the country. The tyrants in the Kremlin have seen to it that there will be no trace of any Western trappings in the country. In this darkness and depression there is one indestructible, ineradicable element of encouragement. That is the Ukrainian's innate and inborn desire for freedom and independence, his undying yearning for liberty. Fortunately neither the tyrants in the Kremlin, nor their minions in the Ukraine, can extinguish this spirit. As long as it is kept alive, as long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the Ukrainian people, no

dictatorship can rob them of their right to freedom. And as long as they cling to that spirit, they will never give up their resistance to the Communist tyrants.

I am indeed glad to take part in the observance of the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day. I ardently hope that the oppressed Ukrainians will soon regain their freedom and live in peace in their beloved homeland.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to include the text of my resolution—House Resolution 102, 91st Congress—that would establish a Special Committee in the House on the Captive Nations:

H. RES. 102

Whereas on the all-important issue of colonialism the blatant hypocrisy of imperialist Moscow has not been adequately exposed by us in the United Nations and elsewhere; and

Whereas Presidential proclamations designating Captive Nations Week summon the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations"; and

Whereas the nationwide observances in the nine anniversaries of Captive Nations Week have clearly demonstrated the enthusiastic response of major sections of our society to this Presidential call; and

Whereas following the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959 by the Congress of the United States and again during the annual observances of Captive Nations Week, Moscow has consistently displayed to the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in all of the captive nations, and particularly the occupied non-Russian colonies within the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the indispensable advancement of such basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy and monolithic military prowess and openly to expose the depths of imperialist totalitarianism and economic colonialism throughout the Red Russian Empire, especially inside the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas, for example, it was not generally recognized, and thus not advantageously made use of, that in point of geography, history, and demography, the now famous U-2 plane flew mostly over captive non-Russian territories in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas in the fundamental conviction that the central issue of our times is imperialist totalitarian slavery versus democratic national freedom, we commence to win the psychopolitical cold war by assembling and forthrightly utilizing all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Ide-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other subjugated nations; and

Whereas the enlightening forces generated by such knowledge and understanding of the fate of these occupied and captive non-Russian nations would also give encouragement to latent liberal elements in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic—which contains Russia itself—and would help bring to the oppressed Russian people their overdue independence from centuries-long authoritarian rule and tyranny; and

Whereas these weapons of truth, fact, and ideas would counter effectively and overwhelm and defeat Moscow's worldwide propaganda campaign in Asia, Africa, the Middle

East, Latin America, and specifically among the newly independent and underdeveloped nations and states; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon us as free citizens to appreciatively recognize that the captive nations in the aggregate constitute not only a primary deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by Moscow's totalitarian imperialism, but also a prime positive means for the advance of world freedom in a struggle which in totalistic form is psychopolitical; and

Whereas in pursuit of a diplomacy of truth we cannot for long avoid bringing into question Moscow's legalistic pretensions of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states" and other contrivances which are acutely subject to examination under the light of morally founded legal principles and political, economic, and historical evidence; and

Whereas in the implementing spirit of our own congressional Captive Nations Week resolution and the eight Presidential proclamations it is in our own strategic interest and that of the nontotalitarian free world to undertake a continuous and unremitting study of all the captive nations for the purpose of developing new approaches and fresh ideas for victory in the psychopolitical cold war; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby established a nonpermanent committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The committee shall be composed of ten Members of the House, of whom not more than six shall be members of the same political party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. (a) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

(b) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. In the absence of the chairman, the vice chairman shall act as chairman.

(c) A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum, except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of administering oaths and taking sworn testimony.

SEC. 3. (a) The committee shall conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations, and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms.

(b) The committee shall make such interim reports to the House of Representatives as it deems proper, and shall make its first comprehensive report of the results of its inquiry and study, together with its recommendations, not later than January 31, 1969.

SEC. 4. The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable.

SEC. 5. The committee may employ and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and other employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties.

SEC. 6. The committee shall enjoy a non-standing status, performing its duties in the course of the Ninety-first Congress and subject to renewal only as determined by needs

in the completion of its work and further purposes of the House of Representatives.

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

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see that many Members of the House recognize that in commemorating the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day we draw proper attention to the people of Ukraine and other captives of communism and that we recognize that the struggle against Communist tyranny is worldwide in its scope. True peace and freedom will not be realized until all the people of the globe suffering under Communist domination will be free. May I emphasize to the Members that the Ukraine is the largest of the captive nations of Europe and thus symbolize the tyranny that exists with the Soviet Union.

For over 300 years, the people of the Ukraine had suffered as a divided nation under the role of Russian czars. When the czarist regime crumbled during 1917, the long-awaited opportunity for independence came. A group of Ukrainian patriots declared their intention to seek independence in December 1917, and declared it achieved on January 22, 1918. The newly independent Ukraine was a war-torn country, surrounded by aggressive and feuding neighbors. The preservation of independence was to prove impossible. The Red army invaded the Ukraine in the spring of 1920. In 1923, the Ukraine was made a constituent republic of the Soviet Union, making the Ukrainians among the first victims of a new imperialism.

The Ukraine experienced no respite during World War II. The country again became a battlefield for the contending forces of East and West. The Soviets withdrew only to be replaced by other cruel masters—the Nazis. Following World War II, Soviet authority was reasserted, and tightened. Cruellest of ironies, the Ukrainians, on Soviet insistence, were given a delegation to the United Nations. But this delegation is a sham. The facade of independence cannot disguise the ugly fact of subservience.

With a population of more than 45 million, the Ukraine has a territory which exceeds in area that of several Western European nations combined. The Ukraine is rich in human and material resources, its history and culture are more than a thousand years old. In an era which has seen the rise of many new nations, some of them throwing off colonial bonds after long periods of subjugation, is it not a singular injustice that the Ukrainians, along with their neighbors in Eastern Europe, continue to be subject to exploitation by the worst colonial system of modern times?

Today, as we fight in Southeast Asia on behalf of a small, brave people striving to maintain its freedom and independence, let us not forget that there are many areas of the world where the cause of liberty has yet to prevail, and that we must not relax our vigilance or abandon our struggle until that cause has prevailed.

Mr. Speaker, how can we best observe

and commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day? I recommend that we in Congress, first, set up a Special Committee on Captive Nations; second, reject the President's scheme to subsidize the Soviet Union and East European dictatorships through trade concessions; third, hold a full congressional debate on United States-U.S.S.R. policies; fourth, use every means available, including the Voice of America, to expose the fraudulent Russian Bolshevik Revolution, which the Russians are using this year in a massive propaganda drive; and fifth, demand self-determination for the people of Ukraine and the other captive peoples within the Soviet Union.

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

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my appreciation to the very distinguished and able Member from Pennsylvania for giving the Members of the House this opportunity to join with him in expressing our feelings and to commemorate the 51st anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine. The distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania is indeed a true and proven leader in the cause of freedom of all nations, large and small, throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian nation.

Today I wish to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people, who have brought great credit to their heritage wherever they have ventured. We find them and their descendants in every walk of American life: the professions, the sciences, the arts, education, government, industry, business, and great farming enterprises. They are proud to be Americans and they are proud of their heritage. It is only natural that they should aspire to see the blessings of freedom and national independence which they enjoy in the United States returned to the nation of their origin.

I wish particularly to pay tribute to the 45 million people who live in the Ukraine, as well as to those Ukrainian sons and daughters who have come to our shores and made such worthy contributions to our culture and heritage. I shall not dwell upon the long history of oppression which the Ukrainians have suffered, which would have crushed the spirit of a lesser people. Today, as all of us know, the people of the Ukraine are deprived in their own land. They are deprived of the essential right of a nation to develop as its people wish. Any cultural freedom in the Soviet Union exists for them, as it exists for any Soviet minority, only to the extent that it serves the purpose of the Soviet state and the Communist Party.

A series of startling reports have appeared in the Western press which reveal the entire gamut of Soviet cultural oppression in the Ukraine. These reports—the Chornovil documents—were based on the manuscript of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian journalist now in a Soviet prison. These reports confirmed what many of us had heard previously through the Ukrainian press in the West; namely, that since the winter of

1965–66 the Soviet Government has been engaged in restraining intellectuals in the Ukraine.

During August and September of 1965 a wave of political arrests swept through the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. More than 200 persons, it now appears, were detained for questioning. Some were interrogated and released. Some lost their jobs as suspicious persons. Others were held for trials, which began in the early months of 1966. At least 20 are presently serving their sentences in hard labor camps in the Soviet Union.

Who were these people? What "crimes" were they supposed to have committed?

These were Ukrainian intellectuals—writers, journalists, professors, scientists, and students. They were striving for freedom of expression and artistic creativity. They were not threatening any armed insurrection.

Their "crimes" amounted to voicing demands for equal rights for their country and culture—rights that are formally guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

It appears that the arrests and trials of these Ukrainian intellectuals were prepared and implemented by the Soviet secret police in defiance of judicial and constitutional systems of the Soviet Union.

The accused were charged with writing, copying and spreading articles dealing with the present state of Ukrainian literature, language and culture under the Soviet system. They were also charged with spreading prerevolutionary works in Ukrainian by authors who are currently forbidden in the Soviet Union, as well as other books published abroad.

All of the intellectuals were tried under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, dealing with "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation," which provides:

Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime, participation in certain specific and particularly dangerous crimes against the state, dissemination with the same intent of a slanderous invention against the Soviet state and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession to the above end of literature with such content are punishable by the loss of freedom for terms from six months to seven years or banishment for terms from two to five years. The above actions, if committed by persons previously convicted for serious crimes against the state or of crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms from three to ten years.

No information has ever appeared in the Soviet press about these arrests, trials and convictions in the Ukraine.

According to the Chornovil documents, the Soviet police forced some of the accused to confess that they had read "forbidden" books or articles to "undermine or weaken the Soviet order."

Chornovil himself stated:

To charge a person with reading a book or article without taking an interest in his convictions and intent is a fact unheard of in the judicial practice of the greater majority of the countries of the world and completely incompatible with the Declaration of Human Rights, which the Soviet Union ratified.

Thus, these Ukrainian intellectuals are being punished for demanding recognition and respect for the Ukraine language and culture, and for the implementation of rights assured by the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as by the Soviet Constitution.

All this has happened after the establishment of Soviet rule, proving once again that Ukrainian intellectuals still cannot live and work freely in their native land.

Our sympathies are very much with these Ukrainians—and others—who today find themselves under the far-reaching controls of Communist domination.

We in the United States pledge once again our sincere friendship and support for the Ukrainian people in their struggle for true self-determination and individual liberty.

Within due time, Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations of the present-day Russian empire will emerge from their present status as subjugated colonies to that of full unequivocal national independence. This is the hope and the belief I leave with you as I join this 51st anniversary commemoration of the national independence of the great Ukrainian nation.

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

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania for yielding.

I am happy to join my colleague in paying tribute to our fellow Americans of Ukrainian background who yearn for freedom from the Russian military regime.

The Ukrainians in my district number many thousands. I assure Members of the House they are all assets to the United States. During World War II, the Ukrainians of my town as a group bought over \$700,000 worth of U.S. bonds in 1 year. They had by far the best record.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

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

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with my distinguished and esteemed colleague from Pennsylvania, Congressman FLOOD, in commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day marking the 51st anniversary of Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty.

Unfortunately, this independence was short-lived since Soviet Russia had already embarked upon its policy of imperio-colonialism. In 1920, the Soviet Government snuffed out the free Ukrainian nation and reduced it to a constituent state of the U.S.S.R.

This deed shocked the world, denying as it did the right of self-determination. For many people the memory of this tragic rape of a sovereign state has grown dim; but, although more than a half century has passed, the memory of it causes burning indignation and sorrow in the loyal sons of the Ukraine.

It is my hope that the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia has reawakened the feelings of those who perhaps developed a certain apathy regarding the loss of Ukraine's independence.

The Soviet Union once again displayed its inability to cope with personal freedom and constructive dissent. The invasion of Czechoslovakia once again impresses upon us the realization of the many basic differences which democratic governments have with the Soviet Government.

It is discouraging for the loyal sons of the Ukraine to see the Soviet Union continue the totalitarian control of its subject peoples. But, they, like us, must hold firm in their courage and not let loose of their vision of a homeland independent and free to chart its own national course.

Even more than that, they and we as well, must remember that our real concern is for the people of the Ukraine, for their welfare and their individual freedom and progress.

We must not let feelings blind us to the fact that nations are simply collections of individuals, of people, who have similar needs, wants, and desires.

It was this belief upon which the Johnson administration operated. This was the basis for its policy of building bridges to the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This policy recognizes that we truly assist these people by showing them that the world does present successful alternatives to the bleak existence which has been forced upon them. This is a much more constructive foreign policy than that which totally isolates nations and is continually belligerent in attitude, if not in actual action.

I firmly believe that our Government and its principle of individual dignity represents an attractive and revolutionary idea to the oppressed peoples of the world.

We can and must communicate this idea to peoples everywhere.

To accomplish this, we must nurture the channels of dialog which we have already opened, and we must continually work to develop new ones.

There is no doubt in my mind but that increased contact with the people in countries behind the Iron Curtain has been largely responsible for the growing liberalization movements within such countries as Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Ukraine. It is inevitable that such exposure to the principles of individual freedom affect the people in these countries in that way.

Once these freedoms have been tasted they build an unquenchable thirst that spreads. And once these freedoms have been experienced, they are not easily forgotten or obliterated, as the leaders of the Soviet Union are now discovering in Czechoslovakia.

Fortunately, 51 years have not erased the memory of the Ukraine's first independence day. Just as it is commemorated in the special order arranged today by my friend, Congressman DAN FLOOD, so, too, it is celebrated in the hearts of the Ukrainian people everywhere.

Thus, I submit that we must not place

limits on our avenues of approach to the peoples of Eastern Europe. We must consistently apply our creative energies to developing and expanding new points of contact between ourselves and those forced to live under communism.

If we are successful in carrying out our objectives, the ultimate result must be greater freedom for the people of the Ukraine and the other national groups of Eastern Europe. This is the goal to which we must earnestly rededicate ourselves upon this anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Czechoslovak martyr, Jan Palach, who chose a painful and difficult death rather than submit to Russian tyranny has provided the West with yet another reminder that freedom may be lost but never forgotten.

Palach's sacrifice is only the most recent in a series of daring acts by men desperate for the taste of liberty. Since the Second World War, we, from safe haven here in America, have seen a procession of often anonymous heroes bridge under the collar of Soviet domination and rebel.

First there were the patient and stoic burghers of West Berlin enduring the deprivations of blockade. They were followed by the Poles and the Hungarians who assaulted the insensitive and alien rule of the Russian bear. Scores of East Germans then probed the Berlin Wall, tunneling under it, scaling it, each man gambling a long life under Kremlin masters for a chance to be his own master in the West. Many lost that gamble, and their broken bodies fell in that purgatory between the two worlds—no man's land.

As we mark the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence, the brave and vigorous battle of Czechoslovakia continues.

A generation of Czechs refuses to submit. One Czech, Jan Palach, has made the ultimate sacrifice—a people mourns, its resolve hardens.

A Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, seethes with this same desire, common to all ancient and honorable people, to be a nation among nations.

The lesson is clear. Despite propaganda and suppression, imprisonment and brutal tyranny, the Kremlin has been unable to make its captive nations forget their proud traditions of independence and freedom.

The Congress of the United States can hear Father Stephen Bilak pray for the freedom of his fellow Ukrainians locked in the Soviet vise and applaud the spirit of Ukrainian independence. The Politburo cannot.

That is not to say that the Russian imperialist leaders do not remember their history. Between the two World Wars, part of the Ukraine was within the borders of Czechoslovakia. During the Second World War, Ukrainian partisans alternately battled the German invaders and the Soviet masters.

And as recently as 1952, anti-Communist Ukrainian nationalist guerrillas operated in Western Ukraine and in the Polish-Slovak borderlands.

We now have evidence that the brutal suppression of Czechoslovak liberty was

in part prompted by the fears of Ukrainian Communist Party leaders.

Kremlin watchers believe that among the Communist hardliners clamoring for invasion and jackboot enforcement of Moscow's will was Piotr Shelest, secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

His logic was simple. If the Czechs got away with it, how soon after would the Ukrainians be demanding liberalization—or worse, independence perhaps?

His fears would seem justified. There are about 54 million Ukrainians in the world. This entitles them to rank in Europe next after the Russians and the Germans. As a nation, the Ukraine traces its history to the ninth century. Its language and literature are ancient and honored and in this Capital City there stands a statue of the Ukraine's most famous poet.

With this history and these traditions, there is little chance that Moscow will prevail. Despite years of cultural and political manipulation, gross discrimination, and the politics of terror, Ukrainians have never lost their sense of national identity and their desire to be free once again.

We have watched the struggles of the East Germans, the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Czechs. We have seen the quiet, but impressive, victories of the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians. Soon we will watch the Ukrainians bait the Russian bear. We applaud the courage of those who have forged this tradition of liberty and we watch for those who will pick up the hammer again and wish them well.

For free men have a habit of showing their would-be masters the door.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the gallant people of the Ukraine will never abandon their dream of once again asserting their independence, as they did on January 22, 1918. Neither should Americans cease their efforts in behalf of freedom-loving Ukrainians. And so we, who believe in freedom and justice for all, join with the Ukrainians in America and throughout the world in celebrating the 51st anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence.

The story of how the Ukrainians were crushed by the Red army only short years after declaring their independence has been told many times. It is a tragic account of an assault by superior armed forces against a brave young nation. It deserves frequent retelling, particularly in America. For Americans are dedicated to self-determination for all peoples and rekindling of the lamp of liberty in lands where tyranny has extinguished it.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with my colleagues in saluting freedom-loving Ukrainians during this anniversary celebration of their independence day.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, January 22, is a day of both pride and sorrow for the Ukrainian people—pride in their national heritage of strength and indomitable courage and in the independence they once had, but sorrow that this desperately fought for and beloved independence is no longer theirs. Fifty-one years ago the Ukrainian people achieved their independence after

centuries of Russian oppression, only to enjoy their national and personal freedom for a short 2 years before again being enslaved by the Soviet Union. Although, today, the Ukrainian people are still under the cruel domination of the Communists, they celebrate their independence day with the hope and faith that they will someday become a member of the free world. May this day come soon—and last forever.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in January of 1918, the Ukrainian people, after many long years of struggle, finally achieved their cherished dream—freedom. Unfortunately for the Ukrainians, and their friends everywhere, their dream was short lived.

As was the case with our own American Revolution, the Ukrainian people demonstrated that sacrifices and pain must be endured if a course is to be won. They showed that a band of courageous and dedicated men and women could indeed affect the course of their country's history. They showed what true patriotism and honor really mean.

To this day, the Ukrainians have never—and will never—submit to Soviet force. The Communist Russians perpetually fear this captive nation for they well know that the spirit of freedom is aflame in every Ukrainian heart, and the desire to regain national independence cannot be extinguished. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, August 20, 1968, halted the forward drive to democratization in that country, and was believed to have had among its purposes the intention of frustrating any such nationalist tendency in the adjoining Ukraine.

For us, in this free country, there is a particular significance on this anniversary. It reminds us forcefully that there are people in this world who cherish freedom just as we do, and who do not cease to struggle for it under the most adverse conditions. As Americans, we must ever remember that as long as any nation remains subjugated to another, as long as any man is denied the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, our task is not done. We must show by our deeds and our actions, not by mere words, that we shall not rest—we shall not be content—until the people of the Ukraine once again govern themselves.

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of the free and independent Ukrainian Republic. I am proud to join with my colleagues on this occasion, in honoring the courageous people of the Ukraine.

The 51st anniversary of their period of independence that we salute today was short lived. Since 1920 the Ukraine has remained under the totalitarian regime of Russian communism.

The Ukrainian Americans who have contributed so much to the growth, development, and culture of the United States, are dedicated to seeing the restoration of freedom and national statehood to their homeland, the Ukraine and other captive nations whose people are oppressed under the domination of the Soviet Union.

Because of their love of liberty and desire for freedom the Ukrainian people

have paid a high price. There have been mass deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia, intellectuals have been abused and jailed. There have been mass trials and then ruthless persecution of suspected Ukrainian leaders. But despite cruelty and systematic genocide by the Soviet oppressors, the spark of freedom still smolders in the hearts of Ukrainian patriots.

The spirit of nationalism demonstrated by the Ukrainians on that historic occasion of independence has prevailed time and time again during the ensuing years, and to this day, despite the cloud of communism which hangs over the Ukraine, these courageous people remain true to the principle of self-determination.

We are fortunate to have these wonderful people among our citizens, and it is, therefore, with great pride that I join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in observing Ukrainian Independence Day.

I congratulate the Ukrainians on their steadfast efforts to regain their freedom and express my profound hope for peaceful liberation of the Ukrainian people.

Mr. NEZDI. Mr. Speaker, this week we observe the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Every year at this time the Congress of the United States, through the statements of several of its Members, observes the anniversary and calls attention to the absence of the right of self-determination for the 40 million people of the Ukraine.

I hope this is not a mere perfunctory gesture, done and then forgotten for another year. The denial of self-determination is morally wrong and it is a wrong that should not be forgotten either in times of detente or in times of tension.

Admittedly, freedom for the Ukrainians does not appear within the realm of possibility in the near-term, short of an all-out nuclear war which no responsible person will contemplate.

However, the situation is not without hope. The Ukrainian people have, throughout the severities of 250 years of Russian czarist and Communist rule, retained the great distinctive features of nationality, language, and religion.

As long as a people preserve these traits of identity, the means of ultimate salvation are not lost and the elements of future independence exist. This is true no matter how long the chains of servitude may hang upon them.

Indeed, the very severity of the rule and the difference in language, religion, and manners will tend to perpetuate the feelings of the oppressed people. If they lose all but the sense of oppression, hope will survive.

I think that history supports the above analysis.

Our time is ruled less by political dogma than by a great craving for national freedom. In Eastern Europe we have seen the face of communism change from monolithic control to an undeniable preference for a system of national regimes. This development has been hastened by a restless desire below for a chance at individual expression and fulfillment. In short, there exists a desire

for individual self-determination and for national self-determination.

We identify ourselves with this current when we call for self-determination in the Ukraine. We also remind the newer nations, many of whom have emerged out of colonial pasts, that the Soviet Union is the last big remaining colonial empire on earth. Moreover, nearly half the population of the Soviet Union is made up of a wide variety of non-Russian peoples who have never been fully assimilated into the mainstream of Russian life.

Let us not underestimate the endurance of independent spirit in the Ukraine. As long as this spirit endures, history provides examples and hopes for change.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and the golden anniversary of the Act of Union, whereby all Ukrainian lands were united into one independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian National Republic was recognized by a number of foreign governments including that of Soviet Russia. The latter, however, almost simultaneously with the recognition, declared war and began a large-scale invasion of Ukraine. For almost 3½ years the Ukrainian people waged a gallant struggle in defense of their country, alone and unaided. The free Ukraine was subdued to a puppet regime of the Soviet Socialist Republic.

The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted the Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the reestablishment of their independence by all means accessible to them for the past 50 years.

During World War II, the Ukrainian people organized a powerful underground resistance movement known as the Ukrainian Partisan Army—UPA—which fought not only against the Nazi regime, but against the Soviets as well. Stalin and Khrushchev unleashed a bloody persecution and reprisals against the Ukrainian people in the late 1940's. Relentless and harsh persecution of the Ukrainians continued after the death of Stalin and after the ouster of Khrushchev from the top leadership in the Kremlin. The Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership is bent on keeping the Soviet Russian Empire intact by persecution and deportation of Ukrainian youth and Ukrainian intellectuals. Over 200 young Ukrainian university professors, poets, writers, scientists, lawyers, literary critics, and radio-TV commentators were arrested recently on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. Recently the international and U.S. press has been providing a vast amount of documentation on the suppression of the Ukrainian culture.

All the available evidence of the Western observers shows that the ever-increasing tempo of repression has failed to intimidate the Ukrainian people and the Russian leadership in the Kremlin feared that Ukraine would actively support the liberal movement of their satellite country of Czechoslovakia, since the Kremlin leaders were convinced, the liberal ideas of Czechoslovakia would

help the Ukrainian liberals and other captive nations.

Both the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States have expressed their concern over the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. by enacting the Captive Nations Week resolution in July 1959.

The Ukrainian American community in North Dakota and in the whole United States observed the 51st anniversary of the Ukrainian independence and the 50th anniversary of the Act of Union in fitting and solemn celebration.

This anniversary provides an appropriate occasion not only for the U.S. Government and American people, but the free world to demonstrate their sympathy and understanding of the aspiration of the Ukrainian people.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. Speaker, today as we in the House of Representatives observe the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the 50th anniversary of the Act of Union of both West and East Ukraine, I wish to pay special tribute to the people of the Ukraine and to peoples around the globe who support and have continued to nurture their quest for liberation. On behalf of my constituents, I salute the proud and valiant people of the Ukraine who have struggled to maintain their national integrity for hundreds of years, and even now, under conditions which call for supreme courage and faith, they continue to persist in their fight.

As we know, Mr. Speaker, January 22 marks the official celebration of the anniversaries of Ukrainian independence, which we are commemorating here today. These days and events of a half a century ago are acknowledged as marking a fulfillment of Ukrainian aspirations that had endured two-and-a-half centuries of oppression under the rule of the Russian czars and the Hapsburg monarchy. To the Ukrainian people it signified freedom of the individual and independence of the nation. The Russian revolution of 1917 had offered the Ukrainian people the opportunity to seize and proclaim their independence, which they did on January 22, 1918. This freedom was short-lived for in less than 3 years the Ukrainian Republic was attacked by the Red army, overrun, and the nation vanished under the weight of Russian oppression. Since then the Ukrainians have suffered much under the Soviet regime, much more than their forebears had suffered under previous rulers. However, in spite of their troubled history, the Ukrainian people have never abandoned their love of liberty and their longing for national independence. Their love of independence is deeply rooted in that history and, consequently, the individuality of the Ukrainian people and their cultural heritage have continued to exist.

It is quite fitting that we in this country, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, pause in tribute to the Ukrainian people and to their never-ending quest for national sovereignty and individual freedom. As Americans let us never forget that which our forefathers fought so hard to achieve for us.

May we in this country continue to be blessed with the many freedoms we enjoy and may we one day be joined in those blessings with the peoples of all the nations of the world.

Mr. WOLFF, Mr. Speaker, 51 years ago this month the people of the Ukraine realized their dream of independence.

This was a dream nurtured through centuries of foreign control and repeated divisions of the Ukraine by foreign powers. Through decade after decade of oppression the dream was kept alive; a national consciousness was kept alive by the dedication of its people.

In the wake of World War I, from amid the chaos in Europe, the Ukrainian people built a reality of their dream. The national identity of the Ukraine was asserted for all the world to see.

But the reality was soon destroyed. Within 3 years the might of Soviet Russia was brought to bear and the Ukraine's elusive freedom was lost again.

Yet even now, as in centuries past, the dream lives on. It is a dream shared by all the freedom-loving people of the world. It is a dream that someday the Ukraine will again be free and its people will be united under their own flag.

So we stand now to remember how the dream was made into reality 51 years ago. The strength of that success is stronger than all the Soviet might and the dream is too great to be destroyed. Someday, if we all work to keep the dream viable, the Ukraine will again be free. We must rededicate ourselves to freedom for the people of the Ukraine, as we are dedicated to ultimate freedom for all men.

Mr. SCHADEBERG, Mr. Speaker, Soviet colonialism has reached a new peak of suppression in clamping its iron fist on the emerging freedom that was so short-lived in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet action, however, may serve one purpose neglected in the thinking of the rapacious Kremlin leaders—it serves, in my opinion, to alert America and the free world, on the 51st anniversary of the independence of Ukraine—being celebrated this month, to point out once again the danger to freedom everywhere.

We are not in the throes again of being lulled to sleep by so-called peaceful Soviet intentions. The liberal press and communicators have taken up the cry and are pressing the new President of the United States and the Congress to soften our stand in relation to Russia, hoping in the process that we will forget what has been done to the Czechoslovaks in particular and the Ukrainian people for more than half a century.

Let us take this occasion, the 51st anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, to reexamine the basic intent of the Soviet leaders, not the window dressing of their phony propaganda efforts to paint them as freedom loving. Let us take the occasion to pledge anew our efforts and our hearts for the 45 million Ukrainian people in their fight for freedom. Let us make this occasion one, not for rejoicing, but for renewed determination and commonsense to see the Soviet leaders as they actually are, and not to let our own Nation, our Congress, nor our President be led down the garden

path of false promises and double-dealing actions.

Mr. DADDARIO, Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1969, Ukrainian Americans commemorated their unique ethnic and linguistic heritage and cohesion. It is fitting that we should take note of this date, reminding us of the undemocratic and ruthless tactics by which the Soviet Union has added territories and peoples to its imperialist empire. I am pleased to offer for the RECORD an excellent letter setting forth the history of the proclamation of the Ukrainian Republic, written by the president of the Hartford chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC., HARTFORD
BRANCH,

Hartford, Conn., January 14, 1969.

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DADDARIO: January 22, 1969, will mark the 51st Anniversary of the Proclamation of the free and independent Ukrainian Republic and the 50th Anniversary of the Act of Union by which Western Ukraine was united with the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Act of Union was solemnly proclaimed in Kiev. A special proclamation was read in St. Sophia Square which was thronged with hundreds of thousands of people. It read in part:

"From today on, there shall be united in one Great Ukraine the long-separated parts of Ukraine-Galicia, Bukovina, Hungarian and Dnieper Ukraine. The eternal dreams for which the finest sons of Ukraine lived and died have been fulfilled. From today on there shall be only one independent Ukrainian National Republic. From today on the Ukrainian people, freed by the mighty upsurge of their own strength, have the opportunity to unite all the endeavors of their sons for the creation of an indivisible, independent Ukrainian State for the good and the welfare of the working people."

At the momentous Labor Congress which took place the next day, the Act of Union was read again and acclaimed by 257 delegates from all over Ukraine. Among them were 65 delegates representing Eastern Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine, all of whom unanimously endorsed the declaration.

However, the final result was not the freedom of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainians, deprived of all military, financial and diplomatic assistance from the Western Powers, were overcome by the Red and White Russians and by Poland. By the end of 1920 the independent Ukrainian State was engulfed by the forces of the enemy.

Attempts to secure consideration for the claims of Ukrainian independence at the Paris Conference met with complete lack of success. The Ukrainian delegation from both Kiev and Western Ukraine strove in vain to secure recognition of the Ukrainians' right to self-determination. Ironically, multinational states were to be created, but Ukraine, of unsullied origin and with one language, culture and people, was to be ignored.

Since 1920 Ukraine has remained under the Communist and totalitarian yoke of Moscow, but it never has surrendered the spirit of freedom, nor has it given up the hope for regaining its national independence. In the past fifty years, the Ukrainian people have amply demonstrated their love for freedom by unceasing uprisings and large scale warfare waged by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks.

The Ukrainians paid a high price in their

defense of freedom and independence for they were ruthlessly persecuted by Moscow through a series of inhuman measures undertaken by the Kremlin. Among these were mass trials of Ukrainian patriots, mass deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia and systematic genocides.

Krushev, the deposed Communist dictator, stated at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 that Stalin planned the total annihilation of the Ukrainian people because of their resistance to Russian Communism.

Today the people in enslaved Ukraine are continuing to fight for their freedom and national independence. They wage a stubborn and ceaseless struggle by continual resistance, economic sabotage and relentless opposition to the Russian alien rule imposed on them.

The repression and Russification of Ukraine goes on, year after year, while the Kremlin is trying to convince the world that Soviet Russia is the most democratic country, the champion of freedom and the protector of the oppressed peoples.

At first, certain repressions could be explained through the opposition of the people against the introduction of the Marxist system and particularly the collectivization of land. Today persecution is directed even against Ukrainian Communists who dare to show a certain amount of patriotism or a certain degree of independence in their attitude towards the regime.

Trials of Ukrainian intellectuals without a public hearing are still taking place. Vyacheslav Chornovil, one of these Ukrainian Marxist intellectuals who was recently sentenced to three years imprisonment, described all the horror of these trials in a long letter written to the Head of the Supreme Court of Ukraine. Chornovil managed to have this letter smuggled out to friends in the free world. This document is an overwhelming indictment. In his book *Portraits of 20 Criminals*, Chornovil stresses that none of the condemned men and women were anti-Soviet, but pro-Ukrainian.

It is appropriate that this country, founded on the principles of freedom and liberty for all, honor the courageous people of the Ukraine on this occasion of their 51st Anniversary of Independence and 50th Anniversary of the Act of Union.

On this occasion your free voice is needed more than ever before. Clearly, there would be no Korean, Vietnamese or other crisis today if Ukraine and other Captive Nations had been supported against the first wave of the Soviet Russian conquest.

With grateful thanks for your devotion to freedom everywhere

Sincerely,

ALEXANDER PRYSHLAK,
President.

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, January 22, 1969, marks the 51st anniversary of the Ukrainian National Republic's declaration of independence and the 50th anniversary of the act of union which brought together West and East Ukraine.

The declaration of independence was the 20th century political result of what began as a 19th century revival of Ukrainian culture. The Ukraine had been a powerful and influential force in the politics of Eastern Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries. However, encroachments by czarist Russia and the plague of continuing warfare weakened the Ukrainian state. The remnants of autonomy which remained from the 18th century were finally suppressed by Catherine the Great of Russia.

In the view of many, the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, provided the initial impetus to what became the

Ukrainian National Republic. As the poet of the Ukraine, Shevchenko was to assure the future of Ukrainian literature and prove its right to exist within the Slavic literary tradition. But Shevchenko appears to have had other aspirations than those strictly literary. In 1846, he and a group of young Ukrainians established the Secret Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius and contemplated the establishment of an independent Ukraine as one of the republics of free Slavdom. While Shevchenko and his friends were engaged initially in a cultural movement, not a political movement, their network of secret communities spread throughout the country from the 1860's and onward. Though their work was in the area of scholarship and education, the czars regarded these communities as a threat and suppressed them. In 1876, publication in the Ukrainian language was prohibited.

Despite the oppressions of czarist Russia, the nationalist drive continued to grow in the Ukraine. The great political leader, Michael Drahomanov, formulated a political program for the Ukrainians based on democracy, federalism, and social reform. Following the Russian revolution of 1905, Ukrainian nationalism took on a mass character.

The great opportunity for the Ukrainians came during World War I. The war had placed an intolerable burden upon the czarist oppressors. Pressures of defeat on the battlefield and rising internal pressures generated by the accumulated ills of decades of imperial mismanagement brought the end of the czarist regime. The czarist government was overthrown in 1917 and the Ukrainians quickly seized the new opportunities thus created.

In April of 1917, the Central Rada, or Parliament, convened in the city of Kiev and established a Ukrainian Government. The Rada proclaimed a Ukrainian Republic within the framework of a federated Russia. But in November of 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power. While they formally acknowledged the right of secession, the Bolsheviks were determined to bring all of Russia under the political and military control. Faced with this new situation, the Ukrainian Rada declared the Ukraine to be an independent republic on January 22, 1918, and a year later the union of West and East Ukraine was proclaimed.

However, the United Ukrainian Republic found itself set upon from all sides. For 3 years the Ukraine was a battleground for contending forces and in 1921 the independent republic came to an end. The Ukrainian territory was taken over by the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

During World War II, the Ukraine again became a battleground, this time for the Soviet and German armies and Ukrainian partisans. So deep rooted was the anti-Soviet feeling among Ukrainians that many had welcomed the German invaders and fought on the German side against Russia. But the Germans under Hitler proved themselves to be as ruthless and brutal as Stalin and his minions. The general suppression of freedom soon alienated the Ukrainians and they created large guerrilla detachments

that fought the Germans and later the advancing Red army.

But the guerrilla detachments were no match for the Red army and the Soviet Government reestablished its political control over the Ukraine. There remain, however, numerous manifestations of resistance to Soviet efforts to Russify the Ukraine. In fact, the ruthless Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in August of 1968 to halt the democratization in that country is believed to have had among its major purposes the intention of frustrating any such nationalist tendency in the adjoining Ukraine.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the Ukraine have not accepted Soviet domination and they will continue to fight for their independence and freedom.

Mr. FASCELL, Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join our colleagues in commemorating the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

As citizens of a country which thrives in an atmosphere of freedom, it is incumbent upon us to remember those people who are not so endowed. In their long history, the Ukrainian people have had but a brief taste of freedom in the period from 1918 to 1920; however, the spirit and love of freedom still prevails among Ukrainians everywhere.

The people of the Ukraine have long suffered from the aggression of both czarist and Soviet Russia. From the time of the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 when the Ukraine fell under Russian dominance, every effort has been made to submerge and destroy the national traditions and ideals of the Ukrainian people. These valiant people have steadfastly fought off all such attempts and have sought to preserve their national identity.

Following the fall of the czarist regime in 1917, a group of Ukrainian patriots declared their intention to seek independence in December of 1917. On January 22, 1918, they were able to announce that their efforts had been successful and that they were establishing a free and independent republic.

The existence of an independent Ukraine was to be short lived, however, as the Red army forcefully invaded Ukrainian territory and the Ukrainian Government was crushed. The rape of the Ukraine was completed in 1923 when the Soviet Union forcibly created the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Since then the Ukrainian people have suffered much more under the Soviet regime than did their forebears under the czars. For decades the country was sealed off from the outside world but word of the atrocities and terror which have ravaged the country have gradually come to light. Reportedly the lot of the Ukrainian people is somewhat better today but still they fight for their freedom and independence.

Mr. Speaker, on this observance of Ukrainian Independence Day, I join our colleagues in saluting the courage and patience of these people and in wishing them success in their struggle for freedom and self-government.

Mr. MINISH, Mr. Speaker, it is my great privilege today to pay tribute to the freedom-loving people of the Ukraine.

Fifty years ago this month, on January 22, 1919, Ukraine was united as a free and sovereign nation. In Kiev's St. Sophia Square, thousands gathered to hear the Act of Union read:

From today on, there shall be united in one great Ukraine the long separated parts of Ukraine-Galicia, Bukovina, Hungarian and Dniester Ukraine. The eternal dreams, for which the finest sons of Ukraine lived and died, have been fulfilled. From today on the Ukrainian people, freed by the mighty upsurge of their own strength, have the opportunity to unite all the endeavors of their sons for the creation of an indivisible, independent Ukrainian State for the good and the welfare of the working people.

Unfortunately, these lofty ideals were short lived. Within 3 short years, the brave Ukrainian people and their new nation were brutally crushed by the totalitarian forces of the Soviet Union and Poland.

To this day the 45 million citizens of the Ukraine are not at liberty to shape their own destiny as Communist tyranny continues to subjugate their land. Yet the spirit of freedom of these fine people, and of their loyal brothers in the United States, will never be broken. They still cling to their noble ideals, confident that one day they will attain their lost goal of national independence. Today we salute Ukrainians the world over for their dedication to freedom and we join with them in prayer for the liberation of their beloved homeland.

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, it is always a source of sadness and disappointment to me to realize that millions of people reside in captivity under the Soviet yoke.

The many friends from the 12th Congressional District of Illinois, who with their families had their origin in the Ukraine are potent reminders that freedom will one day emerge to break the shackles of their Soviet captors.

The startling truth that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate freedom was confirmed during this past year with the military invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet forces. But the Czechoslovakian experience demonstrated also that freedom's light can be concealed behind the Iron Curtain, but it cannot be extinguished. It is for this reason that I support and express encouragement and hope to the people of the Ukraine that their liberation will one day become a reality. Of course, it is my further hope that this day of liberation will not be delayed very much longer.

I note that the 51st anniversary of the Ukraine Government is being observed this year. I extend prayerful encouragement to Ukrainians everywhere that their Nation will rise again. When that day of liberation arrives, the whole world will benefit from their energy and talents which can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 51st anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. The story of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence is one of courage and bravery and of the deep love the Ukrainian people bear for their country and its rich cultural traditions.

The Ukrainian struggle to be free of Russian domination dates back to the

treaty of Pereyaslav with the empire of Moscow in 1654. Russian interference in the Ukraine steadily increased from the time of that treaty until nearly all the Ukrainian provinces were under Russian domination. But the spirit of the Ukrainian people stood fast. The long road they traveled to the freedom and independence proclaimed 51 years ago on this day is marked by the graves of many patriots—some famous and some whose names are lost to the history books but not to the hearts of their people. Several of these patriots had a particularly strong influence along this road to independence. Ivan Kotlyarevsky introduced a Ukrainian vernacular with his publication of an adaptation of Virgil's Aeneid which greatly increased the sense of cultural unity among Ukrainians. Taras Shevchenko followed this pattern in his writings and secured for Ukrainian literature a respected place as one of the Slavic literatures. Shevchenko also helped establish the Society of SS. Cyril and Methodius whose dream was the establishment of an independent Ukraine as a free republic. This society set the pattern for the Ukrainian revival during the remaining years of the Russian Empire.

When World War I and the Russian Bolshevik revolution of 1917 coincided to weaken the Russian hold on the Ukraine, the moment for independence had arrived. A National Ukrainian Congress was established at Kiev. On January 22, 1918, the independence of the Ukrainian nation was proclaimed by this Congress.

A cruel fate then befell the Ukrainian nation. Having fought so long for independence they were to taste the sweet fruits of freedom for only 3 short years. For within 3 years the Ukrainian nation had fallen under the control of the new Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has tried from that time to today to force the assimilation of Ukrainians and to destroy separate Ukrainian culture and traditions.

But, though the days of freedom for the Ukrainian nation were short, the effects of that freedom have lasted long. On April 17, 1966, the New York Times reported the arrest of two Ukrainian literary critics for what was referred to as "their spirited defense of Ukrainian poets against attempts by the Soviet literary bureaucracy to impose conformity." The courage of these Ukrainian critics in affirming their belief in the freedom of ideas bears witness to and reminds us once again that as long as the hearts and minds of the people are free we have reason to have hope for the future.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence, and I am glad, once again, to have this opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the great Ukrainian people.

Taking advantage of the Russian revolution of 1917, the Ukrainians freed themselves from the czars and joyously declared their independence. Unfortunately, the tyranny of the czars was soon replaced by the tyranny of the Communists, and the valiant Ukrainians were forced to fight the new rulers from Moscow. For 3 long years they bravely battled these oppressors in a heroic effort

to preserve their precious freedom and national independence. Sadly, the numerically superior forces of Moscow prevailed.

However, while the brutal Communist forces prevailed physically, they did not conquer the insatiable urge for freedom which burns inextinguishably in the hearts of the noble Ukrainian people. It is this spirit, typified by the Ukrainians, that is the world's most effective weapon against the oppressive forces of Communist totalitarianism.

It is my hope that this flaming spirit which inspires all freedom-loving people, will hasten the day when the Ukrainians and other captive nations will, once again, experience the reality of liberty and national independence.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to join with a number of my colleagues in paying tribute to the people of the Ukraine on the 51st anniversary of their nation's independence.

The Ukraine is the largest and oldest of the captive nations that have fallen under the heavy shadow of Soviet domination. For only a few brief years, following their independence on January 22, 1918, did the spirited Ukrainians enjoy their freedom. Since then they have been a puppet state of the Soviets.

Yet the flame of nationalism continues to blaze for these brave people. Language, culture, and national customs continue to flourish wherever there are Ukrainians. All Americans should admire this unquenchable spirit of independence in a people whose history contains many parallels with our own struggle for independence nearly 200 years ago.

At a time when nations of the West are seeking opportunities to improve our relationships with the East, it behooves us to bear in mind the admirable spirit of oppressed nations such as the Ukraine.

As we commemorate the 51st anniversary of the Ukraine, the event is given added significance by last summer's takeover of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union. One of those who urged the Soviet invasion was, according to reliable reports, the Communist Party chief of the Ukraine, who feared the Czechoslovak liberalization would rub off on the neighboring Ukrainians.

We all hope to see the day, Mr. Speaker, when the captive Ukrainians will not only become liberalized but will once again regain their freedom after all these years of oppression.

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, this month the observance of the 51st anniversary of the independence of Ukraine assumes unparalleled importance.

It is again a time to voice the traditional values of self-determination and independence of this largest captive non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe.

The policy of seeking an open world, as expressed by President Nixon in his inaugural address is especially apropos at this time. He said:

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communication will be open.

We seek an open world—open to ideas,

open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to join with my colleagues today in marking the 51st anniversary of the independence of Ukraine.

The past year has seen another vivid example of the determination of Soviet Russia to maintain its control over the countries of Eastern Europe. I refer, of course, to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer.

That action by Russia clearly underscores the strategic significance of the Ukraine. Comprehensive reports show that it was Piotr Shelest, party chief in Ukraine, who clamored for the invasion because of a dreaded fear of a liberalizing spillover into captive Ukraine.

The Ukrainian nation became independent and formed its own state in 1918. But, in less than 3 years, Ukraine became one of the first victims of Soviet Russian conquest.

These proud and freedom-loving people have not forgotten their country's history and they still cling to the hopes that one day their country will regain its freedom and independence.

The Ukraine is the largest captive non-Russian nation in all of Eastern Europe—not just within the Soviet Union.

The plight of these 45 million people is well known to Americans. An important step to point up the plight of the captive nations was taken by Congress in 1959 in its resolution on Captive Nations Week.

I still feel, as I have proposed in past Congresses, that the House should create a Special Committee on Captive Nations. I intend to reintroduce enabling legislation shortly and I hope that this year we can obtain public hearings on the proposal. Such a special committee could make an official study of the captive nations, make recommendations for assistance, and provide an important sounding board which could be of inestimable aid in boosting the morale and adamant position of these oppressed people.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join today in paying tribute to the people of the Ukraine on this 51st anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the Ukraine, not only the brave Ukrainians who are still under captivity in their homeland, but also those Americans of Ukrainian descent who are today carrying on here in this country the ideals to which their homeland was dedicated 51 years ago.

I do not need to repeat here what has already been said so eloquently by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood) and others about the details of the events that took place 51 years ago, and their tragic sequence 5 years later under the boots of the Bolshevik oppressors. But I would like to repeat on this occasion what I have often said before on this anniversary; namely, that we here in this Congress do continue to look forward with hope to the day when the people of the Ukraine will once again be free, and when the independence that was proclaimed so gallily 51 years ago today is a living, vital thing once more.

Fifty-one years is a long time; and the 46 years that have elapsed since the

freedom of the Ukraine was so brutally taken away by the Bolsheviks is an even longer and more painful span of time. But in spite of all the years that have intervened, the spirit of freedom continues to live on in the hearts of the Ukrainian people, both here and in their homeland; they have not given up hope and we must not give up hope either. And we must not cease to help them and encourage them.

Since we last met on this floor to celebrate the anniversary of Ukrainian freedom there has been one very significant event—in Czechoslovakia. A year ago the people of Czechoslovakia were demonstrating to the world that their desire for freedom had not been crushed by years of Soviet slavery; they were working hard toward a new birth of freedom right under the noses of their Soviet oppressors. And then in August the Communists struck, and Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Soviets. Today once again the Czech people are in chains. Yet, as we can see every day in the papers, their spirit of freedom has survived. They refuse to allow their captors to crush that spirit entirely. And all the world has seen the living proof that Soviet communism simply cannot coexist alongside freedom. It was an eye opener to those who have thought that somehow communism had really mellowed.

Mr. Speaker, if the Czechs can do it, if they can keep alive the spirit of freedom in spite of oppression, then the Ukrainians can—and will—do it too, some day. So we celebrate here today not merely the independence of the Ukraine, 51 years ago. We also celebrate, with hope and confidence and faith, the coming new birth of freedom, not only in the Ukraine, but in all of the captive countries around the borders of the Soviet Union. Freedom, as Czechoslovakia's tragic history of these past 12 months has demonstrated, can never die. Let us resolve to make it live again in the Ukraine.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of my special order.

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

There was no objection.

TRANSPORTATION COMPACT

(Mr. WIDNALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I have today reintroduced a joint resolution to authorize the creation of an interstate compact in the northeast corridor to facilitate the expansion of passenger rail transportation.

The area from Boston to Washington is rapidly becoming a megalopolis, a supercity encompassing eight States and the District of Columbia. It contains approximately a quarter of the Nation's population, over a third of our manu-

facturing establishments, and nearly a quarter of our retailing establishments.

I first introduced this resolution in 1963 with Senator CLABORNE PELL, of Rhode Island. It helped to stimulate the experimental effort to establish a new high-speed train from New York to Washington. But this area needs much more efficient passenger ground transportation. Railroads have not been able to carry passengers profitably. Freight carrying alone has been successful. The proposed compact would permit the States to create an authority to improve passenger rail transportation by selling State-backed bonds to finance rights-of-way, equipment, and other facilities.

I was on board the recent inaugural run of the New York-Washington train, which signaled only the beginning of expanded, quality service in this densely populated region. The success of this run indicated that comfortable, swift trains may be able to compete for passengers in the relatively short distances in the northeast corridor, but much more service is needed, and needed quickly, if train service is to become competitive.

As an example of the costs involved in building an efficient rail system, the Department of Transportation estimates that it would cost at least \$3 billion to build a completely new roadbed, with rail and other equipment, from New York to Washington. It has cost the Penn Central Railroad, operator of the new service, \$32 million to upgrade the right-of-way and roadbed to accommodate the high-speed trains. Even with that, the train can operate at less than 75 percent of its maximum speed.

This interstate authority, permitting Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia to work together, can be a major part of the answer to the transportation problems facing our increasingly urban society.

TRIBUTE TO HYDE MURRAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I have taken this time today so that other Members of the House may join me in paying tribute to Hyde Murray, the very able assistant counsel of the House Committee on Agriculture and my right arm for the past 11 years.

Hyde recently resigned his position with the committee and has returned with his lovely wife, Nancy, and their two children to his hometown of Ogdensburg, in Wisconsin's Seventh Congressional District, where he has entered on a campaign for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. This district just happens to be the one which has been so ably represented in recent years by our colleague, the new Secretary of Defense, Mel Laird.

When I first came to Congress in 1951 I was assigned to the Committee on Agriculture and had the privilege of serving on that committee with Hyde's father, the late Reid F. Murray, who represented Wisconsin's Seventh District in this body for nearly 14 years. Reid

Murray and I became good friends, and I cherish the memory of that friendship.

In 1958, Hyde came to the committee as the assistant counsel, and in the 11 years he has served in that capacity, he has distinguished himself as one of the most able, conscientious, and popular employees ever to have served on Capitol Hill.

Hyde Murray is a man of many talents and seemingly tireless energies. I think it would be almost impossible to find a person to whom Hyde ever said "no," when he was asked for help. He has been an active member in all of the many organizations to which he belonged and can always be counted on for both leadership and hard work.

For example, he served the Congressional Secretaries Club in many capacities, including the Presidency in 1965 and in 1967 was named Congressional Secretary of the Year. He led all manner of charity and service drives—for underprivileged children, Vietnam soldiers, wounded veterans, the needy at Christmas. He organized tours, baseball games, and an endless variety of other events sponsored by the organizations to which he belonged. And his talent for cartooning found great demand in brightening up newsletters, bulletins, and other publications of those organizations.

This is only a brief list of Hyde's extracurricular activities, which often seem numerous enough to consume all the waking hours of a lesser man. The real purpose of this hour today, however, is to pay tribute to Hyde's professional efforts. And they have been prodigious. Never have I known his other activities to interfere with the quality of the effort Hyde put forth in his capacity with the committee.

His farm background and knowledge of agricultural economics and law make him, in my opinion, one of the best qualified agriculture experts in the country today.

I believe every member of the committee would attest, not only to Hyde's expertise in agriculture, but to his value as an objective counselor and as a parliamentarian. He was instrumental in organizing and leading a group of administrative assistants in developing the "Committee Staff Manual on Legislative Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives," published in 1967 by the House Republican policy committee. This document has been of inestimable value to Members and staff alike.

Hyde's door was always open to anyone who needed advice or information on agriculture matters or the routine of the House and its committees, and everyone—Members, staff, press, lobbyists and organizational representatives—freely made use of his service. He was always available when I needed him—day, night, weekends, or holidays—yet he never seemed to neglect his family and friends.

In 1965 he served as the senior congressional staff adviser to the Food and Agriculture Organization biannual meeting at Rome, Italy. In December 1966, he was the senior staff member for a three-member congressional delegation on a Presidential mission to India. In the course of his congressional staff service he has also reviewed U.S. foreign agricultural programs in South Vietnam,

Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Near East.

At the Republican National Conventions of both 1964 in San Francisco and in 1968 in Miami Beach, Hyde served as the counsel for the platform committees—a singular mark of the respect in which his ability is held and recognized throughout the Republican Party.

I will certainly miss Hyde's support and counsel on the committee, but I can think of few men who are better qualified by training, ability, character and experience to serve in the House of Representatives, and I wish him every success and look forward to seeing him here in Washington again very soon.

MR. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

MR. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture.

MR. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, while I have never embraced the Republican Party nor its political philosophy, it has been my privilege over the years in this body to meet, to know, and to work with many competent and able Republicans. One of those was the late Reid F. Murray, with whom I had the pleasure and privilege of serving on the Committee on Agriculture, beginning in the 77th Congress and continuing through five succeeding Congresses until his untimely death on April 29, 1952.

Reid F. Murray was admired and respected by his fellow Members. He was a credit to his district, to the Committee on Agriculture, and to his country.

Certainly one of the greatest credits to the memory of Reid Murray has been the work of his son, Hyde H. Murray, who during the 10 years immediately preceding December 31, 1968, served on the professional staff of the House Committee on Agriculture.

After graduating from the School of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin, Hyde served in the U.S. Army during the Korean war. After separation from the military, Hyde earned a law degree from Georgetown University. For a brief period he was employed in the office of the general counsel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In 1958 he sought a position with our committee. My good friend, Harold D. Cooley, was chairman of the committee at that time. He was called out of town and asked me to interview the applicant. I did so and was so well impressed that I recommended his employment and I have never had occasion to regret that recommendation.

Hyde Murray has worked his way up in our committee. He has for a number of years served as assistant general counsel. Actually, a part of that time we had no general counsel and Hyde did all of the work and did it well. Like all other members of our staff, Hyde served every member of the committee without regard to his politics and every member trusted him. We trust him now, and I am glad to attest to his ability, his high character, his dedication to duty and to his country, as well as his deep and abiding interest in agriculture.

Despite the many demands of a busy office, Hyde maintained active interests and assumed positions of responsibility and leadership in the affairs of his com-

munity, professional organizations, and church. Among the honors and distinctions accorded to him have been service as president of the Congressional Secretaries Club, as congressional secretary of the year and on the platform committee of the Republican National Conventions in 1964 and 1968, to which my good friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER), just made reference.

That last is about the only thing Hyde Murray has ever done of which I can be critical, but then he grew up in an environment of Republicanism, so I guess we will forgive him.

We on the committee will miss Hyde. For this reason, I wish to state for the record that I am personally grateful for his dedicated service on our staff. I know others of the committee join with me in saying "well done."

MR. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from Texas very much for that statement.

MR. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

MR. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi, a member of the Committee on Agriculture (Mr. ABERNETHY).

MR. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, may I compliment the ranking minority member of our committee for taking this time to commend our good friend Hyde Murray for his service to our committee. Indeed, he is worthy of such.

I am beginning my 27th year in the House and my 25th year in the Agriculture Committee. I have seen scores of committee staff members come and go—men and women of extraordinary ability and character. Certainly Hyde was one of the most able ever to serve our committee and Congress.

Mr. Speaker, he was unquestionably one of the best employees and finest counselors ever to serve on our staff. He was not only dedicated, but able, sincere, and knowledgeable. He freely imparted advice and information regarding the bills pending before the Committee on Agriculture to all of us regardless of which side of the aisle one might be serving on.

On many, many occasions I called on Mr. Murray for information about various and sundry subjects incidental to agricultural legislation, programs, and statutes. Although I served with the majority and he was chief counsel for the minority, he never hesitated to supply me with the information I sought and he always gave advice which was good and helpful. He worked for and with all members of the committee, for the good of agriculture and the economy of the American farmer.

I hated to see Hyde leave the committee staff although I can well understand why he did so, that is, to seek an opportunity of higher service.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, served with his distinguished father, as Chairman POAGE has just mentioned. His father was one of the most able men ever to come to the House of Representatives as well as one of the most popular and beloved. He was a good friend of mine. He was a good legislator. Hyde is just a chip off the old block.

I am grateful for his service and wish him well.

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

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GROSS).

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join in this well-deserved tribute to my good friend, Hyde Murray, who has to rank as one of the most knowledgeable individuals ever to serve on the staff of a congressional committee.

I had the privilege of serving in this body with Hyde's father, the late Reid Murray. He was an outstanding Member and a man I greatly admired. It therefore was a particular pleasure for me to welcome his son to Capitol Hill when Hyde joined the staff of the Committee on Agriculture some 11 years ago.

Since that time, I have called on Hyde many, many times for help and counsel. He always responded promptly and with the friendly efficiency which is his trademark. The assistance he offered me on numerous occasions was invaluable, and I for one miss him very much now that he has returned to his home in Wisconsin.

I wish him well and hopefully look forward to having the pleasure of welcoming him back.

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. O'NEAL), a member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult for me to say how highly I regard Hyde Murray who has served the Committee on Agriculture so well and ably throughout the years. He has one of the keenest legal minds with which I have ever come in contact. He was never failing in his willingness to help me as well as all other members of the Committee on Agriculture on both sides of the aisle. I certainly welcome this opportunity to say these things and say that I wish him well.

Mr. BELCHER. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Georgia for those remarks.

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

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota, a member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma for yielding to me at this time and I wish to associate myself with the remarks which have been made by the ranking minority member and the chairman of the full committee, the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE) as well as the other gentlemen who have spoken with regard to Hyde Murray.

As a member of that committee I have found him to be very knowledgeable and very helpful. As a newcomer to that committee I just wish to state that I appreciate this time which the gentleman from Oklahoma has taken to pay tribute to Hyde Murray and I wish him well.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentle-

man from Ohio, a member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, as a freshman member of the House Agriculture Committee during the 90th Congress, I quickly came to know and admire the minority counsel of that committee, Hyde Murray.

Today I would briefly like to pay tribute to Hyde for the outstanding record he has achieved as a staff member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Exceptionally qualified, he brought to his job an unusual insight and ability. Acknowledged by all who know him, as an authority not only on agricultural matters but on almost every facet of congressional activity, he was a much-sought counsel.

I wish Hyde the best of success as he endeavors to return to the House of Representatives as a Member from Wisconsin's Seventh District.

We need men like Hyde H. Murray here on Capitol Hill.

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

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma for yielding me this time.

I came to the Congress 8 years ago, and I served on the Committee on Agriculture for 4 years. In the first 2 of those years I was not too well acquainted with or informed about which party the members of the staff belonged, and I did not know whether Hyde Murray was a Democrat or a Republican, because I saw him counseling equally with Members from both sides of the aisle.

In the 4 years I served on that wonderful committee I found Hyde Murray to be extremely helpful. I was particularly interested in his concern for minority groups in our country. I happen to be part Indian, and usually when any bill came up before the Committee on Agriculture that had something to do with lending assistance to minority groups I would inquire of Hyde Murray to find out whether there was any help that might be available in such a bill to the Indians. Hyde Murray would very carefully and kindly search out such information for me.

After I left the Committee on Agriculture, and desired information about bills pending before that committee, I could always turn to Hyde Murray, and he would give me information that was accurate.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I have mixed feelings about Hyde Murray leaving the Committee on Agriculture, and thus depriving the committee of his counsel. I know this is going to be a great loss to the committee, and also to Congress. At the same time I am delighted that Hyde Murray is taking this step in order to run for the congressional seat recently vacated by the appointment of former Congressman Mel Laird to the Office of Secretary of Defense.

Knowing Hyde Murray as I do, his knowledge of procedures in the Congress, his experience in working in the Committee on Agriculture, his diligence, his outlook and his approach, I hope that he is going to be successful not only in the

primary race, but later in the general election. His talents have been so well referred to by Members of the Congress from both sides of the aisle, who are much better acquainted with them than I. We hope these talents can be brought to bear in the work of this Congress, so that we may have the benefit of Hyde Murray's exceptional abilities.

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

Mr. BELCHER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding me this time.

I too would like to associate myself with the stellar remarks that have been made about Hyde H. Murray. I speak as a Member who has never served on the Committee on Agriculture, but as a Member who has a very successful farm advisory council in my district.

The distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE), know Mr. Hyde H. Murray has taken the trouble to journey to my area, and to observe the diversity of farm problems existing there, and to witness various demonstrations.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, Congress' loss will be Wisconsin's gain.

Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Congress in 1961, one of the first staff members I had occasion to meet was Hyde Murray on the House Committee on Agriculture. It did not take me long to find out that Hyde was one of the most knowledgeable men in Washington on the problems of agriculture and the American farmer, a matter of vital concern in the district I am privileged to represent.

I think it is significant that while Hyde served as minority counsel on the committee, he had the greatest respect of Members on both sides of the aisle. He could always be depended upon to "tell it like it is," and the complexities of our present farm programs are such that not many people can claim this ability.

As the only male staff member on the minority, his responsibilities were great, yet he always found time to respond to a query from any Member, and to do so in as much detail as the Member required.

I know he will be hard to replace and we shall surely miss him, though I understand he is now a candidate for the House seat once held by his father, and more recently by our distinguished Secretary of Defense. If he should return to the Congress as a Member, this House would most certainly have the benefit of an able and extremely capable public servant. I wish him well in all his future endeavors.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1947 the Congress provided for the establishment of a professional staff by each of the standing committees. It was contemplated that the selection would be on a basis of the individual's knowledge and ability, his training and experience, and his capacity to serve the committee as an expert on matters under the jurisdiction of the committee.

I must frankly say that Hyde Murray, as minority counsel for the Committee

on Agriculture, has proven himself to be the ideal. It is no exaggeration for me to say—and I mean no derogation of other professional staffers—that Hyde Murray has no superior.

I do not serve on the Committee on Agriculture, but in my capacity as the party whip on this side of the aisle, I have come to know him well. I have consulted with him frequently on legislation pending with his committee and scheduled to come on the floor of the House. I do not know anyone who knows as much as he about the subject of agriculture. He is an expert in the fullest sense of the word.

More than that. He is an accomplished lawyer and a fine legislative draftsman. And more than that. He has more than a passing acquaintance with the rules of the House; he has a technical knowledge of them and is a skilled parliamentary strategist.

There is another quality about Hyde Murray which, in addition to his knowledge and skill, places him in a class by himself. He is dedicated, loyal, humble, and honest. He will give you his honest opinion, even though it may not be what you would want to hear, but he is never offensive or abrasive. He is not a vain seeker of glory or prestige but rather one who seeks only to serve. He is one of those who prefers to work unseen and, in so doing, has proven to be considerably more than he may publicly seem.

Mr. Speaker, I was distressed when I learned that Hyde Murray had submitted his resignation as counsel for the Committee on Agriculture. Men like him are all too rare. Certain as he is to public service I am certain that in some capacity he will continue to give the people the benefit of his many talents.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of pride and great personal pleasure that I join my colleagues today in the accolades being directed toward Hyde Murray.

I can say right from the very beginning of my service here in the Congress that Hyde Murray won my great respect and admiration for his work as minority counsel of the House Agriculture Committee. Hyde epitomizes the kind of professional excellence and competence that continually enhances the image of the legislative branch in the discerning public eye. I also know for a fact that my high opinion of Hyde Murray is widely shared by my colleagues and staffers on Capitol Hill.

If I might continue further, Mr. Speaker, I can say too that Hyde Murray won deep respect from Members of both sides of the aisle here in the Congress not only for his understanding of the problems of agriculture, but also for his ability to contribute to the legislative process. I know, and I have always heard it said about him, that he always gave unstintingly of his time and expertise to those who had need to consult with him about important agricultural questions or about involved parliamentary rules of procedure in the House.

Indeed, in his 11 years of service, par excellence, in the U.S. House of Representatives as a professional staffer, Hyde Murray became widely known and acclaimed for his ability to come to grips with a highly technical problem or an

intricate parliamentary procedure demanded during a rapidly unfolding legislative debate. Hyde did an awful lot of work beyond and above the call of duty in cataloging parliamentary procedures and precedents to make our work as legislators that much easier. To be sure, the benefits of his efforts constantly flowed and I gainsay, will continue to flow to us as legislators in making our day to day tasks easier.

I salute Hyde Murray today for his 11 years of admirable service to the Congress and for all of his wonderful contributions to the legislative process.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to learn that Hyde Murray is leaving his position as assistant counsel of the House Committee on Agriculture. However, I know that in any future endeavor he will contribute the same ability and integrity as he did here on the Hill.

It was my experience, on many occasions, to seek his advice on agricultural matters and I always found his position to be logical and correct. He displayed a remarkable knowledge of the whole range of farm problems and this expertise was of invaluable assistance to Members of Congress who called on him for assistance.

I wish him every success in the future. Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Hyde Murray's special skills in parliamentary procedures of the House and his expert knowledge of the farm programs of this country have been invaluable to the Republican Members of the House, and I am happy to join in this tribute.

Few problems of our era are more complex than those of the agricultural industry. Hyde Murray's understanding of the problem and his ability to explain its many facets to those less familiar in terms that are easily understood is a great asset. I regret that he is leaving his position with the Agriculture Committee, but I am confident his knowledge and ability will be recognized in whatever other work he may undertake.

It seems to me that this is a rare occasion, indeed, for I cannot recall another time when Members conducted a special order to comment upon the departure of a committee counsel. This is a measure of the high esteem in which Hyde Murray is held by all of us who have known and worked with him.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice today to the many others which have already paid tribute to Hyde Murray for the outstanding work he has done as assistant counsel of the House Agriculture Committee.

Carrying on a distinguished family tradition of public service, Hyde has built an impressive record of performance for himself, and earned the respect of many Members of this body. Now he is ready to embark on a further step in his public career, and while we are sorry to lose his services as a key staff member of one of the Congress' most important committees, we know that he will further distinguish himself in whatever new endeavors he undertakes. Our best wishes and highest esteem go with him.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I rise to salute Mr. Hyde Murray.

On the one hand I am glad that Hyde has an opportunity to seek the office once

held by his father and more recently by our new Secretary of Defense.

But on the other hand I am sorry that we will be losing his expert touch on the professional staff of the Agriculture Committee. While I do not serve on this committee I have had frequent occasion to avail myself of the special talents which Hyde Murray possesses in preparing bills and statements, and each time he has responded with the quiet competence which is his trademark.

I will miss his services—but I wish him well.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased in having an opportunity to join my colleagues in paying my respects to one of the finest staff men on Capitol Hill. Hyde Murray has distinguished himself as an able committee staffer, and complimenting his legislative knowledge and grasp of the problems of agriculture in the United States today is a warm and friendly personality that has endeared him to scores of friends and associates.

Like his father, the late Reid Murray who represented the Seventh District of Wisconsin for many years, and with whom my father was privileged to serve in this body, Hyde has contributed measurably to the legislative history of the House of Representatives. Hyde has earned our respect and thanks for a job well done, and I join in wishing him and his family every good wish and success in the future.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, through the press we have just learned that one of the valued employees of the House has resigned his position with the Committee on Agriculture to seek the seat vacated by our former colleague, Secretary of Defense Mel Laird. Many here will recall that Wisconsin's Seventh Congressional District was at one time represented by Hyde's father, Reid Murray, an outstanding Member of this House.

During the years he has served on Capitol Hill Hyde Murray has proven himself a very capable staff member and has diligently applied himself to his assignments. In addition he has been a leader among the corps of staff members on the Hill and has gained an extensive following of admirers. He is tireless in his efforts and is an enthusiastic worker.

Grounded in the sound fundamentals of good government through his earlier training, Mr. Murray's legislative experience on Capitol Hill has enlarged his stature and qualifies him for responsible leadership in government.

I am sure the citizens of the Seventh Wisconsin District will soon recognize these traits as he returns to his home area to solicit their support.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to take the floor in tribute to my good friend Hyde Murray, who has recently left his position as minority counsel to the House Agriculture Committee to seek election to Congress from his native Seventh District of Wisconsin.

Mr. Murray seeks to capture the seat recently vacated by the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Melvin R. Laird. Mr. Murray is properly a son of the House, for this seat was held by his

father, the late Honorable Reid Murray, Mel Laird's immediate predecessor.

Hyde Murray is well known to us. He has been working in the closest association with the House for some 11 years.

During his service to the House his contributions to the work of his committee and to individual Members have been enormous. Mr. Murray is not only a recognized expert on agriculture but also is considered a most knowledgeable person on parliamentary procedure. Although I am not a member of the Agriculture Committee, Hyde Murray has frequently assisted me with information and advice of great value.

Hyde Murray's great talents are combined with a friendly, humorous, and cheerful disposition.

The people of the Seventh District of Wisconsin could not hope to find a Representative in Congress who has been better prepared for his work than Hyde Murray. If they decide to elect him—and I am frank to say that I hope they do—I would personally welcome their decision enthusiastically.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to imagine how my life on Capitol Hill would have been these past 8 years had I not had the good fortune to be associated very closely with Attorney Hyde Murray, until recently the assistant clerk and counsel for the House Committee on Agriculture. For 6 years I was a member of that committee and during the 2 years since I left the committee I have continued to have the closest possible relationship with Mr. Murray and time after time have called upon him for advice and suggestions. His knowledge, fairness, character, and idealism were always evident in everything he did, whether it involved researching a fine point of agriculture statute, helping me to draft an amendment, or in the analysis of "the politics" of a particular legislative situation.

I was thrilled to learn of his decision to become a candidate to succeed the Honorable Melvin R. Laird who resigned his seat in Congress to become our new Secretary of Defense. In my view, Mr. Murray is superbly suited to represent his home district in Wisconsin as a Member of the House of Representatives. His expertise in parliamentary and agricultural matters, his winning personality and his intimate knowledge of the personalities and workers on Capitol Hill will make him an outstanding Member.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, Hyde Murray's record as minority counsel on the House Agriculture Committee sets a very high standard of service to Members of the House and to the American people. During the 11 years he has served on this committee, his advice and assistance has been invaluable to me, and I am sure to my fellow Members on this side of the aisle.

It is a record that has led him to other tasks, equally well performed, such as his leading role in the preparation of the Committee Staff Manual on Legislative Procedures in the House of Representatives, and his service as counsel on agriculture at the past two Republican National Conventions.

It is a record that marks him for still greater service. I was happy to learn of his decision to seek a seat in Congress;

the seat vacated by the Honorable Melvin R. Laird, who now serves as Secretary of Defense; the seat once held by Hyde's father.

It is a record which provides an excellent background for service in Congress, and I personally extend him my best wishes for a successful campaign.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues and to take this opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation to Hyde Murray for the conscientious job he did while serving as minority counsel to the House Committee on Agriculture.

I can say in all sincerity that Hyde Murray commanded the respect and earned the affection of all who had the opportunity to know him. As he leaves the Capitol Hill family, he will long be remembered not only for his wise counsel on agricultural matters but for his warmth, wisdom, simplicity, and graciousness as a gentleman.

Hyde Murray has been a highly dedicated public servant and richly deserves the gratitude of those whom he diligently served. I am happy to join with his many friends here in the Congress in wishing him good health and good fortune in the years ahead.

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great source of pride to me that I have had the occasion to know and work closely with Hyde Murray in his position as assistant counsel of the House Agriculture Committee.

Our association first started back in 1961 when I was initiated as a new employee on Capitol Hill. The first member of any minority staff to make contact with me and offer professional and personal assistance was Hyde Murray, and this in one sentence describes what Hyde can be to a newcomer, a confused person, or just a person in need. Hyde Murray is one of the most thoughtful, capable, and outstanding individuals it has been my pleasure to know. Of all the individuals whom I have met and known in the years since I first came to Capitol Hill, none has left a deeper impression on me.

In all his endeavors, personal and professional, I join with his many, many friends in wishing him unlimited success and Godspeed.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago I arrived in Washington, a freshman Congressman. I was assigned to the Committee on Agriculture, and there I found a friend and contemporary, on whom I could rely for the most professional sort of advice.

Hyde Murray, the committee's Republican counsel, has served the Agriculture Committee for 11 years. During that time he has developed a wealth of knowledge—about the technicalities of agricultural legislation—about the political realities of how to get a piece of legislation moving—and about the rules and traditions of the House. Hyde is recognized on both sides of the aisle as an expert parliamentarian. This is the kind of knowledge that a freshman Congressman must acquire, and I found the best source around was Hyde Murray.

But Hyde is more than a professional adviser. He is a leader. Here on the Hill, Hyde has headed the congressional sec-

retaries, and in 1957, he was Roll Call's "Congressional Secretary of the Year." In addition to everything else, he somehow finds time to play a mean game of basketball.

Now after 11 years of service to the Agriculture Committee, Hyde is leaving us. He is going to be missed, not only by the members of the Agriculture Committee, but also by other Members, on both sides of the aisle, who rely on him for sound advice on agricultural and parliamentary matters.

As we all know, Hyde has resigned from the committee staff to run for the congressional seat being vacated by our new Secretary of Defense, Mel Laird. Hyde Murray is a big enough man to fill Mel's shoes. I hope we will see him back among us as a colleague. With his ability and experience, Hyde Murray will be more than a Congressman—he will be a Congressman's Congressman.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, any attempt to summarize in a few words Hyde Murray's contributions to the work of the House Agriculture Committee and Congress would be an impossible task, for he has, over the past 11 years, been of invaluable service to both.

To his post as minority counsel of the House Agriculture Committee, Hyde has brought not only an extraordinary depth and breadth of knowledge and capability in his field, but also a personal commitment and dedication which have resulted in truly outstanding service to the committee and all its members.

Hyde is one of those unique individuals who commits all, not just part of himself, and becomes totally involved in whatever task he undertakes. He unflinchingly gives his best, and it is easy to understand why so many of us have depended so heavily on Hyde for so much—why he has been our good right arm, and why we are always able to give him our full trust and confidence, without reservation.

Happily, Hyde's remarkable abilities have not been confined solely to the work of the House Agriculture Committee. His numerous and varied interests have involved him in many other congressional activities, both official and unofficial. His talents have also been well utilized in the Hill's social organizations and charitable projects, and this amazing man has been able to do all of this without detracting one iota from his highly superior performance as minority counsel to our Agriculture Committee. In fact, it seemed that each new responsibility Hyde accepted actually increased, rather than diminished his apparently boundless energy.

It seems to me that the words Hyde wrote in his letter of resignation to our friend and colleague from Texas, House Agriculture Committee Chairman BOB POAGE, give a good indication of Hyde's basic attitude and outlook. He said:

While I realize that the road ahead will be difficult, uncertain, and fraught with struggle, I sincerely feel that the values which are worthwhile in this life are, at the very least, worth both work and struggle.

I know, too, that my decision to pursue in the public arena those values we both hold dear is paled in insignificance when compared to the total commitment made by young Americans who are dying daily on foreign soil or risking their lives to touch the stars.

Hyde has won the respect and admiration of all who know him. He has the good wishes of all of us in his campaign for election to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District of Wisconsin, and I am certain that the citizens of the seventh district will recognize that this man who asks to represent them in the halls of Congress has the qualifications, the capability, the will, the determination and the integrity to do an exceptional job for them.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the sharpest minds on Capitol Hill, dealing with problems of agriculture, was Hyde Murray.

For the past several years, I have had the opportunity to seek his counsel and to work with him on matters concerning the farmers of my district. The Eastern Shore of Maryland is not only an agricultural area, producing a vast array of crops; it is also one of the most highly concentrated poultry producing and processing areas in the United States.

Hyde Murray has always been more than helpful in resolving the problems which seem to beset the various interests in our agricultural spectrum. I feel a sense of personal indebtedness to him for the many hours of his time devoted to assisting me, members of my staff, and constituents. His shoes on the Hill will be hard to fill. With him, from me, goes a feeling of gratitude and appreciation, in which I am joined by the members of my staff who have worked so closely with him.

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, for a variety of reasons I am pleased to identify myself with this special tribute to Hyde H. Murray, a man of many talents who has an outstanding past and an even more promising future.

During my 10 years in the Congress I have been privileged to be associated with a great many dedicated, capable, hard-working people who share the common objective not only of a better America, but of a better world. Hyde Murray is one of these.

Hyde Murray has been a most competent counsel on agricultural matters. His deep understanding of the problems of rural America and his desire to contribute to their solution have earned for him the accolades of the farm community, the Congress, and the leaders of our great Republican Party.

The man we honor here today is stepping out toward a new plateau. He possesses the experience, the dedication, and the warm, friendly personality which will win and hold the confidence of his people. I look forward to his service in this body.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, the voters of the Seventh Congressional District of Wisconsin have an opportunity to elect another outstanding young man their Representative in the Nation's Congress. This post has been occupied with great distinction during the past 16 years by our esteemed colleague, the new Secretary of Defense, Melvin R. Laird, and for 12 years before that by another great American, the Honorable Reid Murray. When Mel Laird was first elected to represent the district, he was only 30.

And now Reid Murray's son, Hyde Murray has announced his candidacy to succeed Mel Laird at the age of 38. This

is entirely in keeping with the tradition of distinguished and highly capable representation which has characterized the Seventh District of Wisconsin for so many years. The voters of the Seventh District have had the good sense to send an outstanding young man to represent them relatively early in his career and then to keep reelecting him while through long years of service he has become increasingly expert and useful to the people of his district by reason of ability, experience, and seniority in the Halls of Congress.

Rarely has any man had greater potential for service to his district than does Hyde Murray. I join the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) and my other colleagues in all they have said about this young man's outstanding qualifications for election to Congress.

During the past 2 years it has been my privilege to serve on the House Committee on Agriculture representing the Sixth District of Iowa. I have just asked and received reassignment to that committee which is of such importance to the great farming States of Iowa and Wisconsin.

When I first came to the Congress and was appointed to be a member of the Committee on Agriculture, one of the gentlemen upon whom I soon came to rely most heavily was Hyde Murray. I did so because I soon recognized his great intellectual qualities, fine education, and the unparalleled experience he had gained over the years as assistant counsel to the committee. I was immediately impressed by his remarkable grasp of the problems confronting the American farmer and his familiarity with the procedures of that great labyrinth at the other end of Independence Avenue known as the Department of Agriculture. I valued his assistance in the beginning and throughout the 90th Congress, and he was extremely helpful to me and all the members of the committee of both parties. Day in and day out he has demonstrated that he has what it takes to make a great Congressman.

Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues have said, Hyde Murray resigned from the committee staff on January 1 in order to run for Congress for the seat once held by his father, Reid Murray, and most recently by Secretary of Defense Mel Laird. He has my heartfelt best wishes for all success in this undertaking, and I say to the people of the Seventh District that they are indeed fortunate to have this young man available as a candidate. By electing him they will not only insure themselves the most dedicated and effective representation, but in addition they will be sending to Washington a Congressman who I predict can become one of the great leaders of our Nation. I am proud to call Hyde Murray as my friend, and I hope that I may look forward to greeting him as a Member of this body.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, no one is more deserving of the recognition he is being given today than is Hyde Murray. He has been the ideal congressional employee—able, intelligent, knowledgeable, always helpful, and with a real devotion to duty. There are no words to express to Hyde our appreciation for his

invaluable services except to say "thank you" for a job so well done that it will be well nigh impossible to replace him. I am grateful that I have had the privilege and pleasure of knowing and working with Hyde over the 11 years that he has been assistant counsel of the House Agriculture Committee, and my every good wish for only the best in the years ahead goes with him as he leaves the Congress.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with several of my colleagues today in praising Hyde Murray, who has recently left the employ of the House to return to his native Wisconsin.

During my 11 years here, I have come to rely increasingly on Hyde's great knowledge, judgment, and cooperative personality in many matters, not only dealing with agriculture, but in floor procedures and the history of the House as well.

Hyde Murray represents the very best of a dedicated professional staff aide without whom the House, and we ourselves, could hardly function. The shining reputation which he built here will long endure. He richly deserves success in his future endeavors.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, expertise is a commodity in great demand in Congress, and I know of few people better equipped to help fill that demand and to make a vital contribution to intelligent government in this country than Hyde Murray.

My experience as a staff assistant on Capitol Hill was invaluable to me after my election, and I know this has also proved true for the 19 other Congressmen who are former congressional aides.

Hyde Murray is not only highly knowledgeable about agricultural problems after 11 years as counsel to the Republican Members of Congress on the House Agriculture Committee, he is also regarded as an expert on the legislative process. Because of his depth of knowledge, he has for several years conducted seminars for new Representatives on the rules and procedures governing both the House and its committees.

His colleagues on congressional staffs have a high respect for his abilities, and 2 years ago elected him president of their Congressional Secretaries Club, a bipartisan organization of some 3,000 legislative employees on Capitol Hill.

Wisconsin voters in the Seventh District have the opportunity to send a man to Congress who knows well what it is all about.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to participate in this tribute to Hyde Murray, formerly assistant counsel to the House Committee on Agriculture. Without mentioning his current political aspirations, I know I join with many others Members of the House in looking forward to his return.

In my experience in the House, few if any, professional staff members have distinguished themselves more than did Hyde Murray during his 11 years with the Agriculture Committee. Indicative of this is the long list of Members of the House as well as staff members who have gathered in support of Hyde in connection with the new challenge he now faces.

Although Members of the House, for the most part, were only aware of Hyde's

contributions in connection with his position with the committee, he was deeply involved in many other worthwhile activities. He was without a doubt one of the most popular presidents of the Congressional Secretaries Club. He was also a very active participant in an informal association of minority committee staffers who meet from time to time in an effort to sharpen their skills. Furthermore, most recently elected Members of the House will recall Hyde's valuable contributions to the freshman orientation sessions.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleague from Oklahoma in paying tribute to Hyde Murray.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to comment upon the very special abilities of a gentleman who served the Members of Congress so well for a number of years in the capacity of minority counsel on the House Committee on Agriculture. I have reference to Mr. Hyde H. Murray. Mr. Murray was more than a highly trained, efficient House staff member. His interests covered the length and breadth of the Republican political spectrum. An indication of the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues was evidenced by his election to the presidency of the Congressional Secretaries Club. I wish to add my own name to those Members of Congress who have publicly acknowledged their enthusiastic support for Mr. Hyde H. Murray. An outstanding Republican and a fine American, I wish him well.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join the gentleman from Oklahoma in paying tribute to my good friend, Hyde H. Murray. During the 11 years when he served as a member of the professional staff of the House Committee on Agriculture, he justly acquired the reputation of a competent and dedicated worker. Throughout my service in the House, Hyde has been a constant source of assistance to me and to my staff.

The problems and concerns of Ohio's rural communities are varied and complex, but Hyde has been a great help to us in dealing with these matters.

In addition to his professional competence, which is beyond reproach, Hyde is remembered by us for his congenial disposition. Regardless of the nature of the request, Hyde was always willing to be of assistance, and his sincere interest in helping others was deeply appreciated by all.

Hyde was also most helpful with matters not directly related to the Committee on Agriculture. His knowledge of parliamentary affairs, and his willingness to be of assistance in this area, comes to mind.

Hyde is now leaving the committee to seek election to this House from the Seventh District of Wisconsin.

He will be missed by all.

The seat which he seeks to occupy was formerly held by his father, the late Reid F. Murray. The seat was subsequently held and recently vacated by our former colleague, Melvin R. Laird.

I know that I express the sentiments of many Members of this chamber in extending my sincere best wishes and

hopes for success to Hyde in this endeavor.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. I have been on the House Committee on Agriculture for more than 12 years. During most of this period, Hyde Murray has been minority counsel. His assistance to me on minor and major problems has been incalculable. I know of no one past or present, either as a member of the committee or of the staff, who has greater knowledge concerning the complexities of legislation affecting farmers. Beyond that, he has that rare quality combining high intelligence with great commonsense. I am sure that I am correct in stating that all Republicans and Democrats are firmly convinced that Hyde Murray has done a superlative job for us.

I hope very much that Hyde will return to Washington as a Member of the House of Representatives and as a member of the committee.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleague from Oklahoma in paying justified tribute to Hyde Murray, former assistant counsel for the House Committee on Agriculture.

A few weeks ago, Joe McCaffrey, a veteran and trusted commentator on the affairs of Congress announced Hyde's resignation on his "Today in Congress" program. As Joe said:

Hyde is probably one of the best known committee staff members on the Hill, and, without doubt, rates with the best.

Under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following text from the transcript of Joe McCaffrey's radio broadcast:

TODAY IN CONGRESS

(By Joseph F. McCaffrey)

Hyde Murray today resigned his position with the House Agriculture Committee and announced he would seek the seat being vacated by Melvin Laird in the 7th District of Wisconsin.

Murray is probably one of the best known committee staff members on the Hill, and, without doubt, rates with the best.

For years reporters who needed to know anything about Agriculture always knew he was the man to call for a quick and correct answer. Time and time again in both the Press Gallery and the Radio-TV Gallery the word would be, "Call Hyde Murray."

No doubt there are other capable men ready to seek Laird's seat, and if all of them know their way around Capitol Hill and have the vast background of information Hyde Murray has accumulated, the Wisconsin 7th District will continue to get top drawer representation.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged and delighted to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Hyde Murray, who has just left the staff of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives to become a candidate for Congress in his home State of Wisconsin.

Hyde Murray rendered exemplary service to our committee for many years and I am sure I speak for my Democratic colleagues on the committee when I say that he was equally highly regarded on both sides of the aisle there.

Mr. Murray's performance has been in the very highest traditions of the professional staff of the Congress and of American public service generally. We all

wish him the very best and we all know that he will continue his record of excellence.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to Hyde Murray, a young man who has probably performed more favors and made more friends on Capitol Hill during his 11 years as minority counsel on the House Committee on Agriculture than any other House employee.

Hyde's background and accomplishments have been covered by others today, so I will limit my remarks to personal observations. I would hesitate to even estimate the number of times Hyde Murray has assisted me in agricultural matters, and in each instance he has provided accurate and valuable information and advice. I am sure many others are also deeply indebted to Hyde for his conscientious efforts and assistance through the years. The demands on his time and talents have always been great, but he has never been too busy to assist anyone who had a legitimate request.

We will certainly miss his presence on the Agriculture Committee staff. The shoes he leaves to be filled are large, indeed. However, we must rejoice that he has decided to make the race to join us in this Chamber. Hyde Murray has the very qualities that would make him a valued Representative of any congressional district in the Nation. His educational background, experience, dedication, honesty, ability, and knowledge combine to make Hyde a most valuable asset to any organization and a desirable candidate for membership in this body.

I wish Hyde every success in his campaign for the House, both as a friend and an associate. I certainly stand ready and anxious to welcome him warmly should the voters of the Seventh District of Wisconsin choose this exceptional young man as their Representative.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in joining my other colleagues in paying tribute to Hyde Murray, who has served as minority counsel on the House Committee on Agriculture for the past 11 years.

Even before I came to the Congress I had the privilege of meeting Hyde Murray and observing his good work as a member of the staff of the House Committee on Agriculture. This is understandable, as his illustrious father, the Honorable Reid F. Murray, served with distinction in the U.S. Congress from Wisconsin and I am certain that he received excellent training along the way.

Over the years, Hyde Murray has received signal recognition in his professional staff work and has traveled as a staff adviser and staff member throughout the world in reviewing foreign agricultural programs in Africa, Europe, and in the Near East. He has also been quite active in various staff activities on Capitol Hill; serving as president of the Congressional Secretaries Club in 1965 and in 1967 was named by Roll Call newspaper as "Congressional Secretary of the Year."

Our own best wishes go with Hyde as he goes back to his native State of Wisconsin and we are of the opinion that this young man, well versed in every phase of agriculture, has a bright future

ahead of him and it is a pleasure to join with his many friends in the Congress in extending our best wishes.

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the very dedicated, able, and highly valuable assistant counsel to the Committee on Agriculture. The resignation of Hyde Murray is a tremendous loss, both personal and professional, to the committee.

Hyde has made an outstanding contribution to the work of the committee. As a member, I can only express my profound gratitude and respect for the expert knowledge, brilliance, and tireless capacity for hard work which he has brought to his job. I have also come to know him as a loyal and true friend, staunchly dependable in a crisis, ready to go out of his way to help members of the committee or of the staff.

Hyde came to the staff of the House Committee on Agriculture in February 1958, from the Office of General Counsel, of the Department of Agriculture. He is one of the most knowledgeable experts in the Nation on international agriculture and agricultural trade. In 1965 he served as the senior congressional staff adviser to the Food and Agriculture Organization's biannual meeting in Rome. In December 1966, he was the senior staff member of a three-member congressional delegation on a Presidential mission to India. In the course of his service to the committee he has also reviewed U.S. foreign agricultural programs in South Vietnam, Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Near East.

The House has been wonderfully fortunate in having at its service the talents of such an able gentleman as Hyde Murray. I wish him all the best in a long and successful political career ahead.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Hyde Murray for the services he has rendered as minority counsel of the House Agriculture Committee.

Hyde Murray served this House and American agriculture for 11 years as committee counsel. During those years, his guidance and assistance were sought, and his judgment and professional competence respected, by Members of Congress of both political parties.

Hyde has demonstrated expert knowledge of all aspects of agriculture and agribusiness, and has further shown a compassion and rare insight in other, diverse areas of human endeavor.

A veteran of Korea, Hyde understands the special difficulties and needs the Nation's veterans so often encounter after their return from the call to service.

Widely traveled in Europe, Asia, and Africa, Hyde has the working background in foreign affairs so essential for better understanding of our Nation's problems abroad.

Through diligent study and practical experience, Hyde has mastered the intricate rules of House parliamentary procedure as have few others in recent memory.

Hyde's duties with the House Agriculture Committee have called him into many States of the Union, and his grasp of the diversity of America—the agony of her cities and the depletion of her farms—is reflected in his deep personal

concern for her future. His humanism and characteristic optimism reflect his conviction that these diverse problems can be mastered.

Hyde no longer can advise us as a professional staff member. But if the people of his home district—the Seventh District of Wisconsin—so choose, he may shortly return as our colleague. He would be welcomed as one freshman Member of Congress unusually highly qualified to serve in this body.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to join in a tribute to Hyde Murray.

I shall not dwell upon his knowledge of agricultural problems. His excellence in that area is already fully documented. Rather, I would like to speak to his special talent in the field of parliamentary law, a subject in which I have had something more than a passing interest. He is more than a student of the subject. He is more than a practitioner. He is an author of a paper published in the last Congress which I regard as major scholarly contribution to the art. I commend it to every Member of this body and to all those who aspire to this membership. It examines in analytical manner the complexities which are so peculiar to the parliamentary precedents and procedures of the House of Representatives.

Over the years he and I have maintained a continuing dialog on the day-to-day developments on the floor of the House. We have been particularly interested in recent rulings of the Speaker. I have always been impressed with the care, thoroughness, and meticulous attention to detail which he devotes to research of the subject. He has also proven his ability to reach sound legal conclusions based upon logical, sequential reasoning.

Mr. Speaker, this House is better, this Congress is better, this Nation is better because Hyde Murray has served in this body in such a responsible post.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I join in this afternoon of tribute to the assistant counsel of the House Committee on Agriculture. I am provided with an opportunity to publicly commend Hyde Murray for the thoughtful, considerate attention and service he had provided me as a member of the Agriculture Committee. His service has been above and beyond the demands of duty, and he has shown equal regard to members on both sides of the committee table. I gladly join in this tribute, and I add my warmest, best wishes to Hyde in his coming endeavors.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, it was with mixed emotions that I learned Hyde Murray had resigned as minority counsel of the House Committee on Agriculture after 11 years of distinguished service not only to all members of that committee but to so many other Members of the House. While I deeply regret this tremendous loss to our committee, the impact is softened by the hope and belief that he will soon be with us again in another and perhaps equally important capacity.

As a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, it has been a pleasure and a privilege to work with Hyde. Our common interests embrace another field,

as well—baseball. For many years, Hyde has been a principal organizer and promoter of the annual "Congress Goes to the Ball Game" event which features the always spectacular but not always perfectly played contest between Republicans and Democrats.

As an aside, I might observe that our opponents may not even dare to suit up this year, what with the Walter Johnson of Capitol Hill, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, Bob MICHEL, and the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, VINEGAR BEND MIZELL, available for Republican mound duty.

Hyde Murray has been of tremendous help to me in my committee work. He is a walking encyclopedia in matters of farm programs and legislation. That knowledge is coupled with excellent judgment. He is a superb legislative draftsman. Even when he was in a midst of a dozen urgent assignments, he was always willing to take on one more job—and get it done right.

I feel a deep sense of loss as Hyde leaves the House Committee on Agriculture. I wish him well for the future.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join others in paying tribute to the work of Hyde Murray. Although he was counsel for the minority of the Committee on Agriculture, and I am a member of the majority, I still recognize the outstanding contribution that he made to all committee members regardless of political party. Few, if any, had a greater knowledge of agriculture legislation than did Hyde Murray. His ability to interpret in a concise manner legislative questions was excellent. Yet his explanations were thorough.

Along with others I am appreciative of his service to the House Committee on Agriculture, and no doubt his absence will be felt.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, when I learned that Hyde Murray had resigned his position as minority counsel of the House Committee on Agriculture to run for Congress, I had mixed feelings. At first, I felt that he had done the wrong thing in depriving both the minority and majority members of the committee the benefit of his expert counsel. I quickly revamped this thinking however, against the realization that the House of Representatives had an opportunity to gain a very competent and dedicated individual in its membership. In short, I reconciled the committee's loss to the prospective gain of the House.

Hyde is a big man in more ways than one, mentally as well as physically. Those who know him genuinely can appreciate his vastness. At one moment he can be explaining and advising on the intricacies of the Agricultural Act of 1965, as amended, and a little later one can find him immersed in the complexity of coaching a Hill baseball team or playing a strenuous game of basketball.

His alert mind permits him little excursions not afforded those lacking this mental agility, and while others ponder the deep dimensions of an agricultural problem, Hyde has already grasped it and has gone on to doodling and making light sketches with his pencil. Some of these creations form the base for other advanced works with brush and pen, some

of which have won awards in art contests sponsored by the Congressional Secretaries Club.

Hyde has a real talent for working on the various reports issued from the House Committee on Agriculture. His great grasp of farm complications and his thorough understanding of agricultural law permit him to make valuable contributions to these committee reports. His ability to write lucidly and convincingly permits a ready understanding of even the most complex farm issues. Few reports come out of the House Committee on Agriculture that do not, in some way or another, reflect some of Hyde's handwork.

But Hyde's abilities are not confined to the technical character of committee reports, for he has proved quite helpful to many Members of Congress in speech and other types of nontechnical writing. It is also reported that he has entertained an interest in an illustrative newspaper strip that would—through picture and word—familiarize the people with their Government and acquaint them with some of its intricate operations.

Hyde Murray has been a leader in the Congressional Secretaries Club, having held every important position in that organization. And as others in this club have, in turn, been chosen to lead, so has he illustrated a spontaneous willingness to follow. In this, as in other activities, he is interested in getting the job done, whether as a leader or follower.

This account by no means identifies the total Hyde Murray, because he is one of those rare individuals who is greater than the sum of his parts. By the time one feels he has cataloged him in one category, he finds him breaking out with an unusual ability in another.

There are few people on Capitol Hill who do not know and respect Hyde Murray. He has a unique blend of talent and character that recommends him for responsible assignments, politically and technically. And it can be said without reservation that if the election which lies before Hyde were to be held here on the Hill, there would be successful results—he would be a Congressman, as was his father before him.

But the privilege of this selection belongs not to us but to the people of the Seventh Congressional District of Wisconsin. It is they who must make the selection of their representative for the U.S. House of Representatives. These people are indeed fortunate in having the able Hyde Murray as one of those from which they can make their selection.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I join my friend and colleague the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. BELCHER) in paying tribute to Hyde Murray, who has contributed so much to the committee on which he served. As a new member of the committee, 2 years ago, I found the advice and counsel of Hyde Murray invaluable to me in my service on the committee and in my service to the agricultural interests of my district.

Probably no other man in Washington or the Nation is more knowledgeable of the maze of agriculture law and the myriad of regulations under which most

farmers operate than Hyde Murray. To say that Members from both sides of the aisle will miss Hyde Murray is putting it mildly. A man like him just cannot be properly appreciated until he is gone.

There is some hope, though, for those like me who relied on him so much for advice and help on anything that had to do with agriculture. He may be back as one of us soon. I sincerely hope so, as I am sure do all other members of the committee and the many other members who had relied on Hyde Murray for answers to their questions and problems, and Hyde Murray devoted much time, effort and talent to other endeavors on the Hill. He earned the respect and praise of his coworkers as well as the Members he served so well. His knowledge and talents were not confined to agriculture.

The committee's loss could be a gain for Congress if we should be fortunate enough to have Hyde Murray return as a Member of Congress.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to mention just how much I have enjoyed my association with Hyde Murray, and how often I have sought the benefit of his counsel in dealing with procedures or substantive provisions of a complex piece of legislation. Hyde's advice has always stood me in good stead.

In the often straining political circumstances that accompany the consideration of any major piece of legislation before the Committee on Agriculture, at times it would have been easy for Hyde to have forgotten that often he was serving as both majority and minority counsel. I have never known him to swerve from his duty, and he always seemed to treat both sides of the aisle fairly at such times.

Those of us on the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains will particularly miss him, for he leaves behind a large gap that will take some filling indeed, before the Committee on Agriculture will again have the same expert advice so readily on hand, and so cheerfully given.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I have viewed the resignation of Hyde Murray as minority council of the House Committee on Agriculture with deep regret. Although I have not served as a member of the committee, I was fortunate to meet Hyde 6 years ago when I first came to the House. The tremendous breadth of his knowledge of agriculture was immediately impressive and through the years I have sought his counsel and his advice often and in depth. I could not accurately estimate the degree of influence this man has exerted through the years on Federal agricultural policy, but it has surely been of major proportions. His knowledge of farm programs and his genuine concern for the best interests of the Nation's farmers have earned him the respect of every member of this chamber regardless of party or political philosophy.

Through the years, I am glad to number Hyde Murray among my friends. He has been one of the members of the corps of experts here without whose dedicated work this House could not function as well as it does. But even in this corps of able professionals, Hyde Murray has an unusual combination of great energy, in-

telligence, and compassion for people. He stands by himself. Mr. Speaker, we will miss this man.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, when the roll is called among House of Representatives staff personnel who have contributed their best to the operation of this body, it must include Hyde Murray. As a ranking staff member of the House Committee on Agriculture, Hyde has been more than effective, efficient, and helpful. I know whereof I speak. Hyde already was well on his way to being a senior staff member of the House Agriculture Committee when I took my place at the foot of the membership roster. It always impressed me—coming as I do from one of the Nation's major agricultural areas, many, many miles removed from this seat of great government—what Hyde knew about my part of the country. Willing, capable, responsible, knowledgeable, he was there when an explanation was needed. It was always supplied. If wishes were money, Hyde Murray would be rich in the wealth of such heaped on him. May the future be as good to him as he has been in the past to us.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 3 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject matter of my special order.

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

There was no objection.

REFERRAL OF H.R. 2194

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Works be discharged from the further consideration of the bill H.R. 2194, and that the bill be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

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

There was no objection.

AMBASSADOR W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, January 19, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman arrived at Andrews Air Force Base, home from the Vietnam talks in Paris. The day before, the difficult procedural phase of the talks had been successfully completed; the way was opened for the second, substantive phase to begin. Thus, one more success was achieved in the extraordinary history of Averell Harriman's service to his country.

It was fitting that Ambassador and Mrs. Harriman were met at Andrews Air Force Base by Vice President Humphrey, Chief Justice Warren, Secretary Rusk, Members of the Congress,

and a host of other friends and admirers from both parties who wanted to show their respect, affection, and appreciation.

Likewise, it seems fitting that we should take time out, here on the floor of the House of Representatives, to pay tribute to one of the most amazing men of our time. In doing so, we are not marking the end of his career, but only the passage of another milestone. For we know that, one way or another, Averell Harriman will go on performing signal service to his country and to the world.

I am not going to attempt even to list the important posts that Governor Harriman has held, in business and in Government, since he became vice president of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1915, more than half a century ago. The bare outlines appear in the terse half-words of Who's Who in America, where 4 years as a great Governor of New York are recorded as "Gov. N.Y. 1955-58." The abbreviation "Gov." in this case is appropriate, because Mr. Harriman is affectionately known as "the Gov." by many friends and former staff members.

Someday a proper biography of Averell Harriman will be written. It will have to be a big fat book and it will amount to a kind of history of more than half of the 20th century.

Here is a man who in 1928 sensed that the economy was in danger and turned away from his Republican heritage to support Al Smith for President. Many is the time I have heard him say to a Republican audience that he found it "much more fun" to be a Democrat. "You ought to try it," he says.

Here is a man who was so trusted by Franklin D. Roosevelt that he was summoned to attend all the major conferences of World War II. One obvious reason was that Harriman had won the respect of Stalin and the affection and admiration of Churchill. In August 1942, for example, Churchill cabled F. D. R. specifically asking that Harriman go with him to Moscow.

Here is a man who, despite the high regard in which he was held by the Russians, was one of the first to recognize the danger of Stalinist communism to the postwar world. James Forrestal, among others, recorded the fact.

Here is a man who was one of the architects of the Marshall plan and played a major role in its phenomenal success.

Here is a man who was so highly thought of by President Truman that he was Truman's choice for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1956. Whether Harriman could have defeated General Eisenhower in that year or in 1952 is problematical, but this much is clear: Averell Harriman would have made a great President. Incidentally, General Eisenhower and Harriman were good friends; the general especially enjoyed playing bridge with him and recognized him as a formidable opponent.

Here is a man who, as Governor of New York during the 1950's, launched programs which were taken up nationally by President Kennedy in the 1960's—programs for senior citizens, for the protection of consumers, for the elimination of poverty: long before the "war on poverty" became a byword, he declared such a war in New York State.

Here is a man who agreed to President Kennedy's request in 1961 that he accept a subordinate post in the State Department, that of Assistant Secretary for the Far East. For Harriman it did not matter that 15 years before he had been a full member of the Cabinet, as Secretary of Commerce. What mattered was that a difficult and important job needed to be done.

Finally, here is a man who was entrusted by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson with a number of historic missions. It was Averell Harriman who successfully concluded the negotiations for the nuclear test ban treaty and signed the treaty for the United States in Moscow. And it was Averell Harriman who was chosen to be the principal negotiator when talks with Hanoi finally began, and an admirable choice it was.

There is so much more that could be said about this man, his active interest in sports, for instance: at one time, he was a leading polo player, at another a champion in a peculiarly difficult form of croquet; late in life he took up skiing and was responsible for the Sun Valley development. At the State Department in the Kennedy years, he became known as the "Crocodile," a nickname suggestive of the danger of making foolish statements in his presence even when he seemed not to be listening. As a result, Harriman is the proud owner of what must be one of the few golden crocodiles ever made, a gift from the Robert Kennedys. The late Senator was one of the Governor's greatest admirers, as well as a warm friend.

Another facet of his personality is his active interest in art. He and his gifted and delightful wife Marie have not only acquired a number of great paintings, some of which became famous only after they acquired them, but they have helped a number of young painters get established.

And the Governor's humor while not always apparent, is very much there.

And finally, the devotion he inspires in the men and women who work for him is remarkable. I ought to know for I was one of them.

I could go on and on, but I want to give my colleagues a chance.

Let me just say this, in conclusion. It is my hope—shared, I feel sure, by many others on both sides of the aisle—that President Nixon will urge—and prevail upon—Averell Harriman to continue as Ambassador at Large. But, whether or not that occurs, we may be sure that Governor Harriman is not about to rest on his laurels, plentiful as they are. He is, as always, *rarin'* to go.

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

Mr. BINGHAM. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ZABLOCKI).

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) in paying tribute today to one of the truly great Americans of the 20th century—Ambassador W. Averell Harriman.

Born to wealth and position, Ambassador Harriman has dedicated his life not

to leisure or private self-interests, but in energetic and selfless service to his country and its people.

Few if any in the history of our Nation can match his record of distinguished service in high public office. Among the positions which he has held were administrator of the National Recovery Administration in 1934-35, Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1943 and to Great Britain in 1946, Secretary of Commerce from 1946 to 1948, Director of the Mutual Security Agency from 1951 to 1953, Governor of the State of New York from 1954 to 1958, and for the past 8 years several high-ranking posts within the Department of State.

More important than the positions he has held, however, are the many accomplishments which have characterized his career. As a skilled negotiator and representative of the United States abroad, Ambassador Harriman has served four of the last five American Presidents. Perhaps his prime achievement was negotiating the test ban treaty with the Soviet Union to prevent the pollution of the atmosphere from radiation. For this singular act of statesmanship, generations yet unborn will have great reason to revere his name.

During my years in Congress it has been my pleasure to work with Ambassador Harriman closely on a number of occasions. The breadth of his experience, the depth of his intelligence and the firmness of his character never failed to be impressive and to provide inspiration in pursuit of the national good.

Just last week it was my privilege as chairman of the National Security Policy and Scientific Developments Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to conduct a hearing on the Paris peace talks at which Ambassador Harriman was chief witness.

As always, his observations were incisive, informative, cogent, and provocative. It is clear that under very trying circumstances Ambassador Harriman worked tirelessly to solve the procedural problems involved in order to move into the substantive discussions of how to end the bloodshed in Vietnam.

Today, as Mr. Harriman prepares to slow down in his active Government service, a well-deserved retirement apparently still not on his agenda, it is fitting that we pay him tribute.

He stands second to none among Americans in distinguished service to our Nation.

He stands second to none among the leaders of the world in his dedicated search for peace and reconciliation.

Our good wishes go with him as he continues into the future, for many more years of vigor and life. We await the instruction of his pen as he undoubtedly will with the assistance of his charming wife Marie begins the work of summing up a lifetime of wisdom and experience in volumes of autobiography. Moreover, we know that if at some future time our Nation should need the help of this vastly talented statesman, he will respond with the same sense of civic duty that has characterized his life. It is indeed a privilege, pleasure, and honor to salute one of our Nation's greatest statesmen.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank

the gentleman from Wisconsin. I am particularly glad to have those comments from the second ranking member of the great Foreign Affairs Committee. I am sure the distinguished chairman of that committee, the Representative from Pennsylvania, would have been here today were it not for the fact that he is in the hospital. We look forward to having his remarks.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MOORHEAD).

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding. I thank the gentleman also for taking this special order to give Members of the House the opportunity to express the regard in which they hold Governor Harriman.

Mr. Speaker, if one were to describe the Founding Fathers of this Nation, one would probably say that they were renaissance men for all seasons.

George Washington's span of public service extended for 39 years; Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and finished his second term as President 33 years later in 1809; James Madison was the chief author of the Constitution in 1787 and concluded his Presidency 30 years later in 1817.

Mr. Speaker, there may be among us those whom history will judge to be renaissance men for all seasons, however, there is one for whom the perspective of history is not necessary before we award such an accolade.

Businessman, diplomat, Cabinet officer, Governor, politician, adviser to Presidents, whose public career has covered more than three decades, W. Averell Harriman is clearly a renaissance man for all seasons in the tradition of the Founding Fathers.

Mr. Speaker, is there a single characteristic or trait that can account—

For the fact that Averell Harriman is the most successful diplomat of our time;

For the fact that Averell Harriman is the most durable public official in Washington today;

For the fact that Marie and Averell Harriman have a host of friends who are diverse in age and background but who are united in their common devotion to the Harrimans.

Governor Harriman once revealed the secret of his success in international affairs, and I think that this revelation gives us the answer to the other questions.

Speaking of international affairs in a taped interview, Governor Harriman said:

But the most important thing, the need that is essential in international affairs, is to understand the other fellow's point of view even if you utterly disagree with him.

The ability to understand the other fellow's point of view enabled Governor Harriman to settle the war in Laos, to negotiate the nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union, and to bring the Vietnam war to the beginning of real peace negotiations in Paris.

Only a man with perception and unflinching loyalty could have worked successfully with such divergent presiden-

tial personalities as Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson.

Only a man with the ability to understand the other fellow's point of view could create friendships so extensive that Hubert H. Humphrey was the principal speaker at his 75th birthday party given by the late Robert F. Kennedy.

And only for people like Marie and Averell Harriman, who understand the other fellow's point of view, would you find hundreds and hundreds of devoted friends waiting eagerly to welcome them back from Paris to take up residence here in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Speaker, 9 days ago the President of the United States in his inaugural address stated that he wanted to be known in history as a peacemaker. Mr. Speaker, the President has not asked me for my advice on how to achieve that objective. However, Mr. Speaker, I am going to give him that advice anyway because it can be summed up in two words. Mr. Speaker, as Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson could testify, those two words are Averell Harriman.

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

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. MATSUNAGA).

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in paying tribute to a distinguished American and a great humanitarian, W. Averell Harriman, who recently completed another tour of duty for his country.

As the chief U.S. negotiator at the Paris peace talks, a most difficult assignment, Ambassador Harriman helped to lay the foundation upon which it is the hope of the world that an edifice of lasting peace will be constructed. Without his dedication and perseverance the Paris peace talks would no doubt have ended in complete failure. Now he leaves a glimmer of hope and optimism. Indeed, his entire life has been devoted to the pursuit of peace with honor, and, while in the service of our country, Ambassador Harriman has dealt justly with all other nations.

As a true statesman, Ambassador Harriman is a shining example to those who aspire through public office to do good for all mankind. The people of Hawaii join with me in this expression of our appreciation to this outstanding American who has on so many occasions answered most willingly the Nation's call to serve. As his personal friend and as a grateful American I bid him a fond aloha, and extend to him best wishes for continuing success in all of his future endeavors. And these wishes go to Mrs. Harriman as well.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to my colleague from New York (Mr. MURPHY).

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) who served as secretary to Governor Harriman at the State capitol in Albany, N.Y., so effectively, so loyally and so well.

History may well record that the man of our time was Averell Harriman. Long-term history may well record that he is the man of all time, because he may have saved this very planet. I make this statement with the knowledge of his most significant accomplishment through his great diplomatic talents.

He brought about the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with other nuclear powers as well as those with nuclear potential or signatories. The treaty may be the first step and the key step in the control of massive nuclear weaponry which has the potential to destroy this planet.

We of the New York delegation have been greatly proud of him and have always had the greatest respect and admiration for our former Governor and Ambassador, as he is so well known. We all join with our colleague from the Bronx in this tribute to him today.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. McCARTHY).

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding.

When President Kennedy said to his fellow Americans, "Ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country," he may well have had in mind W. Averell Harriman. For Ambassador Harriman's career of public service has spanned almost half a century. His name has become synonymous with the important national and international events of our times. And it is symbolic that Ambassador Harriman just led our delegation to the Paris peace talks, the forum that we hope will bring America's longest war to a close.

After completing a highly successful career as a railroad executive, Averell Harriman went to work for President Franklin Roosevelt in the National Recovery Administration. His ability and energy led to assignments as head of the lend-lease mission to London in World War II, Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Ambassador to Great Britain, administrator to the Marshall plan, Secretary of Commerce and a wide variety of special missions.

Although Averell Harriman started life as a self-confessed "hard-shelled Republican," in 1928 he voted for Al Smith and against Hoover. In commenting on his change, he laughingly remarked "I've had a lot more fun out of life since I've been a Democrat." He entered elected politics as the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York in 1954 and was successful. His record in office, for example, in initiating an antipoverty program speaks to his concern for the less privileged in our society. He also brought a sense of vigor to the Governor's mansion in Albany, trim and athletic as he skied down White Face Mountain to open New York State's new ski area.

Ambassador Harriman is best known, however, for his many accomplishments in the field of diplomacy. He has that rare combination of liberalism and idealism, combined with an appreciation of the need for strength, in attempting to reconcile conflicting views. Described sometimes as "flinty" and known affectionately as "the crocodile," Harriman

hammered out agreement where others could only find an impasse.

He knew personally the Russian leaders, Trotsky, Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, and Kossygin. He recognized from the beginning the dangers of international communism but did not allow that knowledge to hinder the search for mutual areas of agreement. He served as Ambassador to Russia during the hectic 1943-46 war years. And he negotiated the difficult Laos truce.

His sense of the possible, combined with a full knowledge of our fundamental objectives, was best demonstrated in the successful negotiation of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who held Ambassador Harriman in the highest regard, said that Averell Harriman was the only member of his brother's administration who encouraged the pursuit of a nuclear test ban treaty when the subject was first raised. President Kennedy placed Averell Harriman in charge of the test ban negotiations and they were brought to a successful conclusion, one of the first steps in the postwar détente with Russia.

Ambassador Harriman's service to his country has been above the personal partisanship that has marked some men's careers. As adviser and confidant of Presidents, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson, his labors have bridged rather than added to any personal differences that existed. As Ambassador-at-Large for President Johnson, W. Averell Harriman constantly worked to find an avenue that would lead to peace in Vietnam. He visited foreign capitals to search for the possible accord. He labored to gain the release of American prisoners of war. Above all, he never abandoned hope that a means to negotiate a peace could be found.

The tribute to his efforts was the initiation of the Paris peace talks in May of last year. Seemingly irreconcilable parties gathered in Paris to discuss negotiations. And finally, after months of protracted and difficult discussions, all those engaged in the struggle in Vietnam were seated at the peace table. This was a fitting point for Ambassador Harriman to return to the United States. He has once again performed an invaluable service for the American people.

W. Averell Harriman is an extraordinary American. In the tradition of John Quincy Adams, Elihu Root, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and William Howard Taft, he has served our Nation ably and faithfully in varied critical posts. His name is already a symbol of public service. The people of New York State owe him a special debt of gratitude for they know him as Governor Harriman. And I know that every American joins me today in paying tribute to this extraordinary man.

Mr. BINGHAM. I thank the gentleman.

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

Mr. BINGHAM. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON).

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, "citizenship" and "public service" would become faded clichés if they were not occasionally brought into new focus by the

moving light of one radiant career. Averell Harriman's service to the Empire State, four Presidents, and generations of Americans provides such light. From his youth in the time of Theodore Roosevelt he has truly lived the "strenuous life," and dedicated over a third of a century of it to his fellow Americans and fellowman. Ease and retirement are concepts which appear to have escaped the notice of Governor Harriman who has welcomed every arduous task assigned by a grateful nation. Such a patient, idealistic and forceful man would need to be sustained by a wife with the same qualities in full measure. Marie Harriman is such a wife. To them both, we say "Thank you" on behalf of the people they have shown us how to serve.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, there is no greater tribute we can pay to a man than to say that he devoted his life to serving his fellows. That is the debt we take note of here today as we pause to recognize a great public servant, W. Averell Harriman, of New York.

Apart from his years as a corporate executive, Averell Harriman has spent his entire life in the service of the American people. His record of public service has spanned more than three decades during which he gave unstintingly of his time and energies.

He guided the affairs of the great State of New York for 4 years, but he made the field of diplomacy his specialty. He filled the roles of Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Ambassador to Great Britain, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Ambassador at Large and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Mr. Harriman will be remembered as a world ambassador who was always ready to embark on even the most arduous mission on behalf of the United States and the American people. A President had only to call upon Mr. Harriman and he was ready to travel—in his early or advanced years.

No mission was too difficult, and so it was that Mr. Harriman was asked to serve as chief American representative at the Vietnam peace talks in Paris.

Now that he has taken leave of his post of chief negotiator at Paris after exhibiting the patience of Job for nearly 10 months, it is only fitting that Members of Congress add their words of praise to the recognition already accorded to a most faithful servant of the people, W. Averell Harriman.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the traditional diplomat is becoming something of an anachronism in contemporary politics. The art of persuasion and compromise reached its peak in the 19th century, when its principle was the balance of power and its goal the concert of Europe. Diplomacy, by and large, was the province of the nobleman. His patrician attitude, aristocratic bearing, and sense of heritage enhanced his native abilities and superior education, enabling him to articulate his Nation's interest with grace and dignity as well as realism. Diplomats were aware that a false assessment of their opponent's objectives could lead to war. Negotiations were privately conducted. Gradually, however, with the aid of mass communication, the

public began to participate in the affairs of state. Woodrow Wilson's principle of "open covenants openly arrived at" helped bring about the subjection of diplomatic activity to public scrutiny. Although the objectives of diplomacy remained, the conduct of diplomatic negotiation altered. Diplomacy is now conducted very largely in a public forum created by a mass communications media. The very nature of contemporary negotiations as a moral crusade or a propaganda exercise tends to inhibit persuasion and compromise. It forces the diplomats to enter the state from an unalterable position. Too often the present aim of the diplomat is to convince the world and especially his nation that he is right and his opponents are wrong. In the trend away from secret bargaining, the skills of the classical diplomat have tended to become lost.

One of the few men who still gallantly represents this tradition is William Averell Harriman.

After attending Groton and Yale Averell Harriman began his career on Wall Street where he served as vice president of the Union Pacific Railroad. After many years as a successful businessman and investment banker, he was recruited into Government service by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's principal aide, Harry Hopkins. His career as international troubleshooter began in 1941 as expeditor in the lend-lease arrangements with Great Britain. As representative at the Court of St. James and the Kremlin throughout World War II, Harriman was at the fulcrum of Big Three diplomacy. As Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary under the Marshall plan, he helped direct the reconstruction of Europe. In 1950, he was appointed special assistant to President Harry Truman. The following year, he represented the United States on the NATO Commission to study Western defense plans. From 1954 to 1958 he was Governor of New York. President John F. Kennedy tapped Harriman in 1961 to join the pioneers of the New Frontier in 1961. From then until 1965 he served successively as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He negotiated the cease-fire which brought peace to Laos in 1962. He contributed greatly to the Test-ban Treaty of 1963. He personally assessed the Sino-Indian border war and the Kashmir dispute for President Kennedy. In 1967, he received the Distinguished Honor Award. Confident of Harriman's abilities, President Lyndon B. Johnson entrusted him with the delicate direction of the Paris peace talks in the spring of 1968. This appointment capped the career of a brilliant diplomat.

The basis of Harriman's success as a statesman lies in his extraordinary familiarity with international affairs and his intuitive understanding of people of all ranks and conditions. His uncanny ability to predict a shift in foreign policy made him a pioneer in the field. Averell Harriman has been called a Kremlinologist. But he is more than that. He has a sense of history. Early in his career when the Soviet Union was a wartime ally, he held the unpopular but accurate view that Soviet-American objectives

were basically incompatible. Even then, however, he believed that we must find a way to live together. His experience with the Soviets has given him an appreciation of the diversity in international communism. Harriman was one of the first to recognize that the Communist camp is not monolithic. His personal acquaintance with Trotsky, Stalin, and Khrushchev convinced him that communism changes with its rulers. Although Harriman recognizes the difference among the international Communist leaders, he has retained a healthy suspicion of Communist motives. The "outward thrust of communism"—to borrow his own phrase—may not emanate from Moscow any longer. But it is still very much a factor in Communist expansion. For this reason, Harriman believes we must be firm in Asia.

We recently witnessed the Harriman approach in the Vietnam negotiations. The negotiations have been frustrated in part because the meeting is a public forum. Averell Harriman has managed to overcome the stalling influence of public opinion. He has succeeded in laying the groundwork for future negotiations. His major contributions are persuading both North and South Vietnam to share the same negotiating table, and reciprocity for the President's bombing halt.

Many younger members of his delegation have marveled at the vitality and enthusiasm of this exceptional man, in his 77th year and at the top of his profession. To the circle of technicians in Vietnamese politics, Averell Harriman has brought a long-range view of communism as well as the professional statesmanship and skill of the superior diplomat.

After more than three decades in the service of four Presidents, William Averell Harriman is retiring. His outstanding service in the field of diplomacy will be greatly missed. There is, though, a consolation to help balance our sense of loss: the realization that his superlative example of dedication will serve as a source of inspiration and hope for the makers of American foreign policy in many decades to come.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, whose impressive list of credits on the roster of public service has been so well and specifically described. Mr. Harriman has had one of the most distinguished careers of any American statesman in our history. As has been noted, he was one of the outstanding coterie of men recruited into public service by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was the scion of a distinguished Republican family when in 1928 he supported Al Smith for the Democratic presidential nomination. But he passed up the ease and comforts of private life and inherited status to devote himself to the service of his country. His intellectual and diplomatic gifts enabled him to make immeasurable contributions over a broad area of public affairs. He held challenging and significant jobs from the early days of his career up to the present time, when at the age of 77 he headed the American delegation to the Paris peace talks. Long a diplomatic troubleshooter, he also served as an ad-

ministrator, in various appointive offices, and in elective office as the Governor of his native great State of New York. Ambassador Harriman is certainly one of the foremost practitioners of international psychology. No man better comprehends the rationale of diplomatic negotiations. No man states his country's position more firmly, yet with the grace that gives no offense. His is the intellect, the experience, the good heart, that brings men together. He stresses the positives and moves purposefully toward achievement of the best possible solution within a given situation. In such high repute is he held, that although he was among the first men in Government to define the aims of the Soviet Union, he has had entrée to all of her leaders and to the leaders of Europe and Asia.

So knowledgeable is Ambassador Harriman that in 1961 President Kennedy designated him as Ambassador-at-Large of the Department of State. He moved from capital to capital, from difficult negotiation to imminent crisis, and during this service negotiated the Geneva Agreement on Laos and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Laos might be at war today were it not for Mr. Harriman's success in working out the agreement and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty may well make humanities' life-and-death difference in the nuclear age.

It is fitting that Ambassador Harriman should have crowned his lifetime's work by building the foundations for the Paris peace talks and ultimately successful negotiations of de-escalation of the war and peace in Vietnam. That he is hopeful that the talks will be productive and that peace in Vietnam lies within the foreseeable future is indeed encouraging.

Upon his return to the United States after months and years of grueling work, I salute Ambassador Harriman. I thank him for his countless services to our country. I hope we will continue to benefit from his prodigious talents and wise counsel.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) for arranging this time to speak in commendation of one of the truly dedicated and great men of our time, the Honorable Averell Harriman.

As long as our country can produce men like Averell Harriman, our future will be as secure as devoted public service can make it. We need more like him. He has had extensive interests in private business and has never needed a "job" in the sense that most of us do in order to earn our living. He has utilized his time to serve our country with great distinction in a number of important posts.

I first remember him as an outstanding Governor of the great State of New York. The National Recovery Administration, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of State, have all benefited from his tireless services. In the field of diplomacy, Averell Harriman has especially earned the praise and commendation of all of us. In his long career in various ambassadorial capacities, this outstanding patriot has made significant contributions to the promotion of world peace and stability. His latest efforts in Paris to end the conflict

in Vietnam have smoothed the way for further negotiations that we hope will meet with eventual success. He has more than earned his right to retirement, but knowing him, I am sure he will remain active in endeavors to foster and promote our national welfare. I am proud to salute this great American and wish to extend to him my best wishes for future health and happiness.

Mr. MCKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, Averell Harriman lives in the 27th district which I have the honor to represent. I have known him and his brother Roland as participants in community affairs over many, many years. I have known Averell Harriman as Governor of the State of New York and as a high official in the Federal Government. He has performed his duties without sparing himself and has always been called upon by his administration to perform in those areas which presented the most difficult problems. In the history of the accomplishments of men, Governor Harriman will rate high with all of those who admire selfless devotion to their cause.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in this Chamber where so many great men have walked, in this city where so many great men have come to serve their country, in this Nation built on the shoulders of the great men of other times, from amid all of this there are still those who stand above other men. There are certain men who embody the greatest qualities of public service, dedication to the good of all men, and lasting devotion to the ideals for which this Nation stands.

One such man is W. Averell Harriman. Ambassador Harriman, who most recently served with such distinction in Paris, is now out of public life. His retirement may well be brief, for his countrymen have turned to him time and again.

But at this watershed it is appropriate that we pause briefly to pay our respects to Ambassador Harriman.

I have been privileged to know him for many years. I am honored that he has a home in my congressional district. I regard my association with Ambassador Harriman as one of the high points of my career.

That association, which goes back far before my election to the House, has enabled me to watch this exceptional man at work as Governor of New York and as a statesman. During this time he sought the opportunity to perform in public service and Ambassador Harriman fulfilled his public trust at all times with a remarkable combination of idealism and hardheaded practicality.

It is no secret that Ambassador Harriman could have lived a life of ease. But he has a real concern for the human plight and the ability to work with all peoples in all places. These qualities transcend the normal desires of man and the fact Averell Harriman possesses them inevitably drew him into public service.

International relations became his special interest and he was always a credit to our Government, whether as an Ambassador to another nation or as our representative at international meetings and negotiations.

I certainly do not regard the Ambassador's career as closed. His knowledge

and expertise will be called upon again and again and he will undoubtedly respond as he has in the past.

But this is a moment for reflection and I hope every American will join in reflecting on the greatness of W. Averell Harriman. The American people should chorus a unified and lasting "thank you" to a man that has done so much for so many.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I truly appreciate this opportunity to pay tribute to a very great American, the Honorable W. Averell Harriman. Governor Harriman, whom I have been honored to count as a friend for some years, is a highly dedicated, selfless man who has given most of his life to public service, and has just completed one more critical task in a long series of valuable contributions to the public good.

There are few men in American public life who have demonstrated over the years the unflinching devotion to duty and willingness to accept responsibility that has been the hallmark of Averell Harriman. His activity in public affairs goes back to 1933 when he became a member of the Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce. Since that time he has served with great distinction as U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, in addition to serving as ambassador at large on a number of important assignments for his country.

As chief U.S. negotiator at the Vietnam peace talks in Paris, Governor Harriman devoted himself to an undertaking that required all of his enormous abilities and extraordinary experience. His wisdom, patience, and sense of history served the Nation well in this most challenging position. He discharged his responsibilities in Paris with great honor and characteristic dignity. He deserves great personal credit for the fact that negotiations are now underway, or to put it in his own words, "the negotiating procedures were put on the rails and the new administration will have the responsibility for the substantive discussions."

He has been an advocate of the United Nations and its importance in our world for many years. In 1946 he warned our country that the "chief hope of the world is collective security through the U.N." He was early to recognize the threat of Communist expansionism yet early to understand that we must learn to live with those powers who have a different ideology than our own.

Governor Harriman is one American about whom enough good cannot be said. His biography is long and thoroughly impressive. But the thing I find most important about this man is his deep human concern for peace and understanding that is so very important for the serious times in which we live.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that history will think highly of Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman. Let us not leave to history, however, the credit for acknowledging what we, his contemporaries, must surely recognize as a fact: W. Averell Harriman is one of the finest Americans of our time.

I need not recount the long and distinguished record compiled by Averell

Harriman during over three decades of public service. Secretary of Commerce, Governor of New York, and Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.—these are but a few of the many positions of public trust that Averell Harriman has filled with ability and integrity. His accomplishments in any one of these posts would have earned him the lifelong respect and affection of his fellow citizens.

He will be most often remembered, I am certain, for his persistent struggle to bring peace to our troubled Nation and to the world. The courage and patience with which he has pursued our goal of peace through negotiation have lent stature and credibility to the international position of the United States. His tact and determination have reflected admirably upon both the American Government and the American people.

When peace is finally achieved, and I pray God it will be soon, let us not fail to honor one of the men who transformed what had previously been an illusion into a serious possibility.

America's debt to W. Averell Harriman has not gone unnoticed. Our remarks today are but a small attempt to express the feelings of American citizens throughout the Nation. W. Averell Harriman is a patriot, in the highest and noblest sense of the word.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, it does no injustice to Averell Harriman to say that I have been an admirer of his since I was a boy. Mr. Harriman, more than any American I know, has merited the title "elder statesman." He has served this country, literally, since as long as I can remember and, Mr. Speaker, he has proven for decade after decade that he is a person of excellent character, magnificent ability, and superb judgment.

I suppose I came to know Mr. Harriman best when he served as Governor of New York. He was not practiced in the political arts, as we commonly know them. He did not enjoy mass public appearances or speaking before great crowds. But that is not to say he was less than a first-rate Governor. Averell Harriman surpassed the great traditions of progressive government in New York. His administration was not only efficient but compassionate. It was, in my view, a misfortune that the electorate did not reward him with another term in office, for I feel that his capacity entitled him to the highest elective office in the land. But he left behind him in New York, as he has wherever else he has gone, countless monuments to his statesmanship and ability.

I need not review the entire career of Averell Harriman, Mr. Speaker. When he served as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, he cemented excellent relations with our wartime allies, without his ever once being deluded about the real nature of the Stalinist dictatorship or the troubles it presaged for us after the war. Later, he served as Ambassador to Great Britain, where he assisted appreciably in post-war reconstruction. Then he became Secretary of Commerce, before going overseas for another succession of important foreign assignments.

During the Kennedy administration, some said that Averell Harriman was too old to hold a major policy post. So, without resentment, he took a series of lesser

posts, only to demonstrate to the world that he was young, alert, vital as any man in the foreign policy establishment. It is my personal view, Mr. Speaker, that Averell Harriman would have made a wonderful Secretary of State for the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. If his youth had been recognized from the beginning, I suspect he would indeed have received such an appointment and, perhaps, many of our current international problems would not today exist to trouble us.

In a lifetime of triumphs, it is perhaps excessive to say that a single one stands out. But in the case of Ambassador Harriman, one might say that his greatest fight was the one he waged for peace in Vietnam inside the Johnson administration. I say this because no fight is more important than the one for peace, and Averell Harriman knew that. Day after day, despite every sort of adversity, he remained the remorseless advocate of ending the war in Vietnam. It took too many years for him to be redeemed, Mr. Speaker, but redeemed he was. I only regret that the current administration's term of office came to an end before he could consummate the peace over the negotiating tables in Paris.

Mr. Speaker, I salute Ambassador W. Averell Harriman as a great American. I do not make this statement today as a vaudeville, because Mr. Harriman's career is by no means over. He has many more services to bring to our country, services which I am sure he will not deprive to it. Let us say this is simply a milestone in Mr. Harriman's long career, Mr. Speaker, and I join my colleagues in saying, "Thank you."

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying high tribute to a cherished friend, a truly great and remarkable American, Averell Harriman. No other American has had the breadth and scope of public service that he has had.

Success has been the way of life of Averell Harriman since his youth. According to an observer, "All his life he has been driven by a passion to excel in those endeavors which excited his interest." At Yale he excelled in bridge and as a member of the crew and as coach of the crew while still a student; he became the Nation's fourth ranking polo player; he achieved outstanding success as director and chairman of the board of a great American railroad while still a young man, and subsequently in many areas of finance.

Averell Harriman first came into public life as a member of the Palisades Commission of New York. In 1928 he abandoned his family's attachment to the Republican Party and supported Al Smith. It is reported that Harry Hopkins persuaded Averell Harriman to come into the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He began his eminent career in the service of his country by becoming in 1933 a member and later chairman of the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce. He then moved to the post of Administrator of the National Recovery Administration and thereafter to the position of Chief of the Materials Branch of the Office of Production Management.

President Roosevelt, recognizing his

exceptional ability and capacity to get things done and to get on with people, appointed him the President's special representative to Great Britain with the rank of Minister. The President then moved his able and faithful representative to the Soviet Union with rank of Ambassador. This in the year 1941. The demands of the war and the President's confidence in his competence led President Roosevelt to make Mr. Harriman a member of the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board and the combined Production and Resources Board in London in 1942. From 1943 to 1946 Mr. Harriman held the difficult post of Ambassador to the Soviet Union where he commanded the respect of Stalin and the leaders of the Kremlin by his candor, even blunt honesty, and his objective fairness as well as by his ever calm and gracious manner.

I had the privilege of visiting Moscow in 1945 when Mr. Harriman was our distinguished Ambassador, at the same time one of my distinguished colleagues, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. COLMER), and committee were there, and we saw firsthand the esteem in which Ambassador Harriman was held by Stalin and the top leaders of the Soviet Union in spite of their clear understanding of his total lack of sympathy for their form of government and his expressed belief that Soviet policies were leading to a stern conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. I can never forget Mr. Harriman's gracious hospitality to me while I was a guest at his Embassy in Moscow.

In the period between the days prior to the war and Mr. Harriman's going to the Court of St. James as American Ambassador, he was the trusted representative of President Roosevelt in numerous contacts with our allied and associated powers in respect to the multiplicitous problems incident to the beginning and prosecution of the war and he shuttled constantly from capital to capital in Europe, and between Europe and the United States as one of the nation's most trusted and esteemed representatives. During the war he was at President Roosevelt's side in all but the Quebec Conference which the President had with leaders of our allied and associated powers. In these councils his voice was ever the voice of knowledge based on broad experience, keen sense of understanding of not only the actions but of the motives of those with whom he dealt and with whom our country was engaged. He was one of the first of our leaders to foresee and to warn his government and country against the postwar policies of the Soviet Union which gave rise to the cold war and have produced the tension which we have experienced from time to time with the Soviet Union. He revealed in all of these crucial conferences the wisdom which has earned for him the accolade of one of the Nation's wisest counselors.

President Truman brought Ambassador Harriman back to Washington as Secretary of Commerce from 1946 to 1948. The problems of Europe which were our concern led President Truman to designate Averell Harriman as U.S. Representative in Europe under the Economic Cooperation Act with the rank

of Ambassador from 1948 to 1950 and President Truman also designated him as his special assistant through 1950 to 1951. Relying upon his extraordinary experience and sound judgment and his unparalleled contacts with Soviet and Western leaders, President Truman designated Ambassador Harriman as American representative on the NATO Commission to study American defense plans in 1951. He rounded out his magnificent service under the Truman administration as Director of the Mutual Security Agency in the years 1951 to 1953.

Then Averell Harriman achieved a lifelong ambition—to hold distinguished elective office and achieved the Democratic nomination for and election to Governor of New York State, which he held from 1954 to 1958. He sustained his only major failure in life and perhaps one of his keenest disappointments by twice failing to secure the nomination of his party for President.

President Kennedy recognizing the Nation's need for Averell Harriman's distinguished ability designated him as Ambassador-at-large of the Department of State in 1961. Thereafter he moved to the State Department as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and became Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and again Ambassador at large in 1965. During this service in the State Department, Averell Harriman achieved two of his greatest distinctions up to that time—negotiating the Geneva Agreement on Laos and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The Laos agreement probably prevented war in Laos and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty may have saved the human race from nuclear devastation.

President Johnson has depended particularly upon Mr. Harriman as one of his most trusted advisers and dependable representatives in wrestling with the many problems which challenged the concern of our country in all parts of the world. He has served his President and his country when wide-scale conflict threatened between China and India and between India and Pakistan and in smoothing the ruffled feelings and the concerns of Latin American leaders when President Johnson sent military force into the Dominican Republic. His effective presentation of the facts of the nature of the threat which President Johnson's action allayed, all presented with his characteristic low-key persuasiveness, diminished, if it did not eliminate, the concern of the Latin American countries over this action by our country.

For some 2 or 3 years now Ambassador Harriman has been laying the predicate for what has now culminated as the peace talks in Paris, which give us hope of an honorable conclusion to the war in Vietnam. Due to the respect which friend and foe alike have for Ambassador Harriman, he was able through his visits to the Soviet Union, to Yugoslavia, to Rumania and to capitals of Western Europe, to explain the peaceful purposes of our country and to explore possible bases of understanding and agreement which at least have brought the warring parties to the council table in Paris. Through 8 months of the most tedious, tiresome and, to a person of lesser emotional sta-

bility and understanding, terrible frustration, discussions about peace in Vietnam have been carried on in Paris under the superb direction of Ambassador Harriman. Finally his efforts have matured into a conference between the North Vietnamese and Vietcong on the one hand and the South Vietnamese and United States on the other, which holds the hope at least that this tragic struggle may come to a fair end.

Thus, at 77 years of age, Averell Harriman has achieved his crowning glory in the service of his country and in the cause of peace. What a satisfaction it must be to him, as it is to his fellow countrymen and his admiring friends all over the world, to look back along the long path which he has so nobly trod in service to his fellowman. He could have spent a life of indulgent luxury—he has chosen to spend his long life to date in service to his fellow countrymen in helping all men to walk on higher ground.

Averell Harriman truly all his life has been able to walk with kings but has never lost the common touch. He is a living symbol of America and what America means and the inspiring embodiment of the American dream. At 77 Averell Harriman is still strong of body, virile of mind, alert to the concern and problems of his country and the world and supremely dedicated to a better world at peace. He is still destined to render to his country and to mankind many more years of meaningful service. Fortunate is the country which has at its command his wise counsel and his incomparable experience. Honored is the country who has so noble a son and servant. With immeasurable pride we call him our own and with all our hearts we say to him and to his lovely and gracious wife, who has so much aided him in all of his efforts, all honor and gratitude to you and God's richest blessings upon you.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honor to pay tribute to one of the finest statesmen of the 20th century, Gov. Averell Harriman. He has served his country with honor both at home and abroad for three and a half decades, displaying a deep sense of integrity, devotion to duty, and a rare combination of insight and intelligence.

He may surely be called one of the great shapers of American destiny in the 20th century, valiantly meeting the call of five presidents and a great nation, that recognized and utilized this man's vast array of talents. He brought to his post as chief negotiator in the Paris peace talks a wide variety of experience. An astute businessman, he utilized these abilities with great success as Administrator with NRA during the depression, enabling the country to pull itself out of a dire crisis period. Again, his business and administrative sense was displayed during the war years when he was appointed special representative of the President in Great Britain and served as a member of the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, and the Lend Lease Munitions Assignment Board.

For the past 20 years he has held a variety of posts as Governor of New York, Ambassador to Russia, Great

Britain, and finally, Ambassador-at-Large. His fine efforts at the Paris peace talks have laid the groundwork of what hopefully will lead to a just and lasting peace. With a deep sense of gratitude, I proudly hail this magnificent American who has contributed much to the dignity and honor of the American people.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join in saluting Ambassador W. Averell Harriman for three decades of skillful and dedicated service to this Nation and the world. Since the earliest days of the New Deal, Mr. Harriman has been a wise adviser in the highest councils of this country and the world.

Surely, one phase in his career which will be long remembered in his contribution to the success of the European recovery program. In 1949, I had the honor of serving as deputy general counsel for the Marshall plan with Ambassador Harriman, then U.S. representative in Europe. The vigorous leadership of Averell Harriman in this post, and subsequently as administrator of the mutual security program, helped to insure the fulfillment of a key purpose of the Marshall plan—the initiation of cooperation among several nations in the planning and execution of programs to solve one common problem. Only the most skillful of negotiators and administrators could have led this joint effort by the United States and the nations of Western Europe to achieve rapid European recovery from World War II. So successful was the Marshall plan that it inspired a whole decade of international cooperative efforts, many of which still survive to the benefit of Europe and the world.

It is fitting that most recently, Ambassador Harriman has been called upon to devote his efforts to the search for peace in Vietnam. No man has worked so long and so hard in numerous forums over the last three decades for world peace. No conflict has been more agonizing for this Nation than the war in Vietnam. Averell Harriman, with persistence and patience, has sought to lay the foundations for an end to the impasse in which we have found ourselves.

The negotiations in Paris are now underway. He surely will be called upon to contribute to their successful conclusion. As at other times during Harriman's career, it is impossible to speak of this man's service to his country coming to a close, or to conceive of a time when his talents will not be needed.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, W. Averell Harriman is one of the Americans I respect the most in public life. His entire career as a public servant, both appointed and elected, has been one of dedicated distinction.

My first personal contact with Mr. Harriman was during the presidential campaign of 1952. At that time he was Director of the Mutual Security Administration, one of numerous high posts he has held in State and Federal Governments almost uninterruptedly since the early 1930's. Mr. Harriman came to Minneapolis in 1952 to debate foreign policy at a meeting sponsored by the city's Foreign Policy Association, of which I was then chairman.

The impressions I formed of Mr. Harriman early in my political career have been reinforced over the years, and particularly during my time in Congress. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have been fortunate to hear Mr. Harriman testify on several occasions, and it has been my privilege to have occasional dealings with him outside the House.

One of Mr. Harriman's most impressive qualities is his capacity to understand, to appreciate differing viewpoints, to comprehend fully the attitudes and outlooks of others, whether Americans or persons of other nations, whether friendly or hostile. Mr. Harriman's mind has always been free of dogma and doctrine. As a result of his experience as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, for example, he was one of the first Americans to recognize the Russian hard line for what it really was after World War II. Consistent with this capacity to perceive reality, he has not become bound up in the rigid cold war ideology that has obscured the vision of some others.

Mr. Harriman has served loyally in a wide variety of jobs under four Presidents. His differences of opinion have never interfered with his loyalty. Throughout his career he has earned a reputation as a vigorous, straightforward advocate of his views. His performance over nearly four decades has been marked by sensitivity to the needs of his nation. Personally, Averell Harriman is a softspoken and unassuming man. More than nearly anyone else I can think of, he conceives of public service as a high and demanding calling.

Whatever Mr. Harriman undertakes in the future, Mr. Speaker, our Nation is greatly in his debt for his impressive contribution to the welfare and safety of the United States over these many years.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished American and outstanding diplomat has just returned to the United States from a very important mission, and it is with a sense of great pride that I join with my House colleagues in paying tribute to this extraordinary man, the Honorable W. Averell Harriman.

Mr. Harriman's service to his country over the past 40 years has been remarkable in every respect, and he is deserving of the gratitude of every American.

His experience in the diplomatic world made him ideally suited for the task from which he has just returned. He has held several ambassadorial posts and has served as the U.S. representative at various meetings with foreign countries. However, I believe the most difficult assignment he has ever had has been in Paris these past few months.

Averell Harriman has represented the United States well at these talks, and through his participation at these meetings, the United States has been able to make significant progress toward peace in Southeast Asia.

It is fitting that the Congress of the United States recognize the numerous contributions Governor Harriman has made in the service of our country. Men of his outstanding ability and devotion to his fellow men are rare.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleague the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) in expressing appreciation to a man who has devoted the greater part of his life in service to the United States, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman.

In paying tribute to Ambassador Harriman, we give recognition to a record of dedication and achievement that has contributed greatly to the cause of peace and international understanding over several generations.

It is with warm gratitude and admiration that he will be remembered by his fellow Americans who have benefited so positively from his lifetime of service to the Nation.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to join in paying tribute to W. Averell Harriman, one of the most amazing Americans of our times. He has just completed another in the long series of top governmental assignments he has held almost continuously for 35 years.

As this Nation's chief negotiator at the Paris peace talks, Mr. Harriman has supervised the most important and delicate negotiations in recent history.

During his long and colorful career, Mr. Harriman has held a variety of titles and responsibilities that is truly staggering, ranging from head of the Union Pacific Railroad to Governor, Cabinet member, Ambassador, special envoy, and Presidential agent.

He has served under four Presidents, and he has negotiated with such international figures as Churchill, Stalin, Mossadegh and Tshombe. He has dealt with crises in Iran, Laos, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo. He has visited virtually every nation in the world.

At the age of 77, Mr. Harriman has certainly earned the right to retirement. But with his vigor and knowledge, it seems unlikely that he will take advantage of it.

When the history of the second third of this century is written, researchers of the future are going to be amazed at the number of times the name of W. Averell Harriman will appear. He has helped to make history in his day, and the Nation and the world should be grateful for the devoted services of this very wise and great man.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, W. Averell Harriman is one of the remarkable, great men of the century. His service to his country and mankind inspires each of us to renewed dedication to our duties.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, that grand old man of diplomacy, W. Averell Harriman, is going on home leave for awhile. It is hard to believe, for so long now we have grown accustomed to his face in the highest councils of the Nation and world. His has been a matchless record of public service, spanning three decades and devoted toward furthering the cause of peace throughout the world.

We salute today this indefatigable man who has contributed without stint his time and talents toward the betterment of his State, his country, and the world. But we do so with the realization that this is no swan song for W. Averell

Harriman. His wide experience and his deep understanding will always be needed in this chaotic world. There is little doubt that his gray fedora will be seen soon again in the world's halls of diplomacy.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, few would dare tell a senior Member of Congress, "Senator, you don't know what you're talking about; I do," and walk away unscathed. Averell Harriman has such confidence. It comes, indeed, from his having experienced so much, from knowing so much—the result of the blending of a patrician background with a relentless curiosity and an opened mind. Educated at Groton and Yale, Averell Harriman still astounds his colleagues at the Paris peace talks with his vigor and seemingly inexhaustible dedication to public service. He is known for waking staff members at 8 in the morning and, with the newspapers already read, conferring with men half his 77 years. Americans sent to Paris as technicians in Vietnamese politics have credited Harriman with major objectives of the negotiations. He has brought the South Vietnamese to the discussions and has obtained reciprocity for the U.S. bombing halt of North Vietnam. Art Buchwald has signaled his success in Paris by labeling him "knight of the round table." Retiring at the peak of a long career, Harriman now returns to private life.

But so often has he announced his intention to retire from public service that many find it hard to believe that Averell Harriman will no longer participate in American public life. This "last of the tall timbers of the New Deal" has long been a familiar presence in higher domestic and foreign councils. During the 36 years since then he has served in more positions than any American since President John Quincy Adams. A landed aristocrat and former railroad executive from a conservative Republican background, he recognized the extraordinary demands of the depression and applied his administrative talents to the national recovery program. His service in international affairs began in 1941 when he was appointed Minister to the Court of St. James. In 1943 he represented American interests in Moscow. His relationship with Franklin Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin brought Harriman to the fore of wartime diplomacy. During the late forties Harriman helped direct the European recovery program. His role in the organization of NATO in 1951 gave him direct experience on the stage of the cold war. No other diplomat has dealt directly with Trotsky, Stalin, and Khrushchev in gradually changing East-West relations. Harriman served as Governor of his own State of New York from 1954 to 1958. In 1961, he joined the Kennedy administration as its senior New Frontiersman. Mankind is grateful for his role in securing the Test Ban Treaty of 1963. President Kennedy sent Harriman to India in 1964 on a special mission to assess the Sino-Indian border dispute. In the spring of 1968, President Johnson wisely tapped Harriman to handle the delicate negotiations over Vietnam.

The issues involved in the Southeast Asian conflict call for a man of Harri-

man's special abilities. Familiarity with world leaders has given Harriman an instinct for dealing with men of power. Because of his experience in negotiation, Harriman has an extraordinary appreciation of differences of approach among figures of the Communist camp. Although he is suspicious of what he calls the outward thrust of communism, his habit is to negotiate from an awareness of the opposition's point of view. Harriman's diplomatic achievements in Paris in spite of the strains which frustrate progress are a tribute to his career. He leaves diplomatic service in particularly trying times. The achievements, the character, and the humanitarian love of peace of Averell Harriman will serve as a model to all men of all nations in their quest for lasting peace.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with our colleagues in paying tribute today to a great American statesman, the Honorable W. Averell Harriman.

This month not only marks the completion of Governor Harriman's mission to Paris, but also 25 years of dedicated, energetic, and effective service to his country, the State of New York, and the Democratic Party. After pursuing a highly successful career in private industry, it was in January 1934 that the Governor became an administrator in the NRA during the New Deal. Since that time, he has served with distinction in any number of vital positions—as Ambassador to Russia and the Court of St. James, as Secretary of Commerce, and Assistant and Under Secretary of State, as a key figure in the Marshall plan and head of the U.S. foreign assistance program, as an outstanding Governor of New York and, more recently, as Ambassador at Large and chief U.S. negotiator in Paris.

During his distinguished career, Ambassador Harriman has truly proved to be a man for all seasons—he has met anger with temper, frustration with patience, dissent with compassion, and injustice with action. His quarter century of tireless and devoted service stands as an example for us all and it is fitting that we honor him today.

Mr. CORMAN. I am privileged to join my colleagues in a tribute to Ambassador Harriman, although I can only reemphasize the many praises that have so deservedly been heaped upon him.

If one man's worth to his country can properly be assessed, W. Averell Harriman will most assuredly stand out among this Nation's greatest public servants. During his remarkable career he has served his country as Ambassador, Governor, diplomat, statesman, negotiator, and trouble-shooter under four administrations. No man in modern times has given of himself as energetically, as devotedly, as brilliantly, and as steadfastly as has this distinguished American. For four decades his name has been synonymous with public service of the highest order.

An exceptional public career that began under Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1930's carried him to assignments all over the world. For more than a quarter of a troubled century he has dealt with every prominent leader on the face of

the globe. At the Atlantic Charter meeting, at Teheran, Cairo, at Yalta, and at Potsdam, he lent his extraordinary talents to the negotiations leading to peace and reconstruction in a world that knew the ravages of the most destructive and devastating war in mankind's history.

In 1963, he successfully carried President Kennedy's word on the Test-Ban Treaty to all nations, reminding them of the dire realities and responsibilities of the atomic age.

He crowned his 40 years of service to America by becoming President Johnson's personal representative to the peace talks in Paris in an effort to negotiate the end of the Vietnam conflict.

With each assignment, Ambassador Harriman has helped to write a page in the history of his country's constant search for peace.

Ambassador Harriman has honored his country by his service to it. He has honored the Presidents who have asked him to serve. He has the everlasting thanks of a grateful nation.

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, welcome home, Mr. Harriman. We are proudly assembled here today, not to shout your "Last Hurrah," but to say "Thank You, Mr. Harriman." The entire country is in your debt for the years of service you have willingly given, and for the immeasurable contribution you have made to the cause of peace. You have, in fact, become America's symbol of peace.

As former Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently observed:

We don't have a House of Lords, Privy Council or Order of the Garter. All we do is ask a good man to serve again and again as Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson did.

You are that good man, Mr. Harriman. I would remind my colleagues here today that you have held more different Government positions than any American since President John Quincy Adams.

Let the world know again that since you were recruited into Government service by Harry Hopkins in 1933, you have served as a high official in President Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration, lend-lease expeditor in Britain early in World War II, Ambassador to the Soviet Union in the Stalin period, Marshall plan representative in Europe, Director of the Mutual Security Administration, Governor of New York, and twice a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, before becoming the Ambassador-at-Large for the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

And, despite your 36 years of indefatigable service to this country, there is a bounce to your step and a verve to your manner that we younger and lesser men envy.

We marvel, sir, at your stamina and your enthusiasm.

We are acutely aware that we are paying tribute to a man who has honored each of us, individually, as he has honored his country—a man who is truly a great American.

Welcome home, Mr. Harriman. And thank you.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am certainly pleased today to join my distinguished colleague from New York, the

HONORABLE JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, who has requested this special order so that we may pay tribute to a great American, an invaluable public servant, and an outstanding diplomat—William Averell Harriman.

The first step in his long Government career came in 1933. While serving as chairman of the board for Union Pacific Railroad, he was recruited to Government service by Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins. Since that time he has distinguished himself admirably in the service of four Presidents. Because his governmental and diplomatic experience spans the entire cold war period, he has become invaluable.

His role in cold war politics began with a high position in the National Recovery Administration, and with service as expediter in the lend-lease arrangements with Great Britain early in World War II. He soon became Minister and later Ambassador to both Great Britain and the Soviet Union. During the late forties, he accompanied President Roosevelt to Yalta and Teheran, and Truman to Potsdam. Consequently, Mr. Harriman is the only living person to have negotiated with Churchill, Stalin, Macmillan, and Khrushchev.

From 1950 to 1951 he served as Special Assistant to the President, a position he assumed after a short term as Secretary of Commerce from 1946 to 1948. Harriman's concern with peace and the post-war development of Europe account for his participation in early efforts to organize the United Nations, and for his position of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary as U.S. representative in Europe under the Economic Cooperative Act. In short, Ambassador Harriman took part in those stratagems and negotiations between 1941 and 1952 which planted the seeds of those problems he would be called upon later to help solve.

When the political climate in Washington changed, Harriman's political role shifted from international to national and then to State. From 1951 to 1953, he served as Director of the Mutual Security Agency, and in 1953 he was elected to a 4-year term as Governor of New York.

By 1960, Averell Harriman had carved himself a permanent niche in American political life. His experience and abilities did not escape the attention of President John F. Kennedy. Consequently, Harriman became the oldest New Frontiersman under Kennedy's administration. In that capacity, he conducted the delicate Geneva negotiations of 1961 which led to a cease-fire in Laos.

Known for his willingness to respond to Presidential requests on short notice, he made on-the-spot investigations during the Sino-Indian border war and the Kashmir dispute. In 1963, he headed the successful Test Ban Treaty negotiations with the U.S.S.R. He performed these tasks while serving from 1961 to 1963 as Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, and as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in 1963. In 1967, Harriman received the distinguished honor award.

Mr. Harriman's first experience with Soviet communism was in 1926 when, as a young banker, he met Trotsky in efforts to negotiate an investment arrangement. His next experience was during the

war with Stalin, and later with Khrushchev. During those years he formulated a view of Soviet communism which served him well in his future role as negotiator: he never believed communism to be monolithic, but to be flexible and subject to change with change in leadership. As early as 1945 he foresaw the West would have extreme difficulties with the Soviet Union at a time when such views were not popular.

Basic to his philosophy is the concept that the United States must extend her hand in friendship while simultaneously keeping her guard up. This commitment to friendship logically produces a personal commitment to helping the underdeveloped world.

Experience alone does not account for the sparkling career of this Ambassador at Large. Ambassador Harriman's diffident, patrician manner, his forthrightness and sense of timing, his broad-gauged approach and earnest desire to understand his opponents' position, and his toughness have earned him the distinction of superdiplomat.

This distinction coupled with his broad experience and long-range understanding of communism made him the ideal man to head former President Johnson's Vietnam negotiating team in the spring of 1968. His broad purview complemented to good advantage the circle of Vietnam specialists whose primary understanding was the intricacies of Vietnamese politics. In Paris he was confronted with two basic aims: first, to work for reciprocity for a bombing halt in terms of the cities and the DMZ; and second, to persuade both North and South Vietnam to meet at the same negotiating table. In these tasks he was successful. He is responsible for laying the firm groundwork for the future course of the negotiations.

At the age of 77, Mr. Harriman is retiring from a career whose range extends over three decades. His enthusiasm, forthrightness, and independence have won him great admiration from both colleagues and adversaries. His retirement from public service coincides with the end of an era, an era in which peace was sought but never fully achieved. Let us hope that future generations will profit from the guarantees against war which he sought to provide. Let us offer tribute, thanks, and best wishes for the future to an invaluable public servant and distinguished "cold war diplomat."

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an international statesman, a diplomat of the first order and a fine gentleman, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman. I have had the rare privilege and honor of knowing the distinguished Ambassador at Large for a number of years. Ambassador Harriman visited our State many times, and I had the opportunity to introduce him and share many platforms with him during his travels in California.

Ambassador Harriman's remarkable career is one of outstanding service to our country and indeed to the world community. In 1943 he was appointed Ambassador to the Soviet Union by President Roosevelt and in 1946, Ambassador to Great Britain by President Truman. He also served as Secretary of Com-

merce in the Truman administration. In 1950 he was named U.S. special representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He was then elected Governor of the State of New York and afterward named Ambassador at Large by President Kennedy. In addition, he served as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in the Kennedy administration. In 1965, he was again appointed Ambassador at Large by President Johnson and was later named as special U.S. representative to the Paris peace negotiations, a post which he has held the last 8 months.

After serving four Presidents and spending much of his time abroad, he is now retiring after a career in Government service spanning a quarter of a century. I wish him well in his much-deserved freedom from the great burdens he has carried so well. I hope he spends his time speaking and writing of the fascinating account of his experiences as our Nation's most distinguished and honored Ambassador.

Mr. RODINO, Mr. Speaker, it is a singular honor and pleasure to have this opportunity to rise in tribute to W. Averell Harriman. More than any man in our Nation's modern history he has given of himself and his incredible talents and experience to public service. Our late President Kennedy said, in fact, that except for John Quincy Adams, Averell Harriman has held "as many important jobs as any American in our history."

Born to great wealth and responsibilities in private enterprise, Averell Harriman nevertheless recognized early the vital role of government in solving the critical problems confronting the Nation. He first began his public service in the domestic area, as a member of President Roosevelt's Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce, which he subsequently headed. He also served as Administrator of the National Recovery Administration. To these tasks, and later as Secretary of Commerce for President Truman, he brought his tremendous knowledge, expertise, and ability to help resolve the problems plaguing the country during the depression and the wartime aftermath on the domestic front.

Much later on, from 1954 to 1958, he undertook responsibility on the domestic scene of quite another nature—as an elected official, the Governor of New York State. And in this role he showed again his vast initiative and creativity, his sensitivity to the needs of the disadvantaged. For long before we moved on the Federal level he started in New York an anti-poverty program, an old-age program particularly geared to the care of mental cases, and a juvenile delinquency program.

He continues this rare dedication to all our citizens today, for as one familiar with his recent career has said, he has a "far more restless and insistent social conscience than most of the dedicated young men on the New Frontier."

I believe, however, that most of us think of Averell Harriman's most significant achievements in the diplomatic and international area. In such capacities he has served four Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F.

Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson—in a range and variety of assignments that is unparalleled.

During the early years of World War II, before the United States entered the conflict, he served with distinction in the Office of Production Management and later in Great Britain as the President's special representative to handle the complex problems of the combining shipping, resources, and lend-lease programs under which the United States was seeking to aid embattled England.

He then became our wartime Ambassador to Moscow and a close consultant to President Roosevelt during the Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam Conferences. From that time on, he has spent more time in direct consultation with Stalin, Khrushchev, and other leaders of Communist Russia than any other American official. Later he served as Ambassador to Great Britain for President Truman and as his Director of the Mutual Security Administration; and under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson he was entrusted with vital diplomatic assignments as Ambassador at Large, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

Throughout his long and unique career he has never hesitated to undertake any assignment asked of him. When entering the Kennedy administration as a roving ambassador, he was under no illusions that he was in the inner circle. He stated at that time:

I started as a private with Roosevelt and worked to the top. And then I had to start as a private all over again with Truman and work to the top. That is what I intend to do again.

And he did. By the summer of 1961 Harriman was in charge of the Geneva negotiations that led to a cease-fire in Laos and in the fall became Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. A year later he headed the mission to India and Pakistan that started a barrier against Chinese penetration of the subcontinent and then became Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Later he carried on the vital discussions which brought about the historic test ban agreement with Russia. And we all know well the remarkable dedication, stamina and brilliance he has brought, as in all undertakings, to the recent complex and difficult meetings in Paris that appear finally to be reaching the beginning of substantive negotiations on the conflict in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I would like to include the text of an enlightening "Conversation With Governor Averell Harriman" by NBC correspondents Joseph C. Harsch, Chet Huntley, and Ray Scherer which was televised on May 21, 1967. It is a revealing glimpse into the nature and outlook of this man to whom all Americans owe a debt that it would never be possible to repay:

A CONVERSATION WITH GOV. AVERELL HARRIMAN, WITH NBC NEWS CORRESPONDENTS JOSEPH C. HARSCH, CHET HUNTLEY, AND RAY SCHERER, MAY 21, 1967

SCHERER. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN, we find ourselves sitting here between busts of Franklin Roosevelt, the first President you worked

for, and Lyndon Johnson, the latest but perhaps not the last President that you worked for. This is a considerable span of American history. I wonder if you might ask you to compare these two Presidents in terms of their style of command.

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. Yes, I will be glad to, briefly, in terms of working for them. It was my privilege to work for President Roosevelt particularly during the war. I reported directly to him rather than through the State Department, both when I was in England and Russia. He never wanted to make a decision until all the evidence was in. I think that was a very wise quality of his, because a premature decision can get the country in a lot of trouble.

So when I would go to him before I went to Britain or to Russia, I would ask him questions on what his policy was. He always talked around the subject. He gave me the idea or the ideas he had in mind, but he would never say, "You do this." And he depended upon, I think, the men that worked for him, to use their own judgment as to the manner in which they applied the ideas he had in mind.

Now, he was quite impersonal, let's say, about the way he dealt with his emissaries. If they came through all right, you were all right; if you made a mistake, you were out on a limb. And you knew that and it made it rather interesting to work for him. But I was very fortunate because I had known him since I was a young boy, and he trusted me.

President Johnson in many ways is a disciple of President Roosevelt. You know, when he was a young Congressman he was the only Texas Congressman that got reelected—I think it was 1938—who voted for the minimum wage, 25 cents an hour minimum wage. Every other Congressman in Texas—I think there were half a dozen—got beaten.

And I find in many of the things he is doing it's either inspired by the New Deal or unfinished business of the New Deal. And in foreign affairs I think I have perhaps inherited his confidence in me, because he never asks me to—tells me what to do. He says, "You have been through this. You handle it the way you think best."

Now, they are quite different in their manner, but in a sense I find the same kind of confidence in the manner in which they treat me.

SCHERER. GOVERNOR, you have brought us from the beginning, so to speak, to the end. Suppose we go back to the beginning. What was it that first impelled you to become an international citizen?

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. Well, it dated back to my business activities. I was involved in railroading, you know, and I got my training in business in the railroad. But after the war I felt that New York would take over from London as the international banker, and I formed a small firm to do international banking business. And that led me to travel a great deal in Europe and other parts of the world. I got to know what was going on. Incidentally, I thought that the Russian Revolution would play a very important role.

SCHERER. What year was this, sir?

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. This was 1921, I think. So in order to find out about it as bankers we did business with them, and we made loans for credits, we found export trade, and that sort of thing, and we found they paid their bills.

And then one of my associates made a deal for a concession under Lenin's new economic policy, and in 1926, just 40 years ago, I first went to Moscow. And I found that Stalin was moving up. Trotsky was moving out, the new economic policy was on the way out, and the idea Lenin had to hire foreign enterprise to develop their resources was not a new policy. So we negotiated a withdrawal of the concession and gave it up. We got our money out with interest and with a little profit.

But at that time I saw all of the leaders

with the exception of Stalin, who was very hard to see in those days.

HUNTLEY. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN, I guess—it would be 1928 that you first identified yourself with domestic politics?

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. Well, I wouldn't say I first identified myself with domestic politics. That is the first year I became a Democrat. I voted for Al Smith, if that's identifying myself in politics. I was a voter, nothing more.

But that was due—that was quite a rupture in my life, because I had been brought up a good, solid, conservative Republican, you know, and I felt that Republican policies at that time were going to lead to international disaster. We had to go back to Wilson's idea of participating in the League of Nations, you remember, and also we were lending money abroad in large sums and building up tariff barriers, and I felt it was going to be impossible for the Europeans or the South Americans to repay those loans under that policy.

The Democrats were supposed to be the free trade party. I didn't like the speculation going on in Wall Street. And I knew Al Smith. He was very much interested in parks, and I had been involved in parks ever since I was a boy—my father and mother were—in state parks. And so I voted for Al Smith, and I have been a Democrat ever since.

HUNTLEY. Your first role in public service was with the NRA, is that right, as I recall, how good an economist was FDR?

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. Well, I think he was not a particularly good economist. He had a brain trust that had different views, as you remember, and he had different ideas.

I think his important contribution was his willingness to experiment, and the fact that he wasn't tied to any particular scheme or plan, and the great revolution was the acceptance of the need for the Federal Government to take responsibility for individuals, the acceptance of the fact that this was not—no longer the kind of economy where man could fend for himself, if not a West where he could pick and up and migrate and carve out a farm for himself.

When we had this terrific depression, men were thrown out of work and they couldn't fend for themselves, and since that time there developed a sense of responsibility on the part of the Federal Government that both parties have accepted. None of the proposals that Roosevelt carried through have been repealed by the Republicans, even in the eight years under President Eisenhower. And that was the great contribution that he made.

SCHERER. GOVERNOR, when you went to London in those war years you spent an awful lot of time with Winston Churchill. I have had the feeling that Mr. Churchill liked to have you around. He took you wherever he went to see the war damage, and that—

GOVERNOR HARRIMAN. That was the first two months I was there. That was the winter of 1941, before we were in the war. And he very soon told me that he recognized that their best chance was to hold out in Britain and hold the Middle East. He also wanted to hold Singapore.

But he knew that they couldn't win the war without American support, and he thought sooner or later we would come in the war. But of course he put up a very bold front, and he was extraordinary in the manner in which he tried to keep the morale of the British people. And during that year that I was there they stood alone. I think it was the most thrilling year I've ever spent because every man, woman and child had only one purpose, and they looked to Churchill for leadership.

So he did take me around with him when he visited the cities that had been badly hit by the blitz, you know. I remember once in Bristol, we got there rather by accident very early in the morning, just after Bristol had

been hit, and there was a ceremony giving honorary degrees by the Bristol University, of which Churchill was Chancellor. People all thought he'd come immediately after this very bad blitz that had taken place.

He went around the city after the ceremonies at the university, and I happened to be alone with him in his car. This is one of the nice stories. I think, as we pulled out of the railroad station—and he used to wave to people that were looking out of the windows of the apartments as we went out of the city—he said—he used to tell me—he said, "I try to catch people's eyes. If you catch a person's eye, something is exchanged between you."

And then as we left the station he picked up the newspapers. You know, he used to read the newspapers avidly in spite of all the reports that he got. He wanted to know what people were thinking about. And he put it up in front of his face, and there were tears running down his cheeks. And he said—he wasn't elated by this applause that he had from everyone at all—he said very simply, "This is a grave responsibility. They have such faith." And that was his—that was the man in war. He wasn't—he knew the dangers, he had the determination, and he knew his responsibility to the people.

SCHNEER. You then went to Russia with Winston Churchill and you first saw Stalin. How do you equate the two men as war-time leaders?

Governor HARRIMAN. No. It was the second time I saw Stalin. I went with Beaverbrook in '41. Roosevelt and Churchill sent this—it was still before we were in the war—sent this supply mission, in which I represented the United States and Beaverbrook the British. And we tried to develop what the requirements of Russia were to keep them in the fight.

As I have said, Roosevelt hoped that keeping the Russians in the war would make it not necessary for us to send troops in the continent, although he recognized we would have to intervene with our Naval and Air Force when it was developed.

So I saw Stalin for four nights with Beaverbrook, and I think it was the end of September, early October, of '41. The next year Churchill went to discuss military strategy, and the President asked me to go along. Churchill wanted me to, in order to show that we were together. And Stalin was driving for the second front at that time. It was very rough with Churchill, and I thought that Churchill's handling of that situation was brilliant, when he talked about the British Navy turning back.

"Never before in history," said Stalin, "had the British Navy turned back." Roosevelt—Churchill made, I think, the greatest speech he's ever made in his life, in which he went through all of the history of the war, what the British had done, the manner in which they had stood up alone. He didn't—he never remembered that you had to interpret, and the British interpreter got so fascinated by what he said that he put down his pencil and listened.

And suddenly Churchill realized this, you know, and he said, "You'd better translate." So he started in, and the man was stumbling over his notes, and he pulled him by his shoulder, "Did you tell them this, did you tell them that." And after a little bit Stalin started to laugh. He said something to this effect. He said, "Your words are no importance. What is vital is your spirit." This was Stalin to Churchill.

SCHNEER. Did you sense any special chemistry between those two?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, there was later on. That last night we were there he spent the better part of the night with him, as is recorded, and there they had a very intimate talk. And later on I think they got to respect each other as war-time allies.

I don't think Stalin ever thought that he would work with Churchill after the war, but

I remember his making a—I think it was the time De Gaulle was in the Kremlin for a banquet. Stalin toasted both Churchill and Roosevelt, and I wrote down his toast to Churchill because I thought it was so significant. He toasted the Prime Minister, "My friend and collaborator in this war, a man of indestructible fighting spirit." He underlined "in this war."

But with Roosevelt it was different. Roosevelt—in the first place, Stalin respected American power, American industry. And also I got the feeling that the New Deal was not in the Communist books, you know. It wasn't part of the Marxist concept of capitalism. He was concerned to know what was going on in the United States. He seemed to listen with the greatest of attention to everything that Roosevelt said and he treated him with a great deal more respect, with Roosevelt—as far as Roosevelt was concerned. With Churchill, Stalin didn't mind weighing in. I think he rather liked his reaction.

HUNTLEY. I believe you thought Stalin was an unquestioned war-time leader with great ability, didn't you?

Governor HARRIMAN. Yes, I did. I differentiate between his brutality and the manner in which he dealt with his internal affairs, which were utterly ruthless and brutal, although he did have ecology back of it—and that's a long story. I hope we will get some of it from his daughter, but—the memoirs will be most interesting, but he had—he was the leader. He understood every aspect of the civilian problem, the supply problem, the food problem, and also every aspect of the military problem.

And I found him with great determination. When I saw him in September, early October of '41—that was when the Germans were first at the gates of Moscow, only 30 miles away—he was determined to hold out. When all the diplomatic corps left, he stayed in Moscow. And he told me at that time—he said, "They take Moscow we will continue to fight, but we will have to go back of the Ural Mountains." He thought that Hitler had made a great tactical blunder by not driving to Moscow instead of fanning out in three attacks. You know, one towards Petrograd, or Leningrad, and one towards Moscow, and one down towards the oil fields.

If they had driven to Moscow they would have broken the control. The capital is the heart of the nation, and with all the communication and the center of industry, and all, it would have broken them. But he said, "We'll never surrender."

HUNTLEY. Well, Yalta was sort of the culmination of those years. Mr. Harriman, have you ever sympathized with any of these many doubts about the Yalta Conference?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, there has been a myth which developed about Yalta which has nothing to do with the truth—Tehran, Yalta, and other occasions, when Churchill came to Moscow. President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill tried their best to get Stalin to agree to give independence to those areas of Eastern Europe, Poland and the whole of Eastern Europe, which they knew would be dominated by the Red Army as the Red Army advanced and forced the Nazi forces back into Germany. And they got an agreement finally that—in Yalta—Stalin agreed to hold free and unfettered elections.

HUNTLEY. Why did he do that?

Governor HARRIMAN. My guess is that Stalin thought that the Red Army would be looked upon as an army of liberation from the Nazi terror; and I think they were very disappointed when they found the Red Armies looked upon as a new invading force. I found that out, not only Poland but also Rumania. And they were determined not to be—the body opinion of those countries were determined not to be dominated by a new invading force.

I think Stalin thought that if they had an election rather quickly—he urged that election take place in Poland within a month

of the liberation—that in that enthusiasm for the Russians they would give—they would elect enough of a Communist party in power to be able to take over. That's the only explanation I can give.

But you know, Stalin was very ruthless. If he made a decision and he believed that it wasn't the right one he would change it without the slightest consideration.

HARRSCH. Governor Harriman, you came back to San Francisco at the end of the war. I think it was the United Nations Conference, wasn't it?

Governor HARRIMAN. That's right.

HARRSCH. And started a good many people by saying what I suppose you said to Roosevelt when you referred to that by telling everyone that there was going to be trouble with Russia after the war. Would you go back and tell us the point at which you first realized that we were going to have a lot of trouble with Russia and why? What brought you to that point of view?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, all through the war it was a question of whether they would cooperate or not. I realized they were treating us as potential enemies. They wouldn't let us where their radio stations were, they wouldn't give us the facts about their own Red Army order of battle.

We exchanged daily the order of battle between each other as to what we knew about the German or the enemy order. But we would—they were very suspicious of us, and I thought it was very doubtful one way or another all the way through, but I still agreed with Roosevelt and Churchill, we should try to come to an understanding. And of course through the United Nations declarations and otherwise, they—through the Moscow declaration—they took some very strong positions which encouraged people to believe they were going to cooperate with us.

Now, I felt that there was a difference of opinion within the Kremlin councils, even Stalin's Politburo. There were differences of views. Some thought we ought to cooperate in the postwar world to help the reconstruction. Others thought that the dislocations were so great in the postwar world that was the time to drive Communism forward. And of course the decision was to go it alone, to drive it forward.

Now, I don't want to give you an idea that Stalin didn't control the Politburo, but I was led to believe by what certain individuals told me who were there, that there were very free discussions in the Politburo of a new subject until a decision was made; but then when Stalin said, "Well that is it," anyone who left the room with a shrug of the shoulder was a marked man and was in Siberia the next day.

But I felt that there was a difference of opinion. And the decision was made. Stalin himself, and I saw him at Sochi in October 1945, said he had decided to pursue an isolationist policy, as he called it.

HARRSCH. When do you think he made that decision?

Governor HARRIMAN. It's very hard to tell, but I think—my feeling was that he made it when he broke the agreements in Yalta—that he decided to go his own way, you know, when he refused to go through with the agreement on Poland.

But at that time I think I offended a number of—I don't know whether you were offended, Joe, but I offended a number of people by telling them a very simple fact, that we had to recognize that our objectives and the Kremlin objectives were different. They wanted to communize the world. We wanted what we called a free and democratic world, but that we'd have to try to find a way to live at peace in this small planet. And that was such a shock. I think you were at one of those meetings.

HARRSCH. It shook a lot of people at that time, of course.

Governor HARRIMAN. Do you remember anything about the talks which you attended? HASCBSI. Well, I remember that one or two of our colleagues walked out, they were so shaken by it. It was the first time, I think, that a high person in Government had just stated flatly that we were in for real trouble with Russia after the war.

Governor HARRIMAN. Those were off-the-record talks, if you remember, and it was one of the few times in my life that the press has broken an off the record. But some people were so shocked they wrote that I was so unfriendly to the Soviet Union, I ought to be recalled as Ambassador.

HASCBSI. But Stalin didn't regard you as unfriendly, did he?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, you know he—the strange thing is that I've been very bluntly frank with him and also bluntly frank with his successors, but they know I'm frank and they know that I am strongly in favor of American objectives; but they know that I'm honest about it. And it becomes one reason why President Kennedy used me in dealing with some of the important negotiations with the Russians.

SCHERER. Before we move on, I just wanted to ask you one thing. The American public has seen a lot of Svetlana Stalina lately. Do you recall her?

Governor HARRIMAN. I never met her. I think my daughter, who was with me, believes that she met her, remembers meeting her. My daughter was with me in Moscow. My wife was not very well. But she was one of the few Western women who were in Moscow and she had an extraordinary experience during the war. But I think the closest I ever came to knowing about Stalin's daughter was in the time I was in Moscow in August '42.

The last night Churchill went around alone. The other three nights I was with Churchill. Stalin asked him to stay for dinner, and he stayed from, I think, 7:30 until 3:00 o'clock in the morning, and he said he went to the living quarters, the apartment in the Kremlin, and this girl came in, who was a redheaded girl, a teenager, who had quite a devoted attitude towards her father, kissed him, and then helped lay the table. They of course said, sit down with them. And he told me about it the next day.

SCHERER. Certainly in April of 1945 you found yourself working for a new President, Harry Truman, a man that you hardly knew. Were you able to help him, to assist him in picking up the reins of government?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, I don't know whether I helped him or not. I felt that it was very important for me to get back to Washington as fast as possible in order to tell him that Stalin was breaking his agreements in Yalta and give him a real pitch on the developments of the situation, and so I came back. I came back in forty-eight hours. It was a record, I think, from Moscow, in those days. I had a plane at my disposal. And I went in to see him.

I thought we were going to have a very long talk. I thought it was going to be rather difficult to persuade him, just as it would have been quite difficult to persuade Joe. I found that he had read all the messages that I had sent and that Roosevelt had sent to Stalin. He already knew that Roosevelt recognized that Stalin was breaking his agreements. And our conversation turned out to be quite brief.

He understood it. And that was the first time I realized what an extraordinary faculty Mr. Truman had of reading all of the documents. I found as I worked for him more and more it became even embarrassing, because things which I was supposed to know about as Secretary of Commerce he had read detailed reports when I had only read the summaries.

But by the time I saw him, which was shortly afterward, within a week of the time President Roosevelt died, I found he was

fully aware of the problems, and I did try to get him to still work on it, and I got him to send Harry Hopkins to Moscow in June, the end of May, I think, of that year, to try to make a last pitch for coming to an agreement. And I never gave up on the possibility of working with the Russians and never have today. I have always said we must have a friendly hand out and our guard up.

But I became quite close to him, of course, over the years. In the beginning I had a very—I hardly knew him, as you say, but I got great respect for him at once even though in the beginning he was somewhat concerned over the lack of experience. For that reason I think he depended a little bit too much upon Jimmy Byrnes as Secretary of State. He was much wiser when he got control of things himself.

SCHERER. Well, as I recall, Governor, you had hardly gotten home from Moscow when you were off again as Ambassador, this time sent to London. How was that?

Governor HARRIMAN. I came back from Moscow in, I think it was, January—early February of 1946—and resigned. And Jimmy Byrnes, Secretary of State, asked me to come and see him. I was cleaning up some of the affairs, several weeks after I had been home, perhaps the end of February, early March. And he said, "Now, it would be very nice if you went to London."

I said, "No, I have been overseas five years, and I want to stay home with my family and go back to business." I think that was a quite natural thing to do.

He said, "Well, you'd better go talk to the President about it." So I arranged an appointment with the President, and I marshalled my—

SCHERER. Your arguments?

Governor HARRIMAN. Arguments, as to why I couldn't go, and I went to see him. And like most of my talks with him, they were very brief. I have forgotten what he called me—Averell or Ambassador—but in any event, he said, "I want you to go to London. We are having difficulty with the Russians over Iran." You remember there was the treaty they had with the British to pull their troops out of Northern Iran when the British pulled out of Southern Iran. "They're refusing to take their troops out of Iran, and this may lead to war. I must have someone in London that knows the British, as you do, and whom I have confidence in."

So my arguments dropped away, and I simply said, "Mr. President, when do you want me to go?"

He said, "As soon as you can get there." And I did add, however, that, "Mr. President, I hope you won't forget me." Sometimes Presidents forget their ambassadors. "And don't leave me there too long."

So actually I was only Ambassador in Britain for six months.

SCHERER. Didn't he suddenly need a—how was it—Secretary of Commerce, and then brought you back into that?

Governor HARRIMAN. Yes, that was the famous difference with Henry Wallace over his speech on international affairs, which—and he had his choice of losing his Secretary of Commerce or losing his Secretary of State. So he lost his Secretary of Commerce. And then he called me up.

SCHERER. You were in London?

Governor HARRIMAN. I was in London. Actually I was with Mr. Churchill at his country place. And the sentry came in—he was then out of power, of course, but I still kept in contact with him—and he said, "The President of the United States is on the telephone." This made Mr. Churchill quite interested, and he said, "What do you think he's calling you about?"

And I said, "I think he's going to offer me the Secretaryship of Commerce."

SCHERER. Premonition.

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, I thought he'd live up—I trusted him, you know. I thought

he'd live up to his promise to get me home, and this was in the news. Nobody had suggested it. So I said to Mr. Churchill, "What would you do?"

He said, "I'd go home, important as the ambassadorship to Britain is."

So he did call me up, and I said—the President said, "Will you come back as Secretary of Commerce?" And I said, "Yes, sir."

He said, "Did you hear me? I want you to come back as Secretary of Commerce."

I wasn't surprised. I think he was a little disappointed that I wasn't, but anyway, again I said, "When do you want me back?"

He said, "As soon as you can get here."

So I did get back within a couple of weeks after. It is a little bit hard for an ambassador to disengage. He has to say goodbye to a lot of people. But that was—then of course from then on I got to know Mr. Truman very well, and later on I had a number of different jobs for him.

HUNTLEY. Governor Harriman, as you said earlier, as early as 1945 you could see a Communist threat to Western Europe and the need for a job of picking up. It was two years and more before this country responded, but we responded in an unprecedented way with the Marshall Plan. There was a figure in that stage of our history by the name of Senator Arthur Vandenberg, whom I am sure you knew. What about Vandenberg?

Governor HARRIMAN. I knew him very well. You know, he was an isolationist. That was perhaps one of his strengths. And he made a great speech in January 1945 recanting, and then President Roosevelt appointed him on the United Nations, on the commission, American Commission of the United Nations, and I saw him frequently.

Sometimes Truman didn't like all of his proposals for changes. He insisted that a Republican be appointed as administrator of the Marshall Plan, which led to Paul Hoffman's appointment.

But I think that he had an extraordinary influence at that time. He was a great parliamentarian. He converted some of the recalcitrant or the difficult Democrats, as well as the Republicans, and I think history should record the great role that he played at that time. In that way we had a real bipartisan foreign policy for that great period of international action.

HUNTLEY. Justifiably, Governor—

Governor HARRIMAN. May I say that does not detract from President Truman. President Truman had the initiative, had the determination, had the courage, to propose these great measures, but Vandenberg—his ability to get them through was all important.

HUNTLEY. You are recognized as a very charitable and kind man, and yet you have had quite a political and diplomatic life. I think possibly the roughest speech you ever made was in reference to Senator Taft. Was there much commotion about that?

Governor HARRIMAN. Oh, yes. That was the speech I made in September 1950, I think it was, and I was very strongly against McCarthyism. I thought that was going to—that we were going to have to pin them—we'd have to protect ourselves against the accusation that the administration was filled with communism, communists. You remember, he said there were 240 or something communists in the State Department.

So I always think an offense is the best defense. So I said, the real man that Stalin likes in this country, that is working for him—he doesn't know it, but it's Taft, because Taft opposed the Marshall Plan, opposed adequate funds for the Marshall Plan, opposed NATO.

And you remember Stalin declared war on the Marshall Plan even though they were originally invited to join. They were left out.

So I was sincere in that, but I got, I think, about 3,000 or more letters of condemnation

saying that, how did I dare attack this great and honorable man.

Of course the newspapers to some extent exaggerated my statement. I didn't call him a communist. I said that this was the attitude, this isolationist policy was the attitude that played into Stalin's hands, and I said, "There is no doubt that Taft is honorable but he doesn't understand the importance of these other measures." I never called him a communist, as I was accused of doing.

HUNTLEY. But that speech gave you credentials as a politician in addition to being a diplomat, didn't it?

Governor HARRIMAN. I don't know, Truman never read the speech, but I asked him whether he would want me—I was then in the White House. You know, I had this sort of a Mac Bundy job. And Truman said, "If that's what you want to do, go ahead and do it."

You know, Truman called a spade a spade. And he didn't object to his colleagues doing the same. So I was brought up in that school.

HARSCH. During the Truman Administration we fought what is known as the Korean War. That was called a limited war for limited objectives. Did you agree with keeping it a limited war? Do you believe that the United States should fight that kind of war?

Governor HARRIMAN. Oh, I felt very strongly that President Truman was right when, the second time, he stated that the 38th parallel—opposed expanding the war into China. He was under a great deal of criticism, you remember, at that time.

HARSCH. Very clearly.

Governor HARRIMAN. A lot of people said we didn't win the war. Of course we won the war. The objective was to stop and roll back the Communist attack, and that was what we wanted to do.

HARSCH. Governor, at the time of the Korean War there was a great deal of controversy in the Government over the decision to march to the Yalu. I remember that General Bradley, for example, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at that time, was strongly of the opinion that we should halt somewhere along the parallel or at one time at what they called the Narrow Waist.

Governor HARRIMAN. That's right.

HARSCH. There was a decision, however, to strike for the Yalu and we were thrown back. What was your position on that issue at the time?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, that wasn't quite that way. There was never any decision as far as the Government was concerned, as I recall it. I think it would be very hard to have stopped the United Nations forces from moving back and attempting to destroy the armies of North Korea.

There was very strong opinion—the British had it—that we should hold at the Narrows. And it was General MacArthur that moved ahead. The Joint Chiefs of Staff sent him telegrams saying, "Are you sure that you're not getting extended?"

And I don't think they fully knew that General MacArthur had divided his two armies, one to the east and one to the west, and it was through the center that the Chinese poured—didn't realize how exposed they were because it all happened so fast, but I remember very clearly being gravely concerned by the fact that the Marine Division went up into the reservoir, remember, and the Seventh Division moved up to the Yalu in the North, and I was gravely concerned because General MacArthur felt convinced the Chinese would not intervene.

I was at Wake Island, you remember, at that discussion, and I remember General MacArthur saying, "Mr. President, I know the Chinese well. I can assure you that they will never intervene."

His intelligence did not conform with that of Washington, and Washington kept warning him; but we have a system of giving the field commander a great deal of discretion.

And this was not a decision. There was a lot of difference of opinion, but I know that I was gravely concerned by the attempt to move into the mountains.

SCHERRER. Governor, moving on a bit, you then took a plunge into elective politics in New York State. Did you find that gave you as much satisfaction as serving in diplomatic lines?

Governor HARRIMAN. Well, I was elected Governor of New York, and I was always tremendously interested in New York, had been interested, and lived there all my life. My father had taken an interest in it, and I thought that—I started a lot of new things. I brought some people from Washington who had had experience in the New Deal and in the developments.

I started an anti-poverty program which was cut out, old age program, particularly interested in care of mental cases. We changed the whole system from custodial care of mental hospitals to attempt to cure them so they could get home. And then we had a juvenile delinquency program. We had about a dozen or more new programs. But that was only four years. We didn't have a chance to carry through.

I might tell you an amusing story about that. I have had a lot of different jobs, you know, and I think the last time—the last job I had with President Truman was being Director of Mutual Security. He swore me in. And I remember very clearly one of my—he told about the different things that I had done for him in the years he was President. I think there were half a dozen. There was one of my good friends in the White House, in a rather loud aside said, "When do you suppose Averell is going to be able to hold a steady job."

Well, you know, I thought when I was elected Governor I was going to have a steady job, but the people of New York didn't seem to think I was as good a Governor as I was, and they threw me out after four years. They elected another fellow. I've forgotten just what his name is—Rockefeller?

SCHERRER. I think that's his name.

In 1959 you went to Russia as a private citizen, and you met a new kind of Russian leader, Nikita Khrushchev. What did you make of him?

Governor HARRIMAN. Yes. That was during the period when I was voluntarily unemployed. But I had a very long talk with him. As a matter of fact, it lasted—the first talk lasted—I had several later, but the first lasted ten hours, from one o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock at night, and I never realized how much you could learn about a man at one sitting, because we covered almost everything.

Now, he—this may seem odd to say, but I don't remember—I hadn't remembered meeting him before, but he remembered me, because he had attended one of the banquets in the Kremlin. I used to sit on Stalin's left when these banquets occurred, De Gaulle or Churchill, or whoever it might be, on his right. And so he knew about me. Everybody knows about me because I was Ambassador during the war, and I was built up as a friend of Russia. I found him very amusing, a great sense of humor.

And he was hopeful, very hopeful, of improving relations between our two countries. But I think he wanted to do too much on the Russian line rather than on the American.

But he told me about the death of Stalin and the fact that they had had to demote the authority and strength of the secret police.

He said, "You know, in the later days of Stalin's life he was very arbitrary, trusted no one. We never knew when we were called to his office whether we'd ever see our families again." He said, "You know, people can't work under that kind of a fear." And he said,

"We got together after his death and decided that we could never have the secret police with the authority they had because that's controlled by one man."

He said, "We had a certain amount of trouble with one individual, Beria."

I said, "What was the trouble with him?"

He said, "He was a little overly ambitious. You remember, they shot him." But it's interesting that he's the last one that they have shot.

And now he is retired. He, himself, is retired, and he's living as a private citizen. Molotov is living as a private citizen, or rather out of the government, and we see him occasionally. They feel sufficiently confident. They have control of the country. Although they have abandoned terror, you know, the knock at the door at midnight doesn't exist any more—but let me quickly say they rule the country by very stern discipline.

You know there is only one employer, namely, the Government. If you get into that one employer's bad graces there's no way that you can exist. And so that's the way they control not only the working people but also control the intellectuals.

But there is a pressure for more freedom. You know, with more consumer goods the people want greater consumer goods. There is pressure to do more, in addition to which they realize after fifty years that they have to show a success of communism. That is one interesting thing.

You know, Stalin used to tell me that communism would sweep the world because of the mistakes of capitalism, great depressions, capitalistic wars, and once he rather colorfully said, "Communism breeds in the cesspools of capitalism." As Khrushchev fifteen years later, sitting in the same office, leader of the Russian people, said, "We are making such an enormous success of communism that other countries are going to have to follow our example."

Now, Khrushchev was a little overly optimistic. You know, he would always tell you where they would be in five years and attempt to negotiate on that basis. But they really believe that it's a necessity now to make a success of it, and of course that's good.

And I think one of the most subversive things for communism that's being devised is this Fiat deal, you know, the automobiles.

SCHERRER. Sending the automobile to Russia?

Governor HARRIMAN. I found that although people were very unhappy about the poor accommodations, the apartments are very crowded, a family living in one room, and that sort of thing, they think they're going to get that in time—they long for an automobile. It gives them a certain freedom.

And I think when they begin to get enough of them around—I found every family wanted an automobile, the pressure for automobiles and the need of all the things that go with automobiles, the roads and services, and one thing and another. That's why I say the Fiat deal is very subversive to communism, and I think it's one of the best things that's been contemplated.

SCHERRER. We have still another leader in Russia, Mr. Kosygin. You talked with him, too. Many people have the impression that the Soviet Union under Kosygin is less militant, that the outward thrust of international communism has subsided. Would that be your view?

Governor HARRIMAN. No, I don't think the cold war is over.

I believe—I think the Cuban missile crisis was a watershed, where President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev looked down that nuclear barrel. They don't want to go through that again. And they realize that that was a great shock to them, that we would stand up, and I don't think they want nuclear war.

But they are all still, as you notice from

your dispatches, still helping Castro's Cuba interfere in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, and there's no secret about this.

President De Gaulle is absolutely wrong in thinking the cold war is over, and I am delighted, of course, that the other fourteen nations, members of NATO, are sticking together. We have an integrated force, and I think the other fourteen realize that they would be knocked off one by one.

The Kremlin would like to fragmentize Western Europe, and they would do it if we didn't stick together. So the policy of holding NATO together is absolutely important, and those who think that the cold war is over are wrong.

When I think of the enormous change, when I sent the telegram in '45, I was then really concerned that Russian communism would take over the whole of Europe, and in my judgment they would have done so if it hadn't been for the extraordinary foresightedness of the people of the United States, the President and the Congress and the Marshall Plan, NATO, aid to Turkey and standing up in Berlin. They were tough times.

But we see that we now have such a—instead of an impoverished Europe, a vigorous, vital Europe, more vigorous than ever, coming together. We have been supporting integration from the very beginning. I think we have every right to be gratified by the events of the last twenty years, even though we have this very unhappy war still on in Vietnam. The progress in the period has been enormous.

HARRISMAN, Governor Harriman, 1960 then came on and that opened the beginning of—the opened the Kennedy era. Again you were called to service, roving Ambassador, and you brought in such things as a negotiated settlement on Laos, a nuclear test ban treaty, very important things. Again I would assume that these agreements the Soviet Union will sign when they can see it's to their advantage.

Governor HARRISMAN. Yes, that is true. It's tough to negotiate with Russians. It's very easy to lose your temper and shout at them; but you have to be calm and sit through things, and then finally can come to an agreement, when if you try to find out what they want, see whether it can be meshed with what we want, even though our objectives may be the same as we now have, on the non-proliferation agreement, it's very hard to find a way of agreeing to it because they don't like to have people roaming around their country. They don't like to have any inspectors, you know. So we may have common objectives, but it's hard to find the formula to agree.

HARSCH. Now, you said when we were talking about the Korean War that General MacArthur had taken the firm position the Chinese would never enter that war. They did enter the war. We again today are having a similar controversy. It's very much like the Korean, with some people saying, "Look out, the Chinese may come in," others saying, "Never, they won't come in."

Are we in danger of repeating the mistake that General MacArthur made?

Governor HARRISMAN. I don't think as long as we have President Johnson as President we'll repeat the mistakes. I think he thoroughly understands the risks involved.

If you want at the North recklessly and invaded the North, I think it is quite plain that they might very well come in if we were to attack the North, attack China as they want to attack it, but North Vietnam does not want to bring the Chinese in. They want to be independent of China. And if we were to attempt to block them out or take the north over, which the President has no intention of doing, or changing the government in North Vietnam, they would come in.

By the same token the Russians are gravely concerned. They're not involved out there.

But they consider themselves the great communist power, and this is a sister communist state, North Vietnam. I think they feel frustrated, that state can undergo the punishment which is going on with their being unable to do it, and they have given a very considerable amount of help.

I still believe, however, that the main—the opinion in Moscow that I know about is for ending the war if they can find a way to do it. But they haven't got the influence at the moment to do so. But I wouldn't be surprised if they played a part at one time in attempting to bring the war to a conclusion.

I know that the Eastern European countries, a number of whom I have talked to at the President's request—the Poles, for instance, a year ago last January, sent one of their senior foreign office men all the way to Hanoi to try to find a way. They were unable to find the formula. But they want to see the war over because they don't want to have a confrontation between the United States and Russia.

SCHERER, Governor, that brings us up to this very moment. How do we end the war in Vietnam?

Governor HARRISMAN. Well, I think the President has given us instructions to follow every lead. He has told me to spend my entire time on that subject, and I can assure you that every lead is being followed through.

So far there is no indication that North Vietnam is ready to come to the conference table. They have been—they're tough people. They've been fighting—Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues—for a long time. They want to take over the South. And they believe that we will—that they can hang on and we'll get tired.

I think the statement of the liberal Senators ought to disillusion them as to that.

So I think in time, with the number of people in the world that want to see peace, with a President that does, and with the growing strength—I have a great deal of confidence in the growing strength, prestige of the government in Saigon.

You know, it's an extraordinary thing in the middle of a war to have a constituent assembly develop a constitution, the elections are going on, on the village and the hamlet basis. There will be an election in the autumn, September and October, for a president, for a national assembly. This will give the government real authority in respect to world councils, and I think that will be an important improvement in the situation.

But above all, I think that President Johnson has the determination but at the same time the restraint which is needed, as it was under Truman, to see us through that conflict, to a successful conclusion.

But let's remember this is a limited war, limited objectives, and when it comes to the solution its got to be a solution which achieves our limited objectives.

But he's quite ready, as you know, to announce that he's ready to have our troops come out and neutralize the area, and I am inclined to think the Russians don't want to see the Chinese expand and would be quite ready to accept a neutral area in Southeast Asia, just as they are willing to accept a neutral area in the subcontinent, India and Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker, Averell Harriman is a man of honor, integrity, and candor, of unique intelligence, knowledge, and perception, who has always demonstrated absolute loyalty to the United States and the Presidents who have called upon him to serve the Nation.

Not for over 100 years—since the time of John Quincy Adams—have we been blessed to have a man such as Averell Harriman spend his life in such dedicated and important service to our

country and the cause of world peace. I fear we "shall not look upon his like again" for many, many years.

But we can still hope and anticipate, I am sure, that Averell Harriman—public servant and envoy extraordinary and international citizen—will continue to afford us the benefit of his counsel and wisdom for many years to come.

Mr. PATMAN, Mr. Speaker, it is a proud moment for all Americans when we are given an opportunity to reflect for a moment upon the career of a man such as the Honorable W. Averell Harriman. I am very frankly a partisan admirer of this gentleman from New York who has represented his country abroad with such efficacy and reflected such tremendous credit upon America, that I think back to that great Ambassador of earlier days for an adequate comparison—the Honorable Benjamin Franklin whose image of stalwart good sense did so much to gain acceptance for a young and emerging country. Governor Harriman is almost an exact contemporary of mine and we share a great deal of history, having lived closely with events of vital significance over the last 35 years during which he was the trusted advisor of those presidential giants who guided America through great trials and troubles to the summit of world power—Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson. His career to my mind has been even more nobly marked by the dignity and generosity of soul with which he endured, or rather triumphed over those few episodes when fate could have been more kind, but the broad vista of his accomplishments is truly awe-inspiring, to be a successful financier and industrialist, to be Governor of the great State of New York, to be a member of the Cabinet, to be an Ambassador to Russia, to England, and, in effect, to the world at large, to be the person chosen for critical assignments when the gravest decisions of policy or difficulties of administration were before us; to be, in short, so uniquely qualified that when our best was needed, there was only one possible response—W. Averell Harriman. This is the record of a great man, indeed an unpretentious great man, one of such heroic stature that because of him we experience once again the nobility of service, the reality of patriotism, the exuberance of faith, and hope for America's future.

Because W. Averell Harriman has lived and worked among us, the fabric of our lives as citizens has gained strength and moved closer to that more perfect democracy toward which we aspire as the ideal government of a free people.

Mr. CAREY, Mr. Speaker, the role of a diplomat has assumed a great importance in our crisis-ridden world. The Berlin crisis, the Cuban missile affair, the Sino-Indian border war, the 7-day war in the Middle East, the *Pueblo* incident—all have called for an urgent solution to a confrontation which could plunge us into nuclear war. Some of these conflicts have been quickly solved or at least mitigated by a "troubleshooter" appointed to jet from capital to capital to soothe tempers and extinguish the fires of war. Such crises are deeply rooted in local his-

tory and in the tensions of our polarized world. Because of the potential global destruction involved, national leaders must act rapidly to prevent escalation where they cannot remove its causes. In this world of nuclear diplomacy we have not relied enough upon the professional diplomat who applies his skills to the solution of long-range problems.

At a time of urgent need for the experienced negotiator, we are losing to private life a mightily qualified veteran of the diplomatic arena, Averell Harriman. "The crocodile," as he is known to his associates, is a familiar figure in Washington. In combining his aristocratic background acquired from wealth, Groton and Yale, with the socially oriented programs of the New Deal, New Frontier, and Great Society, Harriman has joined the best of two worlds. Formerly a Wall Street industrialist, Harriman entered the ranks of New Deal liberals over a game of croquet in 1933. During the national recovery program of the thirties, he applied his administrative skills to bringing Americans out of the depression. Harriman was appointed to U.S. diplomatic posts in London and Moscow during World War II. Because of his experience with the tensions of Big Three diplomacy, he was one of the earliest to predict that hostility between East and West would follow the armistice. As ambassador to Europe, Harriman participated in European reconstruction. His role in the founding of NATO enriched his experience with the cold war. From 1954 to 1958 he served as Governor of New York. Reluctant to let Harriman's diplomatic talent lie fallow, President Kennedy drafted him into the New Frontier in 1961. The following year he directed negotiations which led to acceptance of the test ban treaty in 1962. He personally assessed the Sino-Indian border dispute for Kennedy in 1963. Because of his well-earned reputation, President Johnson asked Harriman to direct the Paris peace talks in the spring of 1968.

The nature of the Vietnam conflict with its repercussions on big power relations called for a man of Harriman's approach and broad range of experience. His personal acquaintance with men of power—along with his native intuition and a fine balance of shrewdness and compassion—has given him a sense of how to cope with them professionally. After three decades of involvement with leaders of Communist countries, Harriman has learned to appreciate the diversity of international communism. While aware of what he calls the "outward thrust" of communism, Harriman was one of the first policymakers to drop the notion of monolithic communism. His skeptical and informed approach has contributed to his diplomatic successes—he has entered negotiations fully aware of the motives, biases, tactics, and issues present at the conference table. In short, years of experience have coupled with a natural charm to produce the diplomatic artistry of Averell Harriman.

It is with great regret that we see Ambassador Harriman retiring from public life. Art Buchwald has dubbed him, in fun but also in respectful serious-

ness, "knight of the round table." Let us salute him as the supreme knight of contemporary diplomacy.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives today to pay tribute to W. Averell Harriman. At a time when serious questions are being asked about the fundamental nature of our society and the role of the individual in this democracy, Averell Harriman stands as a model of true Americanism and an inspiration to men of all ages, in every area of the world.

His contributions as businessman, Governor, Ambassador, and Cabinet officer have been extensive and invaluable; but he will be noted and appreciated most as peacemaker.

A restored and stable Western Europe bears the imprint of his efforts, and the peace we are able to achieve in Southeast Asia will be built upon the cornerstone which he has laid, as Ambassador at Large, as Assistant Secretary of State, and as our first principal negotiator in Paris.

I share the respect and admiration of a grateful nation for the peerless contributions of this giant public servant.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, it can truly be said of Averell Harriman that he asked not what his country could do for him, but rather what he could do for his country.

No prize is more devoutly sought than that of world peace and no man has given more of his time and efforts in that endeavor than the distinguished former Governor of New York.

The patience and devotion which has typified Governor Harriman throughout his public career places an entire nation in his debt. He has been called upon to fulfill so many difficult tasks for America and each time he has responded with the same spirit of dedication to his fellow man.

It can truly be said that here in our time was one of the peacemakers.

Mankind for generations to come owes him a lasting debt of gratitude.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, when the younger Members of this Chamber reach retirement age and look back on their careers, one of their proudest claims will be that they once tread a small corner of the same stage which featured the legendary W. Averell Harriman.

Governor Harriman has, for 35 years, walked through the gallery of American and world history and has been involved in more great political events than probably any man still alive.

Those of us who are students and practitioners of public affairs usually enjoy reading political biographies and studying the life styles of public figures. If we were to choose one life that we would like to emulate, we could hardly find one with more interest and diversity than the life of W. Averell Harriman.

For over three decades, and under five Presidents, he has served in the most sensitive and demanding positions.

After a distinguished career as a banker, railroad director, and sportsman, he began his extraordinary service as an officer of the National Recovery Administration—NRA—under Franklin D. Roosevelt. Following service in the

Department of Commerce, he served as American Ambassador to Russia, Britain, and NATO; Secretary of Commerce under Harry S. Truman; Governor of New York, Assistant Secretary of State, and Roving Ambassador. He was Ambassador to Russia during one of the most sensitive periods of world history and saw clearly what many other liberals failed to see about the essential character of Stalin and Stalin's Russia. At a time when men of his age were generally found to be in retirement, he negotiated the difficult peace in Laos, followed it with the great success of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and most recently served as our chief negotiator on the Vietnam talks in Paris.

Unlike several Members of Congress, I cannot claim close personal association with Governor Harriman. I have met him on occasion, but I "know" him primarily through his work.

We, in Michigan, first saw Governor Harriman in the fall of 1952, when he came to Detroit to speak in behalf of the Democratic candidate for President, Adlai Stevenson. Even then he was a legend in his own time. It seemed that we were seeing a man step out of the pages of a history book.

The late Senator Blair Moody introduced Harriman on that occasion and one line from the introduction remains with us.

He said:

Although he was born to great riches, he overcame that handicap.

It was meant sincerely, not as a joke, and Moody turned immediately to the Governor and said, "Governor, I meant that in the best sense."

We all realized then that we were in the presence of a man who had all the material advantages and who could have indulged himself with more economic activity and sports but who had chosen to devote himself to the national welfare. And not only to the national welfare but to the thorniest problems confronting mankind.

We remember Harriman again in 1956, when he came to Michigan as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. Although he fared poorly, he nevertheless earned the affection of the Michigan delegates and party members whose hearts still belonged in that year to Adlai Stevenson.

We watched him operate as Governor of New York, we saw him lose in a stirring contest with Nelson Rockefeller and we saw him bounce back undeterred and without pretense to take on even more difficult tasks for the Kennedy administration.

As a Member of the House, I recall the great admiration which developed for his extraordinary diplomatic efforts in behalf of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. In those years of the New Frontier, he seemed to be the only "old hand" who could match strides with the young men around John F. Kennedy.

And finally, when the time came for negotiations in Paris on the Vietnam war, W. Averell Harriman was the logical man to represent our Nation.

In the long course of human events, it is rare that such a man is born. We

are grateful for his work and for the privilege of seeing him in action.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join with the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) in paying tribute to a great American and a great Ambassador, Averell Harriman, who with the change in administrations has come home now from his most recent top-level diplomatic assignment as the chief American representative and negotiator at the Paris peace talks.

There has been some suggestion in the papers that this might be the last of Governor Harriman's vital missions for his country, and that now he could enjoy, with Mrs. Harriman, the kind of quiet and peaceful retirement that his long and distinguished services surely have entitled him to. I am one who would reject that solution however. Knowing Averell Harriman I know he will never be one to go out to pasture while an important job remains to be done. There has been a change in administrations. But the problems that remain are the same; and, surprisingly enough, many of the policies in our dealings with foreign governments are likely to remain much the same too. In such circumstances, I am certain that there will soon come a time when the vast wisdom and extensive experience of Governor Harriman will prove to be vitally needed by his Nation once again. And I am sure that he will respond to such a call, just as he has done so faithfully in the past.

As one who has known the Governor for many years, who had the privilege of being a mayor of a large city in New York State when Averell Harriman was Governor, I want to pay my tribute to his great abilities in government, and to his dedicated service to his country and his State. As Governor he was always keenly interested in the problems of the cities, the smallest no less than the biggest. I remember when he came to Schenectady, early in his administration, as my guest, and I remember the interest he took in our problems. He helped me, as he helped many other mayors, try to do a better job for their people. His record as Governor of New York was a brilliant one that will long be remembered.

Equally are we in Averell Harriman's debt for the great and able job he has done in Paris. Trying to find a peaceful solution to this difficult and complex war is not an easy task. But Averell Harriman has got the talks on the track. He has quietly and patiently turned what could have been just a shouting match into meaningful negotiations. The talks may take time, and the path ahead may still be long and hard. But when we do achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam, as I am confident we will achieve it, no man will have done more to make that possible than Averell Harriman—world statesman, outstanding diplomat, businessman, and sportsman par excellence—but still, to those of us who knew him and worked with him in what I am told he still regards as his most exciting and eventful years—still, "just the Guv."

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as the talks continue in Paris to discuss a peaceful solution to the tragic war in Southeast Asia, we, in the House of Representatives, are paying tribute to

a man who has helped this Nation and the world through many conflicts and crises.

Gov. William Averell Harriman is a gentleman of the highest order. His wisdom and sense of justice have been recognized by four former Presidents of the United States who have asked him to serve their administrations.

In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed Governor Harriman to the Business Advisory Council of the Commerce Department and 4 years later made him Chairman of the Council. Mr. Harriman was also asked to serve as Administrator for the National Recovery Administration. Near the end of his administration, President Roosevelt asked Mr. Harriman to serve as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In 1946, his ambassadorship to the U.S.S.R. terminated with an appointment by President Truman to serve as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Under President Truman, Mr. Harriman served as Secretary of Commerce and Presidential assistant. He became temporarily U.S. Representative in Europe under the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and again in 1950, as Chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Commission to study the Western defense plans. From 1954 to 1958, Mr. Harriman served the State of New York as Governor. When John Fitzgerald Kennedy became President, Mr. Harriman returned to Federal service as Ambassador at Large and later as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. In 1963 he was named Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. President Johnson appointed him Ambassador at Large again in 1965.

Governor Harriman's ability to look beyond his own beliefs and experiences to those of others has made him an invaluable diplomat to the United States. His willingness to accept those opinions with a true fairness and honesty, with the wisdom of experience and of understanding has made him one of the most respected and beloved statesmen in the world.

For over three decades, W. Averell Harriman's service to the United States has been unflinching in its excellence and integrity. As our chief negotiator in Paris, Mr. Harriman worked long and grueling hours, striving to find common ground upon which the United States and North Vietnam could begin to build peace. He leaves Paris now having laid the foundations of a great edifice. Mr. Harriman's long career indicates that we will be hearing from him again, but if any man deserves a quiet time to reflect upon the past and to pass the present in peace and tranquillity, it is William Averell Harriman.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join with my colleague, the gentleman from New York, in this special congressional tribute to the dedicated and patriotic service of W. Averell Harriman to our good country.

We personal friends are proud of the fine work which he has done in Paris as chief U.S. negotiator at the peace talks and send him our very best wishes as he retires once more from public service.

I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press of Saturday, January 18, 1969, which summarizes well Averell Harriman's contributions and accomplishments. I would also like to place in the RECORD an article from the Washington Post, Monday, January 27, 1969, presenting Averell Harriman's views on the peace negotiations. The articles follow:

[From the Pittsburgh Press, Jan. 18, 1969]

HARRIMAN RETIRES

It's hard to think of Averell Harriman, even at age 77, going into retirement. But that's what he says he will do after this week.

He is leaving his post as chief of the U.S. delegation to the Vietnam peace talks in Paris and retiring to his Washington, D.C., home.

Typically, Mr. Harriman was both blunt and optimistic as he talked to newsmen in Paris after announcing his retirement.

It is wrong, he said, to talk about "winning the war" in Vietnam.

Our objective is to insure the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese and when that "limited" aim is achieved, we will have done our job.

Despite the current squabble over seating, he is confident the present talks will produce peace in the end.

As Mr. Harriman hands the Vietnam baton to his successor, Henry Cabot Lodge, he ends 35 years of top-level service to the nation.

A multi-millionaire railroad heir, he was attracted to President Roosevelt's New Deal and this began a career that embraced the following posts:

Wartime Ambassador to Moscow, postwar envoy to London, Secretary of Commerce under President Truman, head of the Marshall Plan effort in Europe, U.S. adviser in setting up NATO, director of our foreign aid agency, Governor of New York, under secretary of state for political affairs and ambassador-at-large.

President Kennedy once quipped that with the possible exception of John Quincy Adams, Averell Harriman had held "as many important jobs as any man in our history."

To all he brought tremendous energy, attention to detail, bluntness and resourcefulness. He never betrayed a shred of sentimentality, but he packed a great deal of goodwill (well concealed) for peace and progress in the world.

If ever a citizen deserves a distinguished service medal from a nation well served, Averell Harriman is the man.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 27, 1969]

HARRIMAN: SOVIETS FOR VIET PEACE

W. Averell Harriman, former chief U.S. negotiator at the Vietnam peace talks in Paris, said yesterday that Russia wants to see a peaceful neutral Southeast Asia that would check a "Chinese advance to the south."

The longtime diplomatic troubleshooter for four Presidents said that the Russians had been "helpful in October" and "recently" in getting the Paris talks going. But he gave no details.

He told newsmen on the NBC interview program "Meet the Press" (WRC) that Soviet Premier Kosygin had "made it very plain that they wanted to see peace come to Southeast Asia."

Harriman said the United States and Russia "are working in parallel policies with India and Pakistan, and I think we can work with parallel policies in Southeast Asia."

Harriman expressed the hope, but made no flat prediction, that there could be an agreement to de-escalate the fighting in Vietnam this year and for the mutual withdrawal of troops by the United States and North Vietnam.

He believed that such agreements would

have to be reached before there could be any cease-fire.

He said a political settlement between the South Vietnamese government, the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam would have to come later, and must be worked out by the Vietnamese themselves.

Harriman disagreed with critics who said little was accomplished during the eight months of talks at Paris. "We got the negotiations started," Harriman said, "... the negotiating procedures were put on the rails and the new Administration will have the responsibility for the substantive discussions."

He added that "we are able to . . . discuss some of the basic problems with the North Vietnamese and we have some clues at least which we can turn over to the new Administration."

Harriman said the North Vietnamese are "fiercely independent" and want to be "independent of Peking."

"They want to have contacts with the West," he said. "They get technical assistance from the West. They are very interested in getting miracle rice. They want to be independent of China for their rice supply. There are issues of that kind which are not normally considered but eventually they want to reunify the country. How long that will take it is hard to say."

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, there are few men in public life today who have a more distinguished or lengthy record of public service than Averell Harriman. As a result of his service to five Presidents and his able leadership as Governor of the State of New York, Governor Harriman has held more important positions of state than any person since John Quincy Adams, and the Nation is truly indebted to him for the wisdom, insight, and courage which he has brought to bear upon some of the great decisions of our times.

Governor Harriman began his distinguished career in public service as an Administrator for the National Recovery Administration in 1934. A Republican and highly successful businessman and international banker, Governor Harriman switched parties in 1928 when he became concerned that the policies the Republican administration was following domestically and internationally were inimical to the interests of the Nation and the world community. Throughout his service as an administrator in the NRA and the Commerce Department, later as Secretary of Commerce, and finally as Governor of New York, Governor Harriman retained his commitment to the principles of the New Deal and his dedication to the public interest. Long before this Nation and many States had faced up to the reality of the problems of poverty, Governor Harriman launched anti-poverty efforts in New York. His concern for the welfare of the people of his State caused him to initiate legislative programs on old age, mental health, and education.

Averell Harriman has served the international community as well as his Nation and his State. Since World War II Governor Harriman has been at the center of action. His advice has been asked at almost every major diplomatic turning point. Albert Einstein once said, "Peace cannot be kept by force—it can only be achieved by understanding," and to the quest for understanding Averell Harriman has been dedicated. His grasp of the

Soviet mentality and his understanding of Communist affairs and problems have enabled him to be a tough negotiator, as well as a proponent of the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Governor Harriman's diplomatic career began in 1941 when he was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as his special representative in Great Britain. At this time he established the rapport and friendship with Winston Churchill and the understanding of the British outlook which enabled him to be a valuable adviser at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.

In August of 1941 Averell Harriman went to Moscow as Ambassador for the United States. Like Churchill, Stalin came to respect Harriman, and the Ambassador added to his understanding of men of power.

Averell Harriman is not afraid to speak his mind—to put forth the bare bones of truth no matter how they rattle—for in his own words:

The middle-of-the-road is not a very safe place to drive. It's not too safe even in domestic affairs. But certainly in foreign policy it can be disastrous.

Thus, in 1945 Averell Harriman warned the Nation's decisionmakers that the Soviet Union's spirit of cooperation and friendship would wane in the post-war world, that our mutual objectives would lead to competition and conflict. He sought in his words "to find a way to live in peace on this rather small planet." His prescription was a policy of "competitive coexistence."

Governor Harriman has been a leader in the field of international cooperation. During his mission to Britain in 1941 Governor Harriman helped coordinate lend-lease activities. After the war he was U.S. representative in Europe under the Marshall plan. Later Harriman brought his indefatigable spirit and vast experience to the study of Western defense plans as the U.S. representative to the NATO Commission.

Someone once said that he "who gives a nation peace, gives tranquility to all." At Yalta, Potsdam, Geneva, and most recently Paris, Averell Harriman has sought to find peace that will lead to international tranquility. In recent years under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Governor Harriman has again accepted difficult negotiating assignments. When President Kennedy was faced with the complexities of the crisis in Laos, he sent Averell Harriman to Geneva to head the U.S. delegation. With Governor Harriman as its chief representative the United States achieved its objective—the agreement to create a neutral Laos.

In 1963 President Kennedy again called upon Averell Harriman when he needed a man to negotiate perhaps the most important treaty of this century—the nuclear test ban agreement. Kennedy needed a man who would be a tough negotiator and a good conciliator; and such a man is Averell Harriman, for in his own words his philosophy of negotiation is to "have a friendly hand out and our guard up." Harriman brought to the talks his long experience in dealing with the Soviet Union and his understanding

of Communist objectives and motivations. He came home with the Test Ban Treaty the President sought.

Since last May Governor Harriman has been in Paris attempting to negotiate a settlement in Vietnam. The understanding finally reached on procedural questions has formed the framework upon which the final settlement can be built, and his patience during the tedious and tortuous course of the negotiations helped to make that possible.

Since Averell Harriman has not been allowed to retire, and in hours of need American Presidents have repeatedly called him back to serve, I am sure that our country will continue to profit from the benefit of his experience, insight, and courage. Few have served their country with such loyalty, dedication, and tirelessness, and few can speak with such authority on the problems which confront us.

Governor Harriman once said:

The most fascinating problems . . . are international relations, the most lasting in their effect on our country and on the development of human life.

Through his skillful use of diplomacy Averell Harriman has had a profound impact on the international community. Andrew Carnegie once wrote:

The man who passes into history as the chief agent in banishing or even lessening war, the great evil of his day, is to stand for all time among the foremost benefactors.

As men in the future look back over the mid-20th century and weigh the diplomatic crises and their influence on the course of history, the accomplishments of Averell Harriman will remain a measure of excellence in diplomacy, and his story will record his role as an agent of peace.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure and a privilege to join in paying a well-deserved tribute to a truly extraordinary public servant who is affectionately known as "Honest Ave" and as "The Man Who Won't Grow Old."

For more than 35 of his 77 years, W. Averell Harriman has given the best of himself to our Nation and to his native State of New York after having had wide experience in both the railroad industry and in the world of finance and banking. Notwithstanding the fact that he is a man whom many consider an aristocrat and who inherited a large fortune at an early age, he preferred to assume the exacting duties and burden of public service rather than a life of ease and leisure. He is cast in the tradition of the 19th century Englishman—the wealthy man who feels it a duty to put his inherited advantages at the disposal of his country. A product of exclusive Groton and world-famous Yale, he spent his summer vacations working as a clerk and a section hand in the Union Pacific Railroad yards at Omaha, Nebr. Upon receiving his degree from Yale University, he once again went to work for that railroad company, and in less than 2 years had risen to become its vice president.

A forward looking man with imagination, he showed the world what can be accomplished even during a period of great economic depression. In 1932, Harriman was selected for the post of chair-

man of the board of the Union Pacific. It was a period when other railroad systems were retrenching their operations and expenditures, but under his wise and enlightened leadership he had his railroad company pour out millions of dollars for modern streamlined aluminum trains which featured, among other attractions, trained-nurse stewardesses and low-price meals. As a direct result, and at the worst period of the depression while Herbert Hoover was President of the United States, Union Pacific's receipts from passenger traffic rose to 66 percent. Perhaps, today's railroads might profit from this example.

Although a Republican by birth, breeding, and environment, W. Averell Harriman became a Democrat and entered politics because of his enthusiasm for Al Smith of New York. President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave Harriman his first Government appointment as administrative officer for the National Recovery Administration—the NRA which the senior citizens still remember.

After a number of highly important assignments with the Federal Government, he became a member of the Cabinet by virtue of his being appointed Secretary of Commerce by President Truman in 1946.

It was, however, in the field of diplomacy and international relations that this unusually capable man gained world renown. After the German surrender and before Japan fell, it was Harriman who viewed the outward thrust of communism as not being dead and that the Free World might well have to face an impending ideological warfare just as dangerous as fascism. As American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, he became the first Western envoy to report that a thing we now call the cold war was about to be opened by the Reds. He said:

The real issue is not between free enterprise and communism, but between freedom and dictatorship.

Later, when Moscow developed its own nuclear weapons, he concluded that negotiations with the Russians were indicated, however, he only wanted to negotiate with them from a position of strength. He contributed greatly to the negotiations of the Test Ban Treaty with the U.S.S.R. during the Kennedy administration.

For more than a quarter of a century, Harriman had dealt with most of the world leaders such as Winston Churchill, Stalin, Massadegh, Nehru, Tito, Tshombe, Nasser, Khrushchev, De Gaulle, and many others on behalf of the United States.

In 1954, he succeeded in being elected Governor of the Empire State and 2 years later made a creditable, but unsuccessful, attempt for the Democratic presidential nomination. One cannot help but admire an indestructible quality about Harriman's resolve to work on behalf of our country's best interests no matter who may be in the White House.

Evidence of W. Averell Harriman's culture and appreciation of the finer things in life may be gathered from his love of literature, music, and art. His collections of paintings include works of Picasso,

Gauguin, Renoir, Van Gogh, and Cezanne.

The world is indeed a small one for Governor Harriman for he is the most roving of all our roving Ambassadors. He has served our country longer in higher and more diverse posts than any other American official of his time. One wonders how any man could have crowded so much useful and dramatic activity into his life as U.S. troubleshooter and dedicated public servant. He has managed to combine longevity with a comparative youthfulness, wisdom, with exuberance, and good fortune with an extraordinary sense of public responsibility.

May the years ahead be filled with health, happiness, and continued success for this great American—Gov. W. Averell Harriman. We all owe him a debt of gratitude for his efforts to help establish peaceful solutions to our Nation's problems with other countries.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have this opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to an outstanding American, W. Averell Harriman, for his many years of distinguished service to the Nation.

Governor Harriman has devoted a large part of his life to promoting the interests of his country, and to advancing the cause of international peace.

A list of his many accomplishments and official government titles can give but a hint of the tremendous contribution he has made over the years to the well-being and security of his fellow citizens here in the United States, and around the entire world.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I am particularly impressed with his work in successfully negotiating the historic Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, and in guiding the difficult but vitally important negotiations in Paris to try to find a peaceful solution to the bitter war in Vietnam.

As we pause to salute this great American elder statesman, I believe it would be appropriate to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point two excellent articles from the Washington Post which seem to capture some of the meaning in the life of this remarkable world citizen. The articles follow:

HARRIMAN SHOWS HOW DUTY IS DONE

(By William S. White)

No matter where the pendulum of fate may at last come to rest in Vietnam—whether fixedly pointed to honorable peace or to the flames of larger war—the New Year finds one of the old boys showing the young how duty is done at the center of the crisis.

Averell Harriman, an elderly party by any chronological test at 74, is putting one of this country's dearest cliché-myths, the cult of youth worship, to a severe test.

The most roving of all our roving ambassadors, he was more or less endlessly airborne at the approach of the New Year. In his somewhat dull but absolutely tireless and determined way he was carrying climactic messages from President Johnson to national leaders half around the world in America's final spasm of effort to reach a decent and nonappealing peace to end the Vietnamese war.

His journeys would have exhausted most men of half his years. And beyond doubt there will be many other journeys before this curiously ageless man lays down at last

a public career that began before many of his diplomatic colleagues had put on their first long pants.

His highest professional qualification is his record as President Truman's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, a long time ago now. In Moscow he became the first Western envoy totally to sense—and to report back home with no trimming—that a thing we now call the cold war was about to be opened by the Communist world.

But his highest human qualification is something else. His very age is the strength of his career. For alone among current high officials he cannot possibly be suspected, by the most suspicious associate or by Congress, of allowing personal ambition to color or to frighten in the smallest way his work or his recommendations.

So it is that all Washington knows one thing at least—that if he says something he believes it, purely and simply. He is not running for anything.

He is a man, this Harriman, who was twice cruelly disappointed in politics. The first time was when he was denied the presidential nomination that Harry Truman had earnestly sought for him. The second time was when Nelson Rockefeller unseated him as Governor of New York.

Many would have curled up and quit when the last and unsuspected blow had fallen. Harriman instead stolidly came here to work in the State Department in his grumpy quiet way, for President John F. Kennedy. For titles he clearly didn't give a damn. He stayed on with President Johnson. And as the titles came and went he still clearly didn't give a damn what rank-plate they put upon his door.

He was, in fact, a poor politician. His speeches, however written, were unconquerably pedestrian in his mouth, and in affectionate impatience he evoked the nickname of "Honest Ave, the Hair Splitter." For elective office the knack was simply not in him. He became instead a most superior public official of the appointive sort. He had, in spite of himself, found his place. This is perhaps why he is able to show the younger men how duty is at last done.

The late Adm. Ernest King, a glacially tough old type of the Second World War, said that when "they" in Washington got into trouble they sent for the So and So. Like King, Harriman could never have even got started in a popularity race. But, like Ernest King, Averell Harriman is a good type to have around when the heat is on and they need a man for a man's errand.

HONEST AVE

(By Alfred Friendly)

Averell Harriman is and always has been a good soldier, which is to say that he does his duty with skill and loyalty. As ambitious as the next man, he bore such disappointments as came his way with grace and let none of them reduce his dedication to a larger goal.

The larger goal was the Nation; he has served it with only a few interruptions for the last 33 of his 75 years.

It began with Harriman in the role of poor little rich boy—or at least others saw him as such—kicking around the National Recovery Administration and the early defense production efforts in the middle and late '30s. He had come to Washington after a business career that was not notably meteoric, at least in comparison with that of his railroad tycoon father, E. H. Harriman.

AN UNPOPULAR SIGHT

The chores he undertook were respectable and Harriman did them respectably, but he began to shine only in 1941 when he made a lend-lease survey trip to Russia and came back to blast his former employers of the defense production organizations for their myopia.

Russia needed massive war material help from the United States; so did Britain; so would America need war production for itself. Harriman shouted for it when it was not popular to do so.

Beginning then, he seldom misread the big issues or backed the wrong answer on them. He knew that Hitler could be beat and said so when others had their doubts. More important, he knew what it would take to do it.

Having been the most energetic advocate of wartime aid to Russia, in 1945 he became almost the first important American figure to see the menace of Stalin and the onset of the Cold War. He was denounced—the usual terms in those days were “fascist warmongering beast”—for his presidency. He fretted under the opprobrium, but the ordeal was not long drawn out; the picture that Harriman had identified when it was barely a sketch soon emerged clearly.

Dramatically enough, it was Harriman who negotiated with the U.S.S.R. the limited ban on nuclear testing in 1963. It was not Harriman who flip-flopped in his views of the Soviet Union; it was merely that he was usually the first to see when the Soviet Union changed the scene to be viewed.

MARSHALL PLAN KEY

After heading the American embassies in Moscow and London, he became President Truman's Secretary of Commerce, where he was an early and staunch anti-McCarthyite. Then came the big job as top American representative in Europe for the Marshall Plan.

Within the first two months on that job, he nalled down the one procedure without which the operation would have failed. Over the screaming protests of the beneficiary nations, he required them, rather than the United States, to divide the Marshall Plan pie among themselves, thus forcing European cooperation, the touchstone of success.

Not inconspicuously, Harriman lusted after elected office, and got it, as Governor of New York in 1954. Even earlier, he had been infected with Potomac Fever, and made some fair-to-middling if awkward tries for the Democratic nomination in 1952 and 1956.

He took his beating in those episodes, as in his subsequent defeat at the hands of Nelson Rockefeller for re-election as Governor, with a dignity and a generous spirit that were not merely part of good manners taught by Groton, Yale and the gentleman's life.

Harriman wanted other posts, too. When Dean Acheson got the job he hoped for in 1949—Secretary of State—Harriman drowned his chagrin with only one cocktail and became Acheson's most loyal and honorable supporter as well as admirer.

At 75, “Honest Abe” does not stand on pride of place or name or seniority. He tackles the special assignments he is given with the stamina of a 20-year-old and the wisdom of a man who has lived long enough to know what is important and worth doing.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject matter of my special order.

THE SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WAGGONER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

TAX REFORM

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentle-

man from New York (Mr. HALPERN) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we hear a good deal of talk today about the need for fiscal responsibility, the need to reduce the Federal budget deficit, the need to resolve our domestic economic problems, and the need to strengthen our international financial position. Discussions of these problems have thus far centered around proposals for reduced Federal expenditures and increased income taxes.

However, I believe that there is another, more equitable way of dealing with our budget problems. For too long we have been laboring under an inequitable tax system—a system which lays the heaviest burdens upon middle and lower income groups while allowing citizens with large incomes to pay little or no taxes.

As it exists today, our tax system permits some taxpayers in the million-dollar-and-up bracket to pay no income taxes whatever. It permits the largest oil companies, with incomes in the billions of dollars, to pay an average tax of 8 percent, while at the same time, requiring many individuals earning \$5,000 a year to contribute over 15 percent of their salaries to the Government.

What kind of tax justice do we have when 17 Americans with incomes of \$1 million or more pay not 1 cent in taxes? What kind of tax justice do we have when a real estate corporation with a net cash return of over \$5 million can not only pay no taxes but can legally report a tax loss of almost \$2 million? What kind of tax justice do we have when a lawyer filing a client's tax return can discover that the client has six times as much income as he and pays only one-fifth as much tax?

In theory, our system is based on the premise of “ability to pay,” but in actual practice it appears to be based on “inability to avoid paying.”

Existing tax preferences are vigorously defended on a variety of grounds. Presumably, they are needed as an “incentive” to some generally desirable activity, or to relieve a “hardship” suffered by some industry or group of individuals, or to relieve an “inequity” arising from some other facet of our legal or economic structure. And, indeed, one cannot say that most preferences or exemptions are totally devoid of justification.

What must not be forgotten, however, is that what constitutes tax relief for some creates additional burdens for the remainder of the taxpaying public. Through our system of tax preferences, we have relieved some citizens from shouldering their proportionate share of our fiscal burdens at the expense of the majority of the taxpayers.

In addition, the loss of revenue to the Government through tax loopholes in itself constitutes a type of Federal expenditure. The Government has, in effect, granted subsidies to certain groups by allowing them to refrain from paying some—often large—portions of their taxes. Many of these subsidies, if subjected to the scrutiny given appropriations for regular Government expendi-

tures, would not begin to pass under acceptable allocations of the taxpayers' money.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that at a time of high Government expenditure, when tax increases are being called for, the injustices of these tax inequities is compounded.

We cannot hope to achieve fiscal responsibility by means of any number of spending cuts or tax increases if our basic tax system operates in an irrational and unjust fashion. We have an absolute obligation to insure that in placing tax burdens on our citizens, we place them fairly.

Therefore, I am today introducing a bill which would help the average taxpayer by eliminating inequities and favoritisms that have existed in our laws for too many years.

Basically, here is what this proposal would do:

Tax capital gains accumulated in estates;

Remove unlimited charitable deductions;

Tax stock option gains at income tax rates;

Require that related corporations be taxed as a single enterprise;

Eliminate tax-free status of municipal industrial revenue bonds;

Reduce mineral depletion allowances to 10 percent from a high of 27½ percent;

Increase gift tax rates to those established on estates;

Require that Government bonds used to settle estate taxes be valued at current market prices;

Limit farming loss deductions for “gentleman farmers”;

Remove accelerated depreciation allowances on speculative real estate transactions; and

Require a minimum income tax of 20 percent on incomes of \$50,000 and above.

Enactment of this legislation would catch at least \$15 billion of the revenues lost in taxes annually through loopholes in our laws. This is almost \$3 billion more than the \$12.2 billion in added revenue which the Treasury Department indicates the surcharge is expected to yield this year. Therefore, if this were enacted, there would be no need whatsoever to continue the surtax on individual taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, passage of this bill would not solve all of our economic problems, but it would be an excellent beginning. Therefore, I urge all my colleagues to join in support of this legislation.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED FOR THE RELEASE BY THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION OF 100,000 SHORT TONS OF LEAD FROM THE NATIONAL AND SUPPLEMENTAL STOCKPILES

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SANDMAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation providing for the release by the General Services Administration of 100,000 short tons of lead from the national and the supplemental

stockpiles. All of the lead in these stockpiles has been declared surplus to defense or strategic requirements, but may be disposed of only if expressly authorized by an act of Congress. The stockpile objective for lead was reduced to zero by the Office of Emergency Preparedness on June 17, 1963. As a consequence, the entire current inventory of 1,164,000 short tons of lead is excess to estimated requirements.

Consumption of lead in the United States has increased substantially during recent years due to generally favorable economic conditions and increased production by lead-consuming industries. The principal uses of lead are in automotive batteries, 40 percent of total consumption; antiknock compounds, 19 percent; paint pigments, insulation, and other products such as cable, solder, pipes, and ammunition.

Annual U.S. consumption of lead approximates 1,350,000 short tons, with about 500,000 tons by secondary smelters, and the balance from imports. During the latter part of 1968, increased automobile production, replacement battery demand, and gasoline usage resulted in extraordinary lead consumption.

While various domestic lead producers have planned additional production facilities, construction and technical problems delayed their completion and reduced primary producers' domestic stocks to only 19,000 tons as of December 31, 1968. Already some domestic battery and antiknock compound producers have been forced to curtail production and shipments, with resulting layoffs of workers, due to inadequate lead supplies. Unless additional sources of supply become available within the next 45 days, these industries will be forced into more severe cutbacks and, in certain instances, discontinuance of production.

The current market price of \$0.135 per pound is the highest since 1967 and will allow the Federal Government to realize \$27,000,000 from the sale. In view of the new domestic production facilities that will be on stream in late 1969, the current price is likely to be as good as or better than that which can be expected to be realized by the Government in the future. In addition, disposal of the surplus lead will eliminate the Government's storage costs for stockpiling this metal.

Present circumstances, therefore, are favorable for an orderly disposal of lead surpluses from the stockpile. One hundred thousand tons are estimated to meet needs until a balance between supply and demand can be achieved later this year.

This bill has the support of all major lead consumers and producers, and should be enacted promptly to correct the current critical imbalance between lead supply and demand.

WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS IS A \$9 BILLION TAX REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today for myself, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MEYERS), the gentleman from California (Mr. REES), the gentle-

man from Michigan (Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD), the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MOORHEAD), the gentleman from Washington (Mr. ADAMS), the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM), the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN), the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ZABLOCKI), and the gentleman from California (Mr. EDWARDS) H.R. 5250, the Tax Reform Act of 1969. The bill is designed to produce equity by plugging loopholes in our Federal tax system.

The Nation's 50 million low- and moderate-income taxpayers have just been told that they can expect an extension of the 10-percent surcharge for the year beginning next July 1.

Outgoing Secretary of the Treasury, Joseph W. Barr, told the Joint Economic Committee on January 17 of an incipient "taxpayers' revolt" at the loopholes in the Federal tax system. High income recipients often escape with little or no tax payments. In 1967, for example, 21 with incomes of more than \$1 million paid no Federal income tax whatever; 155 with incomes over \$200,000 paid none.

The 10-percent surtax has a sharp impact on the average American middle-class family. But to the wealthy enjoyer of loopholes, 10 percent of nothing is still nothing. This may account for the equanimity with which so many beneficiaries of the loopholes regard the 10-percent surtax.

For years, I have been pressing for tax reform. For years successive administrations have failed to propose a tax reform to the Congress.

But I do not despair. Now, in 1969, may be the time when tax reform is politically feasible.

Here is why.

The proposed extension of the 10-percent surtax would yield \$9 billion in fiscal 1970. This yield is what the administration considers necessary in order to combat inflation.

H.R. 5250, by plugging 13 of the more notorious loopholes in our Federal tax system, would yield the very same \$9 billion annually as is sought to be collected by the extended 10-percent surcharge.

There is no reason why an adequate loophole-plugging tax reform bill, with administration support, cannot be enacted between now and next June 30. If H.R. 5250 is enacted, its \$9 billion increased revenues will make unnecessary the enactment of the extended 10-percent surcharge. If only part of H.R. 5250 can be enacted, the revenue thus raised will permit an equivalent reduction in the surtax.

Raising revenues by asking the beneficiaries of loopholes to pay their fair share will produce an equivalent reduction of the burden on the low and moderate income taxpayer, and thus greatly improve the equity of our tax system.

But much more than equity is involved. Many of the loopholes themselves cause inflation in the very sectors of the economy which are most inflation-prone. Thus the 7-percent investment tax credit is largely responsible for the inflationary boom in capital equipment. Accelerated depreciation helps create the overstrained condition in the construction of office and luxury apartment buildings.

The provisions allowing income tax deductions for hobby farms are at least a partial cause of the inflated prices of farmland.

Nor is this all. Many of these loopholes are indirectly responsible for the current policy of tight money and high interest rates which is proving so rough on the home building industry, on State and local government, and on small business. By creating particular incentives to build capital equipment, office and luxury apartment buildings, and hobby farms, the tax loopholes greatly add to the demand for the Nation's scarce supply of credit. This has been a leading cause of our current tight money and high interest rates.

Ironically, beneficiaries of the loopholes are hardly touched by the money-tightening policies of the Federal Reserve System. Tax loopholes make it possible for them to pay high interest rates and still make out. But the housing industry, State and local government, and small business have no such loopholes, and hence absorb all the impact of tightened credit.

Evidence also exists that tax loopholes, by showering bonanzas on the wealthy, hurt our balance of payments. The loopholes do this by providing the wherewithal for inflated investment by Americans overseas.

These are the reasons, then, why H.R. 5250 or some similar loophole-plugging tax reform is vitally necessary—to produce equity in our tax system before there is a taxpayers' revolt; to rid the tax system of inflationary pressures inherent in the system itself; to remove an important cause of our current over-tight money and high interest rates; to check unnecessary incentives toward capital investment abroad that hurts our balance of payments.

The sound and responsible fiscal approach for this country is to get the additional revenues needed from a loophole-plugging tax reform, not by an extended surcharge on the low- and moderate-income taxpayer.

The following is a section-by-section analysis of H.R. 5250:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 5250 TITLE I: SHORT TITLE AND PROVISION FOR PERFECTING AMENDMENTS

TITLE II: TAKING CAPITAL GAINS UNTAXED AT DEATH—SAVINGS \$2.5 BILLION

When shares of stock and other forms of property increase in value, the increase is subject to tax as a capital gain. However, the capital gains tax rate on property held for more than 6 months is only half of that for ordinary income, and it never goes higher than 25 percent. In addition, the tax is not assessed until the property is sold and the increase in value is realized.

But some capital gains are never taxed at all. Here is how it works. Suppose a taxpayer bought some stock in a small electronics company for \$5000 back in 1958. The company has flourished and the stock is now worth \$15,000. If he sells it now he will have to pay a capital gains tax on the \$10,000 increase in value. For the high bracket taxpayer who pays the maximum 25 percent capital gains rate, this means a tax of \$2500. But if he never sells the stock and it passes on to his heirs, neither he nor his heirs will ever have to pay income tax on the increase in value. The heirs' only responsibility for taxes is on any future profit they receive.

This loophole greatly favors those who have large amounts of accumulated wealth to pass on to the next generation.

Moreover, many older investors who would rather see their money go to their heirs than to the Internal Revenue Service tend to hold on to investments they would normally sell. As a result, capital which would otherwise be set free to flow into sound and productive investments is locked in, distorting investment decision-making.

Closing this loophole by simply taxing these capital gains at death would increase Federal revenues by \$2.5 billion a year.

TITLE III: ELIMINATING THE UNLIMITED CHARITABLE DEDUCTION—SAVINGS \$60 MILLION

The unlimited charitable deduction is a little-known device that costs the Treasury some \$60 million a year in lost revenues.

The ordinary taxpayer may not deduct more than 30 percent of his income for his contributions to charity, no matter how much he gives. Not so for some millionaires, however. They are allowed to deduct gifts to charity without limit if—in that year and eight of ten preceding years—their charitable contributions plus Federal income taxes paid exceeded 90 percent of taxable income.

This may sound like a hard way to escape taxation, but it really is not if you are a millionaire and a careful investor. Notice that it is only 90 percent of taxable income that must be given away or paid in taxes—the millionaire who receives most of his income from capital gains, tax-free state and local bonds, and oil property will have relatively little taxable income. Thus the 90 percent requirement need not be a serious obstacle—a modest annual gift to a favorite charity, which might be a foundation set up by the wealthy taxpayer himself—and the full benefit of an unlimited charitable deduction is his to reap.

TITLE IV: ELIMINATING SPECIAL TAX TREATMENT FOR STOCK OPTIONS—SAVINGS \$150 MILLION

The stock option loophole enables top executives of large corporations to pay taxes on part of their incomes at low capital gains rates.

It works this way. If the executive is rewarded by his corporation with a bonus or a raise, he pays taxes on it just like everyone else. If he is a top-level executive, however, the corporation is more likely to give him an option to purchase its stock instead. The option is simply a right to purchase the company's stock at any time the executive wants to within, say, the next ten years, at the price the stock is selling for at the time the option is granted. Thus an executive granted an option in 1960 when the company's stock is selling for \$50 a share can exercise it in 1968 by buying the stock at that price, even though the stock may have risen in value to \$300 a share during those eight years. Exercising the option therefore gives him a capital gain of \$250 a share, taxable at the low capital gains rates. By contrast, the man who received the same amount of income in the form of salary or a bonus would pay an income tax at least double that of the option-favored executive.

If perchance the stock should decline in value the executive is no worse off. He has no obligation to buy the preferred stock, so he simply does not exercise his option.

As a result of President Kennedy's 1962 request that the stock option loophole be closed, the Revenue Act of 1964 tightened up the terms qualifying business executives for this privileged treatment. The privilege still remains, however. It is time to ring down the curtain on it.

By so doing, the saving to the Treasury could well be \$150 million.

TITLE V: ELIMINATING THE \$100 DIVIDEND EXCLUSION—SAVINGS \$225 MILLION

Corporate stockholders are specially favored by the \$100 dividend exclusion loop-

hole. These generally high-bracket taxpayers get their first \$100 of dividends each year tax-free. By contrast, their neighbors who put their money in savings accounts or in government bonds pay income tax on all the interest they receive.

The dividend exclusion was first written into the tax law in 1954. The ostensible reason was to compensate for the "double taxation" of dividends which are taxed first to the corporation as corporate income and then again as a dividend when distributed to the taxpayer.

The logic of this double taxation argument would lead to the conclusion that all dividends should escape tax, but even the strongest proponents of the 1954 dividend exclusion did not have the temerity to push for this.

Corporations and their stockholders are separate entities—legally and in fact. The very purpose of incorporation is to limit the owner's liability by separating his income and assets from those of the corporation. Since the stockholder benefits substantially by this legal separation from the corporation, it is no injustice for the law to continue to view the stockholder and the corporation as separate entities at tax time.

Double taxation, moreover, is all around us. Excise taxes, sales taxes, and use taxes are often pyramided on top of each other. There is a sales tax on automobiles, for example, yet many of the parts in the car were already taxed at least once before when they were sold to the car manufacturer.

Closing the dividend exclusion loophole would increase Treasury revenues by \$225 million.

TITLE VI: ELIMINATING THE BENEFITS DERIVED FROM MULTIPLE CORPORATIONS—SAVINGS \$200 MILLION

Dividing a business enterprise into a number of separate parts for tax purposes has long been a disorder of the corporate world. The advantages of multiple incorporation result from the way the corporation tax is set up: the first \$25,000 of a corporation's earnings are taxed at 22 percent, while everything above that is taxed at 48 percent. Therefore, dividing the enterprise up into a number of separate corporations, each reporting earnings of \$25,000 or less, avoids the extra 26 percent tax entirely. Since each \$25,000 in earnings beyond the first \$25,000 would otherwise be taxed at the full 48 percent rate, there is a tax savings of 26 percent of \$25,000 (or \$6,500) for each separate corporation.

Take, for example, a corporation with earnings of \$100,000 a year—splitting it up into four \$25,000 corporations can save \$19,500 a year in taxes. There is one case on record of a corporation that divided itself into 734 separate corporations, for a tax saving that approached \$5,000,000 a year.

Although Congress put some limits on the multiple corporation dodge in 1964, this loophole still costs the Treasury \$200 million a year.

TITLE VII: REMOVING THE TAX EXEMPTION ON MUNICIPAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BONDS—SAVING \$50 MILLION

Communities throughout the country are today issuing municipal bonds bearing tax-free interest to finance industrial plants and commercial facilities for private, profit-making corporations.

The usual technique is for the municipality to construct a plant in accordance with the corporation's specifications and then to lease the plant to the corporation, using the rental payments to retire the bond.

Although the interest on state and local bonds has long been tax-free, this privilege was not extended to industrial development bonds until 1954, and then not by law but by a Treasury ruling.

There is no justification whatever for extending the tax-exempt privilege to these bond issues. They serve no public purpose,

but merely subsidize plant construction for large corporations that are fully capable of financing these plants themselves. They flood the tax-exempt bond market and drive up interest rates on all tax-exempt bonds. And they have been a prime weapon in the arsenal of rural, largely Southern, areas seeking to lure run-away plants from other parts of the country.

This plant pravity has forced a number of industrial states to allow their local governments to issue these bonds, with the result that some 44 states now authorize them. With virtually all states issuing these bonds, this kind of financing no longer gives one state an advantage over another. The states end up caught in a beggar-thy-neighbor rat race which benefits no one but the subsidized corporations.

Early in 1968 the Treasury Department attempted to reverse its 1954 ruling by revoking the industrial development bond tax exemption. However, Congress thwarted this attempt by passing legislation that permitted the exemption to continue for most issues. The tax exemption was first limited to issues of under \$1 million, except that larger issues for arguably public purposes (like sports arenas, airports, pollution abatement facilities, and industrial parks) would remain tax exempt. Congress then raised the upper limit on bond issues to \$5 million if the issuing community was willing to work within certain restrictions. The upshot of all this is that some 87 percent of industrial development bond issues will continue to be tax exempt.

Closing this loophole for good would save the Treasury at least \$50 million a year.

TITLE VIII: A MUNICIPAL BOND GUARANTEE CORPORATION AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO TAX EXEMPT BONDS—SAVINGS \$900 MILLION

The interest on state and local bonds has been tax-free ever since the original income tax law of 1913. As a matter of fact, taxpayers need not even report this income on their tax returns.

As a consequence, state and local bonds have long been a favorite investment for the very rich. Although the average taxpayer perceives no great advantage in buying municipal bonds at 4 percent when he can get corporate bonds that will pay him 7 percent, the tax-free bonds look very good indeed to taxpayers in the 50-percent-and-up brackets.

Not surprisingly, then, over 80 percent of tax-free bonds held by individuals are in the hands of the wealthiest 1 percent of the population.

This tax exemption does, however, have one important redeeming feature—it enables hard-pressed states and cities to raise money for schools, roads, water purification plants, hospitals, and other essential public facilities at relatively low interest rates. Simply taxing the interest on municipal bonds, therefore, would force municipalities either to pay higher interest rates (which few of them could afford) or to forego badly-needed public improvements.

Fortunately there is a solution at hand that does not involve giving tax-free income to millionaire investors. The idea is this: tax the income from these bonds, but have the federal government pay a direct subsidy to states and cities to compensate them for their higher borrowing costs. The Treasury would come out comfortably ahead on the deal, since it now loses far more revenue (\$1.8 billion in 1968) than the states and localities save in lower borrowing costs (about \$9 billion).

This Title therefore sets up a Municipal Bond Guarantee Corporation to guarantee State and local bond issues against default, and to pay to states and localities an interest subsidy sufficient to reduce their interest payments by one-third. The funds for the subsidy would come from general Federal revenues. In return for the guarantee and subsidy, states and localities would be required to waive the tax exempt status of the

bond issues involved, thus allowing the Federal government to tax the interest.

Although municipalities could continue to issue tax exempt bonds, the Guarantee Corporation route would be more attractive in most cases. Treasury Department experts estimate that municipal borrowing costs are only reduced 25 percent because of the tax-exempt feature, while the Federal interest subsidy would reduce their borrowing costs by 33 percent. The Treasury would also come out ahead, since they would get an estimated 42 cents in extra tax revenue for every 33 cents that had to be turned over to municipalities as an interest subsidy.

TITLE IX: REDUCING THE MINERAL DEPLETION ALLOWANCE FROM 27 1/2 PERCENT TO 15 PERCENT ON OIL AND FROM 23 PERCENT TO 15 PERCENT ON 41 OTHER MINERALS—SAVINGS \$900 MILLION

The most notorious tax loophole of all is the oil depletion allowance. It allows oil producers to receive 27 1/2 percent of the gross income from their oil wells tax-free—so long as it does not exceed 50 percent of net income. In theory, this is to compensate the oil man for the fact that the oil in his well is being used up, or depleted, by the drilling, much as other businessmen are allowed to take deductions for the depreciation of their plant and machinery. Unlike other industries, however, the oil depletion allowance continues year after year as long as the well keeps producing—it does not stop when the cost of the well is recovered. Normal cost depreciation, by way of contrast, permits capital assets to be depreciated over their useful life, but total deductions cannot exceed the total cost of the asset.

As a result of this provision, the Treasury estimates, the cost of the average oil well is recovered 19 times over. The effect of this on oil company tax bills is striking: in 1966 the 20 top oil companies in America cleared a total profit of more than \$4 1/2 billion—yet they paid Federal income taxes at the rate of only 8 1/2 percent. That is about the same rate a man and wife earning \$3000 a year must pay.

Ideally, percentage depletion should be replaced with cost depletion. But since we are not living in an ideal world, this Title provides only that the oil depletion allowance be reduced by less than one-half, from 27 1/2 to 15 percent, the percentage now applicable to over 40 other minerals. In addition, this Title would reduce to 15 percent the mineral depletion allowance on 41 minerals now enjoying a 23 percent depletion rate. Thus these two reforms would put a 15 percent ceiling on all percentage depletion.

The revenue gain from this modest proposal would be at least \$900 million a year.

TITLE X: ESTABLISHING THE SAME RATE FOR GIFT AND ESTATE TAXES—SAVINGS \$150 MILLION

Present tax law places a premium on a person giving away his property during his lifetime. Property given away during a donor's lifetime is taxed at the gift tax rate, which is only three-fourths as high as the estate tax rate that applies to property transferred at death. In addition, \$3000 can be given away each year to any number of individuals without paying any gift tax. Finally, over and above these yearly \$3000 gifts, \$30,000 can be given away by a person during his lifetime without paying a gift tax.

This Title simply raises the gift tax rates by 25 percent to bring them in line with the estate tax rates. Property given away would then be taxed at the same rate without regard to whether it is given during the donor's lifetime or at his death.

This reform would bring in \$150 million in extra revenues annually.

TITLE XI: ELIMINATE PAYMENT OF ESTATE TAXES BY THE REDEMPTION OF GOVERNMENT BONDS AT PAR—SAVINGS \$50 MILLION

If upon death a person faces a probable \$100,000 estate tax bill and has a smart law-

yer, the lawyer will advise his client to buy \$100,000 worth of long-term U.S. Government bonds. Why? Because the U.S. Treasury will redeem its bonds at par (face) value in payment of estate taxes, no matter what his client paid for them. If his client, for example, buys Government bonds for \$80,000 and his estate turns them in at \$100,000 a few weeks later, the decedent reduces his estate tax bill by 20 percent.

The Treasury loses \$50 million a year as a result of this little known generosity.

TITLE XII: LIMITING HOBBY FARMERS' USE OF FARM LOSSES TO OFFSET OTHER INCOME—SAVINGS \$400 MILLION

The "hobby farm" loophole allows wealthy individuals with a yen for the bucolic to escape both city life and a large amount of taxes by becoming gentlemen farmers. These part-time rustics get most of their income from sources other than farming, but by maintaining a farm they can take advantage of special farm accounting rules—which were developed to ease bookkeeping chores for ordinary, full-time farmers—and show "tax losses" which are not true economic losses. These tax losses are then used to offset non-farm income, generally resulting in a large tax savings overall.

Not only is this loophole a large drain on the Treasury—around \$400 million a year—it also gives the hobby farmer an unfair competitive advantage over the genuine farmer. The ordinary farmer must compete in the market place with these wealthy hobby farmers, to whom a profit in the ordinary sense is not necessary. In addition, the Treasury has said, the attractive farm tax benefits available to the wealthy have caused them to bid up the price of farm land beyond that which would prevail in a normal farm economy.

This Title deals with the hobby farm problem by limiting the amount of non-farm income that can be offset by farm losses in any one year. For those with non-farm income up to \$15,000, farm losses can offset this non-farm income in full. However, for each dollar of non-farm income in excess of \$15,000, the amount of non-farm income that can be offset is reduced by a dollar. Thus, someone with a non-farm income of \$20,000 could only offset \$10,000 of it with farm losses, while someone with non-farm income of \$30,000 or more could offset none of it with farm losses.

In addition, there are carryover and carry-back provisions that allow farm losses to be offset against farm income—but no other income—for the prior 3 years and the subsequent 5 years.

TITLE XIII: ELIMINATING ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION ON SPECULATIVE REAL ESTATE—SAVINGS \$150 MILLION

This Title would repeal section 1250 of the Internal Revenue Code, which permits accelerated depreciation on speculative real estate investments.

By taking advantage of this accelerated depreciation provision, a real estate speculator can deduct more than the normal amount of depreciation in the early years of a building's life in return for lower-than-normal deductions in the later years. However, if he sells the building at the proper time he can avoid those lower deductions in the later years. The new purchaser can in turn begin again with higher-than-average deductions, skimming the cream of accelerated depreciation before he too sells the property. The advantage of this for the speculator is that these higher-than-normal deductions can be used to offset ordinary income, reducing his tax bill.

But this is not the only tax advantage that flows from accelerated depreciation. If the speculator sells the property at a profit, his entire profit is taxed at the low capital gains rate—including the "book profit" resulting from accelerated depreciation. This extra

book profit comes about because accelerated depreciation has reduced the nominal value of the property below what it would be if normal straight-line depreciation had been used. In most non-real estate transactions this extra book profit—the difference between book value and real value—is taxed as ordinary income. Not so for real estate (except in certain limited circumstances). There this fictional gain is taxed at the reduced capital gains rates.

Repealing the accelerated depreciation provision would save the Treasury \$150 million annually.

TITLE XIV: REPEALING THE 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT—SAVINGS \$3 BILLION

The 7 percent investment tax credit, enacted in 1962, permits business firms to subtract from their tax bills 7 percent of the value of eligible new equipment installed during the year. It was intended to stimulate the economy by providing a subsidy to private investment.

However, our economy has been overstimulated and we are now in a period of serious inflation, fed in part by the investment tax credit. The credit concentrates inflationary spending power on precisely that portion of the economy that is already most overheated—the capital goods sector. And, having stimulated inflation in the capital goods sector in the first place, it creates a second round of inflation by causing business to hasten to invest before inflation drives up capital goods prices even further. Nor is this all. In order to damp down the inflation caused in considerable part by the investment tax credit, the country's monetary authorities are currently engaged in a policy of restricting money and credit and raising interest rates.

The purpose of the tight money policy is to slow inflation, mainly in the capital goods sector. Unfortunately, tight money and high interest rates fall upon the just and unjust alike. The business firm that over-invests in capital equipment may have to pay high interest rates, but it is bountifully subsidized by the government through the investment tax credit, and is thus largely insulated from the effects of interest rate increases. Meanwhile, the three segments of the economy that suffer most from tight money and high interest—the housing industry, state and local government, and small business—have no investment tax credit to rescue them from the effects of tight money and high interest rates.

This Title would repeal the investment tax credit for all property installed after its enactment, except that property which was ordered under binding contract before enactment would continue to qualify. Doing this would bring in an extra \$3 billion in revenues annually.

The text of H.R. 5250 follows:

H.R. 5250

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenues by tax reform.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SECTION 101. SHORT TITLE, ETC.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Tax Reform Act of 1969".

(b) AMENDMENT OR 1954 CODE.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

SEC. 102. TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING CHANGES.

The Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate shall, as soon as practicable but in any

event not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, submit to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives a draft of the technical and conforming changes in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 which are necessary to reflect throughout such Code the changes in the substantive provisions of law made by this Act.

TITLE II—CAPITAL GAINS UNTAXED AT DEATH

SEC. 201. CARRYOVER OF BASIS AT DEATH.

(a) AMENDMENT OF SECTION 1014.—Section 1014 (relating to basis of property acquired from a decedent) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) DECEDENTS DYING AFTER JUNE 30, 1969.—In the case of a decedent dying after June 30, 1969, this section shall not apply to any property for which an adjusted carryover basis is provided by section 1029."

(2) ADJUSTED CARRYOVER BASIS.—Part II of subchapter O of chapter 1 (relating to basis rules of general application) is amended by redesignating section 1023 as section 1024 and by inserting after section 1022 the following new section:

"SEC. 1023. ADJUSTED CARRYOVER BASIS FOR CERTAIN PROPERTY ACQUIRED FROM A DECEDENT DYING AFTER JUNE 30, 1969.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as otherwise provided in this section, if—

"(1) carryover basis property is acquired from a decedent dying after June 30, 1969,

"(2) the gross estate at death of the decedent exceeds \$60,000,

then the basis of such property in the hands of the person so acquiring it shall be the adjusted basis of the property immediately before the death of the decedent, further adjusted as provided in this section.

"(b) CARRYOVER BASIS PROPERTY DEFINED.—For purposes of this section, the term 'carryover basis property' means any property acquired from a decedent dying after June 30, 1969, which is property described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (6), or (9) of section 1014 (b), other than—

"(1) property acquired by the decedent before January 1, 1951,

"(2) property (not including property of extraordinary value) which is a personal or household effect,

"(3) property acquired by any person from the decedent before his death which was disposed of by such person before the decedent's death,

"(4) property described in section 2042 (relating to proceeds of life insurance), and

"(5) property which constitutes a right to receive an item of income in respect of a decedent under section 691.

"(c) INCREASE IN BASIS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The basis of carryover basis property in the hands of the person acquiring it from the decedent shall be increased by its proportionate share of the Federal and State estate taxes attributable to the net appreciation in value of all carryover basis properties.

"(2) MINIMUM INCREASE.—In the case of any decedent, the aggregate increase under paragraph (1) shall not be less than whichever of the following amounts is the greater:

"(A) the amount (if any) by which \$60,000 exceeds the aggregate bases of all property included in the gross estate (such bases to be determined after the application of section 1014 but before any adjustment under this section), or

"(B) the amount (if any) by which \$15,000 exceeds the amount by which the aggregate bases of all property to which section 1014 applies (such bases to be determined after the application of section 1014) is greater than the aggregate adjusted bases of such property immediately before the death of the decedent.

"(3) MANNER OF ALLOCATION.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the increase under this subsection in the basis of each carryover basis property shall be that amount which bears the same ratio to the aggregate increase determined under paragraphs (1) and (2) as the appreciation in value of such property bears to the aggregate appreciation in value of all carryover basis properties having appreciation in value.

"(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR SECTION 303 REDEMPTIONS.—To the extent the decedent provides by will, the increase in basis under this subsection shall be allocated first to stock which is carryover basis property and which after his death is redeemed under section 303 (relating to distributions in redemption of stock to pay death taxes). Any remaining increase in basis under this subsection shall be allocated among the other carryover basis property in accordance with subparagraph (A).

"(4) FAIR MARKET VALUE LIMITATION.—The increase under this subsection in the basis of any property shall not exceed the increase necessary to produce a basis equal to the fair market value of such property.

"(d) FURTHER INCREASE IN BASIS FOR CERTAIN STATE SUCCESSION TAX PAID BY TRANSFEREE OF PROPERTY.—If—

"(1) any person acquires carryover basis property from a decedent, and

"(2) such person actually pays an amount of estate, inheritance, legacy, or succession taxes with respect to such property to any State or possession of the United States or to the District of Columbia for which the estate is not liable,

then the basis of such property (after any adjustment under subsection (c)) shall be increased (but not above its fair market value) by the portion of such amount which is attributable to the appreciation in value of such property.

"(e) TREATMENT OF COMMUNITY PROPERTY.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The surviving spouse's interest in all community property—

"(A) for purposes of subsections (a) (2) and (c) (2), shall be treated as included in the gross estate of the decedent,

"(B) for purposes of this section (other than subsection (d)), shall be treated as property acquired from the decedent, and

"(C) for purposes of subsections (b) (1) and (e), shall be treated as property held by the decedent.

"(2) COMMUNITY PROPERTY DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term 'community property' means property—

(A) held by the decedent and the surviving spouse as community property under the laws of any State or possession of the United States, or any foreign country, and

"(B) at least one-half of the whole community property interest in which was includable in determining the value of the decedent's gross estate under chapter 11.

"(f) SPECIAL RULES AND DEFINITIONS FOR APPLICATION OF SUBSECTION (e).—For purposes of subsection (c)—

"(1) FEDERAL AND STATE ESTATE TAXES.—The term 'Federal and State estate taxes' means only—

"(A) the tax imposed by section 2001 or 2101, reduced by (i) any credit allowable with respect to a tax on prior transfers by section 2013 or 2102, and (ii) any credit allowable with respect to State death taxes under section 2011 or 2102, and

"(B) any estate, inheritance, legacy, or succession taxes, for which the estate is liable, actually paid by the estate to any State or possession of the United States, or to the District of Columbia.

"(2) FEDERAL AND STATE ESTATE TAXES ATTRIBUTABLE TO NET APPRECIATION IN VALUE.—The term 'Federal and State estate taxes attributable to the net appreciation in value of all carryover basis properties' means that amount which bears the same ratio to the

Federal and State estate taxes as the net appreciation in value of the carryover basis properties bears to the value of the gross estate (as defined in section 2031 or section 2103).

"(3) NET APPRECIATION.—The net appreciation in value of all carryover basis properties is the amount by which the fair market value of all such property exceeds the adjusted basis of such property immediately before the death of the decedent.

"(4) GIFTS.—In the case of carryover basis property acquired from the decedent by gift, the increase in basis under subsection (c) shall not exceed the amount by which the increase under such subsection is greater than the increase allowable under section 1015(d).

"(5) CHARITABLE GIFTS.—If—

"(A) a deduction is allowable under section 2055 or 2106(a) (2) with respect to any property, and

"(B) such property is specifically identifiable as passing from the decedent to a use specified in such section,

then, to the extent of such deduction, such property shall be treated as property which is not carryover basis property.

"(g) OTHER SPECIAL RULES AND DEFINITIONS.—

"(1) FAIR MARKET VALUE.—For purposes of this section, when not otherwise distinctly expressed, the term 'fair market value' means fair market value determined under chapter 11 (including section 2032, relating to alternate valuation).

"(2) PROPERTY PASSING FROM THE DECEDENT.—For purposes of this section, property passing from the decedent shall be treated as property acquired from the decedent.

"(3) DECEDENT'S BASIS UNKNOWN.—If the facts necessary to determine the basis (unadjusted) of carryover basis property immediately before the death of the decedent are unknown to the person acquiring such property from the decedent, such basis shall be treated as being the fair market value of such property as of the date (or approximate date) at which such property was acquired by the decedent or by the last preceding owner in whose hands it did not have a basis determined in whole or in part by reference to its basis in the hands of a prior holder.

"(4) CERTAIN MORTGAGES.—For purposes of subsections (a) and (d), if—

"(A) there is an unpaid mortgage on, or indebtedness in respect of, property,

"(B) such mortgage or indebtedness does not constitute a liability of the estate, and

"(C) such property is included in the gross estate undiminished by such mortgage or indebtedness,

then the value of such property to be treated as included in the gross estate shall be the value of such property, diminished by such mortgage or indebtedness.

"(5) DECEDENTS NONRESIDENT AND NOT CITIZENS.—In the case of a decedent nonresident not a citizen of the United States—

"(A) this section shall be applied by substituting for the figure '\$60,000' wherever it appears the amount of the exemption determined under section 2106(a) (3), and

"(B) subsection (c) (2) (B) shall be applied by substituting for the figure '\$15,000' the amount which is equal to 1/4 of the amount of the exemption determined under section 2106(a) (3).

"(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section."

(c) AMENDMENT OF SECTION 1016(a).—Section 1016(a) (relating to adjustments to basis) is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and by inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) To the extent provided in section 1023, relating to adjusted carryover basis for certain property acquired from a decedent dying after June 30, 1969."

(d) AMENDMENT OF SECTION 691(c) —

(1) Section 691(c)(2)(A) (relating to deduction for estate tax in case of income in respect of decedent) is amended to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'estate tax' means Federal and State estate taxes (within the meaning of section 1023(f)(1))."

(2) Section 691(c)(2)(C) is amended to read as follows:

"(C) The estate tax attributable to such net value shall be an amount which bears the same ratio to the estate tax as such net value bears to the value of the gross estate."

(e) INFORMATION REQUIREMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 (relating to information concerning persons subject to special provisions) is amended by inserting after section 6039 the following new section:

"Sec. 6039A. INFORMATION REGARDING BASIS OF PROPERTY ACQUIRED FROM A DECEDENT.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—Every executor (as defined in section 2203) shall furnish with respect to the property of the decedent such information as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe by regulations relating to—

"(1) the name and last address of the decedent;

"(2) the name and address of each person acquiring property from the decedent or to whom the property passed from the decedent, and a description of each item of such property;

"(3) the adjusted basis (within the meaning of section 1011) of each such item in the hands of the decedent immediately before his death; and

"(4) any other information similar or related in nature to that specified in this paragraph.

If an executor is unable to furnish all of the information required under this subsection with respect to an item of property, he shall include in his return as much of such information as he is able to, including a description of such item and the name of every person holding a legal or beneficial interest therein, and, upon notice from the Secretary or his delegate, such person shall be treated with respect to such item as if he were an executor for purposes of this section.

"(b) STATEMENTS TO BE FURNISHED TO PERSONS WHO ACQUIRE PROPERTY FROM A DECEDENT.—Every executor who is required to furnish information under subsection (a) shall furnish in writing to each person described in subsection (a)(2) such information with respect to each item of property acquired from the decedent or passing from the decedent to such person as is required under subsection (a) and which the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe by regulations."

(2) PENALTIES.—Subchapter B of chapter 68 (relating to assessable penalties) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 6684. FAILURE TO FILE INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO BASIS OF PROPERTY ACQUIRED FROM A DECEDENT.

"(a) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE FURNISHED TO THE SECRETARY.—Any executor who fails to furnish information required under section 6039A(a) on the date prescribed therefor (determined with regard to any extension of time for filing) shall pay a penalty of 1 percent of the fair market value of the property described in section 6039A(a)(2), or \$5,000, whichever is less, for such failure, unless it is shown that such failure is due to reasonable cause and not to willful neglect.

"(b) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE FURNISHED TO BENEFICIARIES.—Any executor who fails to furnish in writing to each person described in section 6039A(a)(2) the information required under section 6039A(b), unless it is shown that such failure is due to

reasonable cause and not to willful neglect, shall pay (upon notice and demand by the Secretary or his delegate and in the same manner as tax) \$50 for each such failure, but the total amount imposed for all such failures shall not exceed \$1,000."

(f) DISCHARGE OF EXECUTOR FROM PERSONAL LIABILITY.—Section 2204 (relating to discharge of executor from personal liability) is amended by striking out "notified," where it appears in the second sentence of such section and inserting in lieu thereof "notified or on furnishing of a bond pursuant to section 6165 in circumstances in which the Secretary or his delegate is satisfied that such payment will be made."

SEC. 202. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 201 shall apply only with respect to decedents dying after June 30, 1969.

TITLE III—REPEAL OF UNLIMITED CHARITABLE DEDUCTION**SEC. 301. REPEAL OF DEDUCTION.**

Section 170(b)(1)(C) (relating to unlimited deduction for certain individuals) and 170(g) (relating to application of unlimited deduction) are repealed.

SEC. 302. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 301 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969.

TITLE IV—REPEAL OF STOCK OPTION PROVISIONS**SEC. 401. REPEAL OF PROVISIONS.**

(a) QUALIFIED STOCK OPTIONS.—Section 422 (relating to qualified stock options) is repealed.

(b) RESTRICTED STOCK OPTIONS.—Section 424 (relating to restricted stock options) is repealed.

SEC. 402. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 401 shall apply with respect to options granted after June 30, 1969.

TITLE V—REPEAL OF DIVIDEND EXCLUSION**SEC. 501. REPEAL.**

Section 116 (relating to partial exclusion from gross income of dividends received by individuals) is repealed.

SEC. 502. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 501 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969.

TITLE VI—MULTIPLE SURTAX EXEMPTION**SEC. 601. REPEAL OF PRIVILEGE OF GROUPS TO ELECT EXEMPTION.**

Section 1562 (relating to privilege of groups to elect multiple surtax exemptions) is repealed.

SEC. 602. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 601 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969.

TITLE VII—MUNICIPAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BONDS**SEC. 701. ELIMINATION OF EXEMPTION.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 103(c) (relating to industrial development bonds) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BONDS.—

"(1) SUBSECTION (a)(1) NOT TO APPLY.—Any industrial development bond (as defined in paragraph (2)) issued after June 30, 1969, shall not be considered an obligation described in subsection (a)(1).

"(2) INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOND DEFINED.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this subsection, the term 'industrial development bond' means an obligation the payment of the principal or interest on which is—

"(1) secured in whole or in part by a lien, mortgage, pledge, or other security interest in property of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation, or

"(2) secured in whole or in part by an interest in (or to be derived primarily from) payments to be made in respect of money

or property of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation

which is or will be used, under a lease, sale, or loan arrangement, for industrial or commercial purposes.

"(B) EXCEPTIONS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), property shall not be treated as used for industrial or commercial purposes if it is used—

"(1) to provide entertainment (including sporting events) or recreational facilities for the general public;

"(2) to provide facilities for the holding of a convention, trade show, or similar event;

"(3) as an airport, dock, wharf, or similar transportation facility;

"(4) in the furnishing or sale of electric energy, gas, water, or sewage disposal services; or

"(5) in an active trade or business owned and operated by an organization described in subsection (a)(1).

"(3) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any obligation issued before January 1, 1969, for a project assisted by the United States under title I of the Housing Act of 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1450 and following, relating to slum clearance and urban renewal) or under title I or title II of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 3131 and following)."

(b) CERTAIN URBAN RENEWAL BONDS.—Section 102(g) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1152(g)), is amended to read as follows:

"(g) Obligations, including interest thereon, other than industrial development bonds (within the meaning of section 103(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954), issued by local public agencies for projects assisted pursuant to this title, and income derived by such agencies from such projects, shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States."

SEC. 702. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 701 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969, but only with respect to obligations issued after such date.

TITLE VIII—MUNICIPAL BOND GUARANTEE CORPORATION

SEC. 801. ESTABLISHMENT OF A CORPORATION TO ASSIST IN THE EXPANSION OF THE CAPITAL MARKET FOR MUNICIPAL SECURITIES WHILE DECREASING THE COST OF SUCH CAPITAL TO MUNICIPALITIES

SEC. 802. FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE.

(a) The Congress finds that the municipal security market, as now constituted, is forcing the Nation's municipalities and States to pay such a high rate of interest on their securities that they cannot afford to finance many needed public facilities. This high rate of interest is directly attributable to (1) the limited supply of private capital available in the present municipal securities market, (2) the institutional rigidities within such market, and (3) the fallings of the existent municipal securities rating system which discriminates against most of the Nation's smaller communities and many of the larger cities and which fails to reflect the infinitesimally low rate of actual security defaults since World War II.

(b) It is the purpose of this title to expand the municipal capital market and thereby enable State and local public bodies to borrow private capital funds at net interest costs lower than are now obtainable through the issuance of securities and to provide Federal financial assistance to achieve such lower net interest costs at a net gain to the United States Treasury.

SEC. 803. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this title—

(1) The term "Corporation" means the "Municipal Bond Guarantee Corporation".

(2) The term "State" means the several

States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the territories and possessions of the United States.

(3) The term "State or local public body" means any public corporate body or political subdivision; any public agency or instrumentality of one or more States, municipalities, or political subdivisions of one or more States (including any public agency or instrumentality of one or more municipalities or other political subdivisions of one or more States); any Indian tribe; and any board or commission established under the laws of any State to finance specific capital improvement projects.

(4) The term "needed public facilities" means any public work, public facility, or equipment relating thereto deemed necessary by a State or local public body; but does not include any industrial or commercial facility for private use, by lease, conditional or installment sales contract, or other means of transfer, where such facility is or will be used primarily for the mining, manufacturing, assembling, fabricating, storing, processing, or sale of articles or commodities.

PART I—MUNICIPAL BOND GUARANTEE CORPORATION

SEC. 811. ESTABLISHMENT OF CORPORATION.

There is hereby established a body corporate to be known as the "Municipal Bond Guarantee Corporation." The Corporation shall have its principal offices in the District of Columbia and shall be deemed, for purposes of venue in civil actions, to be a resident of the District of Columbia. The Corporation may establish offices in such other places as it deems necessary or appropriate in the conduct of its business.

SEC. 812. BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

(a) (1) The Corporation shall have a Board of Directors (hereinafter referred to as the "Board") consisting of nine members to be appointed by the President, not more than three of whom shall be regular full-time officers or employees of the Federal Government. The Board shall be responsible for overall policymaking and general supervision of the Corporation.

(2) The President shall designate a Chairman and a Vice Chairman of the Board.

(3) Each member of the Board shall serve for a term of four years or until his successor has been appointed; except that any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(4) The Board shall meet at the call of the Chairman which shall be not less often than four times a year.

(b) Members of the Board, other than members who are regular full-time officers or employees of the Government, shall receive for their services, as members the per diem equivalent to the rate for GS-18 when engaged in the performance of their duties, and each member of the Board shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 813. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

(a) Subject to the general supervision and overall policymaking of the Board, the management of the Corporation shall be vested in an Executive Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(b) Section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting at the end thereof a new paragraph as follows:

"(90) Executive Director, Municipal Bond Guarantee Corporation."

SEC. 814. GENERAL POWERS OF CORPORATION.

(a) For the purpose of carrying out its functions under this title, the Corporation shall have power—

(1) to have a corporate seal which may be

altered at pleasure and to use the same by causing it, or a facsimile thereof, to be impressed or affixed or in any other manner reproduced;

(2) to sue and be sued;

(3) to enter into and perform contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions, on such terms as the Corporation may deem appropriate, and consent to modification thereof, without regard to sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529 and 41 U.S.C. 5), and section 322 of the Act of June 30, 1932, as amended (40 U.S.C. 278a);

(4) to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary for the conduct of its business in accordance with the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointment in the competitive service, and chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, and to obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates for individuals not to exceed the per diem equivalent for GS-18;

(5) except as may be otherwise provided in this part, in the Government Corporation Control Act, or in any other laws specifically applicable to Government corporations, to determine the necessity for and the character and amount of its obligations and expenditures and the manner in which they shall be incurred, allowed, paid, and accounted for;

(6) to issue such rules and regulations as may be deemed necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this title; and

(7) to exercise all powers specifically granted by the provisions of this title and such incidental powers as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

(b) All suits of a civil nature at common law or in equity to which the corporation shall be a party shall be deemed to arise under the laws of the United States, except that no attachment, injunction, garnishment, or other similar process, mesne or final, shall be issued against the corporation or its property.

SEC. 815. SERVICES AND FACILITIES OF OTHER AGENCIES—UTILIZATION OF PERSONNEL, SERVICES, FACILITIES, AND INFORMATION.

The corporation may, with the consent of the agency concerned, accept and utilize on a reimbursable basis, the officers, employees, services, facilities, and information of any agency of the Federal Government, except that any such agency having custody of any data relating to any of the matters within the jurisdiction of the corporation shall, to the extent permitted by law, upon request of the corporation, make such data available to the corporation without reimbursement.

SEC. 816. FINALITY OF CERTAIN FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS.

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, any financial transaction authorized under this Act shall be final and conclusive upon all officers of the United States.

SEC. 817. TAXATION.

The corporation, including its reserves, surplus, and income shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, or by any State, or any subdivision thereof, except any real property acquired by the corporation shall be subject to taxation by any State or political subdivision thereof, to the same extent, according to its value as other real property is taxed.

SEC. 818. GOVERNMENT CORPORATION CONTROL ACT.

Section 101 of the Government Corporation Control Act is amended by inserting after "Federal Housing Administration," the following: "Municipal Bond Guarantee Corporation."

SEC. 819. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Corporation shall submit to the Pres-

ident, for transmission to the Congress, a comprehensive annual report of its activities under this title.

SEC. 820. APPROPRIATIONS.

Except as otherwise specifically provided for in this title, there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to enable the Corporation to carry out its functions under this title.

PART II—FUNCTIONS OF THE CORPORATION

SEC. 821. COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC AND FISCAL REPORTS.

(a) Upon the request of any State or local public body which intends to issue bonds or other securities to finance needed public facilities, or by any bond underwriting firm or bank planning to submit a bid for such bonds or other securities, or by any Federal agency that has received an application from a State or local public body for assistance in financing a public facility under a Government direct loan or loan guaranty program, the Corporation is authorized to provide a comprehensive report detailing the public body's economic and fiscal resources. Such report shall include, but not be limited to—

(1) a review of the economic circumstances of the area served by such body, such as demographic factors, business activity, construction patterns, income, employment, and public facilities infrastructure;

(2) an examination of such body's fiscal position including trends of revenues, expenditures, tax levies and collections, property valuations, Federal and State aids, direct and overlapping indebtedness;

(3) if revenue producing facilities are involved, an analysis of the relevant financial statements, rate schedules and users, and other financial developments; and

(4) appropriate economic, fiscal, and financial ratios, averages, and indices and comparisons of such measures with national and regional averages.

Such report shall exclude qualitative judgments or comparable statements that in any way involve an evaluation of the investment merits of a prospective bond issue or reflect a credit evaluation of the State or local public body concerned.

(b) The Corporation is authorized to charge and collect a fee for reports provided under this section to cover administrative and other necessary expenses. Such fee shall not exceed, in the case of any such report, one-tenth of 1 per centum of the amount of the bonds or other securities to be issued or loans to be made, but in no event shall the fee for any such report be less than \$100 or more than \$5,000.

(c) All fees received in connection with reports provided under this section, all funds in the form of gifts, bequests, or demonstration grants received from private foundations or associations, Federal agencies, or other public bodies seeking to improve the quality and availability of information relating to the economic and fiscal circumstances of State and local public bodies, and all other receipts of the Corporation in connection with the performance of its functions under this section, shall be deposited in a revolving fund to be established by the Corporation which shall be known as the "Municipal Economic and Fiscal Reports Fund". All administrative and other expenses incurred by the Corporation in connection with the performance of its functions under this section shall be paid from such fund.

(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no application by a State or local public body for a loan under title II of the Housing Amendments of 1955, section 201 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, section 306 of the Consolidated Farmers' Home Administration Act of 1961, or the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956 shall be approved unless there has been received by the administering Federal agency a comprehensive economic and fiscal report prepared under this section. Any fee paid in connection with any such report, as

prescribed in subsection (b), may be included in the amount covered by the Federal loan or loan guarantee.

SEC. 822 DEBT SERVICE GUARANTEE CONTRACTS.

(a) Upon the application of any State or local public body, the Corporation is authorized to enter into a debt service guarantee contract to guarantee the payment of principal and interest on bonds or other securities to be issued by such body to finance one or more needed public facilities. Any such contract shall obligate the Corporation, during any period in which the bonds or other securities are outstanding, to pay to a trustee under an indenture securing such bonds or other securities (or to a paying agent where no trustee is provided for), such amounts as may be needed, when added to the moneys available from the taxes, revenues, or other funds pledged to such body as security for such bonds or other securities (including all reserve funds therefor), to make payments of principal and interest when due.

(b) No guarantee contract shall be entered into under this section unless—

(1) a comprehensive economic and fiscal report has been prepared by the Corporation, pursuant to section 821, with respect to the State or local public body applying for the guarantee;

(2) the interest income from the bonds or other securities with respect to which the guarantee is entered into is subject to Federal taxation, and such bonds or other securities are to be issued and sold to persons or entities other than the United States or any agency thereof; and

(3) the Corporation determines that (A) such bonds or other securities contain satisfactory amortization provisions not in excess of the debt capacity of the borrower, and (B) the public facility project to be financed is economically sound.

In making the determinations under clause (3), the Corporation shall rely, to the fullest extent possible, upon the data contained in the comprehensive economic and fiscal report referred to in clause (1), and upon the borrower's debt repayment record during the twenty-five-year period preceding the date of application for a guarantee under this section.

(c) The Corporation is authorized to charge and collect an annual fee, as consideration for a guarantee of bonds or other securities under this section, to cover necessary administrative expenses and to provide a reserve for losses. Such fee shall not exceed two-tenths of 1 per centum per annum of the aggregate amount of bonds or other securities covered by the guarantee contract which are outstanding at the beginning of each year.

SEC. 823. MUNICIPAL DEBT SERVICE GUARANTEE FUND.

(a) There is hereby established in the Treasury a revolving fund to be known as the "Municipal Debt Service Guarantee Fund" (hereinafter referred to as the "fund") which shall be used by the Corporation in carrying out section 822. Initial capital for the fund shall be obtained through the issuance by the Corporation of debenture notes, and notes so issued shall be subscribed to as follows:

(1) The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation shall subscribe to such notes in a principal amount of \$1,000,000.

(2) The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation shall subscribe to such notes in a principal amount of \$100,000.

(3) Each Federal Reserve bank shall subscribe to such notes in a principal amount equal to two-tenths of 1 per centum of the surplus of such bank on January 1, 1968.

Subscriptions shall be accompanied by a certified check payable to the fund in an amount equal to one-half of the subscription. The remainder of such subscription shall be subject to call from time to time

by the Corporation upon ninety days notice. Notes so issued shall bear interest at a rate to be determined in accordance with subsection (c), and shall be repayable in annual installments, commencing not earlier than ten years from the date of receipt of the subscription price.

(b) All fees received in connection with guarantees issued under section 822, all receipts from the issuance of debenture notes, all funds borrowed from the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to subsection (c), all earnings on the assets of the fund, and all other receipts of the Corporation in connection with the performance of its functions under section 822 shall be deposited in the fund. All payments to trustees (or paying agents) under section 822(a), repayments of debenture notes issued pursuant to subsection (a), repayments to the Secretary of the Treasury of sums borrowed pursuant to subsection (c), and all administrative expenses and other expenses of the Corporation in connection with the performance of its functions under section 822 shall be paid from the fund.

(c) (1) The Corporation is authorized to issue to the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time notes or other obligations for purchase by the Secretary in amounts sufficient, together with moneys in the fund, to make payments of principal and interest on all bonds or other securities guaranteed under section 822 in accordance with a debt service guarantee contract. Such obligations shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Corporation reflecting the average annual interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt as computed at the end of the fiscal year next preceding the issuance by the Secretary and adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum.

(2) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes or other obligations of the Corporation issued under this subsection, and for such purpose the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act; and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include the purchase of any such notes or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

SEC. 824. INTEREST REDUCTION GRANTS.

(a) In order to achieve a decrease in the interest cost burdens arising in the financing of needed public facilities, the Corporation is authorized to enter into contracts to make interest reduction grants to any State or local public body in connection with bonds or other securities issued by such body to finance needed public facilities; except that no grant shall be made hereunder in the case of any bonds or other securities the interest income from which is exempt in whole or in part from Federal taxation.

(b) The amount of any grant made under this section shall not exceed the sum of (1) the guaranty fee prescribed in section 822(c), and (2) 33 1/3 per centum of the annual interest charge payable each year by the State or local public body on the bonds or other securities with respect to which such grant is made. Any such grant shall be payable for each of the years in which any of the bonds or other securities covered by the contract are outstanding.

(c) No grant shall be made under this

section unless (1) the State or local public body has entered into a debt service guaranty contract pursuant to section 822, and (2) the Corporation finds that the interest charges on the bonds or other securities are reasonable, after taking into account the taxable status of the bonds or other securities, the availability of a Government guarantee, and the general level of interest rates then prevailing.

(d) The Corporation may make advance or progress payments on account of any contract entered into pursuant to this section, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3648 of the Revised Statutes.

(e) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section. Any sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended.

SEC. 825. INVESTMENTS OF FUNDS.

Moneys in the Municipal Economic and Fiscal Reports Fund and in the Municipal Debt Service Guarantee Fund may be invested in obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to principal and interest by the United States, or in obligations eligible for investment of public funds. Such obligations may be sold and the proceeds derived therefrom may be reinvested in other obligations of the type herein prescribed. Income from such investment or reinvestment shall be deposited in the respective funds.

SEC. 826. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) Section 202 (b) (1) of the Housing Amendments of 1955 is amended by striking the comma after "reasonable terms" and inserting in lieu thereof "with due allowance for the debt service guarantees authorized by title VIII of the Tax Reform Act of 1969."

(b) Section 201 (a) (2) of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is amended by inserting after "on terms" the following: "with due allowance for the debt service guarantees authorized by title VIII of the Tax Reform Act of 1969."

TITLE IX—PERCENTAGE DEPLETION RATES FOR OIL, GAS, AND CERTAIN OTHER MINERALS

SEC. 901. REDUCTION IN RATES.

Section 613 (b) (relating to percentage depletion rates) is amended—

(1) by striking out "27 1/2 percent" in paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof "15 percent"; and

(2) by striking out "23 percent" in paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof "15 percent."

SEC. 902. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 901 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969.

TITLE X—INCREASE IN GIFT TAX RATES TO ESTATE TAX LEVEL

SEC. 1001. INCREASE IN RATES.

The table in section 2502 (a) (relating to computation of tax) is amended to read as follows:

"RATE SCHEDULE"	
"If the taxable gifts are—"	The tax shall be—
Not over \$5,000----	3% of the taxable gifts.
Over \$5,000 but not over \$10,000.	\$150, plus 7% of excess over \$5,000.
Over \$10,000 but not over \$20,000.	\$500, plus 11% of excess over \$10,000.
Over \$20,000 but not over \$30,000.	\$1,600, plus 14% of excess over \$20,000.
Over \$30,000 but not over \$40,000.	\$3,000, plus 18% of excess over \$30,000.
Over \$40,000 but not over \$50,000.	\$4,800, plus 22% of excess over \$40,000.
Over \$50,000 but not over \$60,000.	\$7,000, plus 25% of excess over \$50,000.

"RATE SCHEDULE—continued

"If the taxable gifts are—Continued	The tax shall be—
Over \$60,000 but not over \$100,000.	\$9,500, plus 28% of excess over \$60,000.
Over \$100,000 but not over \$250,000.	\$20,700, plus 30% of excess over \$100,000.
Over \$250,000 but not over \$500,000.	\$65,700, plus 32% of excess over \$250,000.
Over \$500,000 but not over \$750,000.	\$145,700, plus 35% of excess over \$500,000.
Over \$750,000 but not over \$1,000,000.	\$233,200, plus 37% of excess over \$750,000.
Over \$1,000,000 but not over \$1,250,000.	\$325,000, plus 39% of excess over \$1,000,000.
Over \$1,250,000 but not over \$1,500,000.	\$423,200, plus 42% of excess over \$1,250,000.
Over \$1,500,000 but not over \$2,000,000.	\$528,200, plus 45% of excess over \$1,500,000.
Over \$2,000,000 but not over \$2,500,000.	\$753,200, plus 49% of excess over \$2,000,000.
Over \$2,500,000 but not over \$3,000,000.	\$993,200, plus 53% of excess over \$2,500,000.
Over \$3,000,000 but not over \$3,500,000.	\$1,263,000, plus 56% of excess over \$3,000,000.
Over \$3,500,000 but not over \$4,000,000.	\$1,543,200, plus 59% of excess over \$3,500,000.
Over \$4,000,000 but not over \$5,000,000.	\$1,838,200, plus 63% of excess over \$4,000,000.
Over \$5,000,000 but not over \$6,000,000.	\$2,468,200, plus 67% of excess over \$5,000,000.
Over \$6,000,000 but not over \$7,000,000.	\$3,138,200, plus 70% of excess over \$6,000,000.
Over \$7,000,000 but not over \$8,000,000.	\$3,838,200, plus 73% of excess over \$7,000,000.
Over \$8,000,000 but not over \$10,000,000.	\$4,568,200, plus 76% of excess over \$8,000,000.
Over \$10,000,000----	\$6,088,200, plus 77% of excess over \$10,000,000."

Section 1001 shall apply with respect to calendar years after 1969.

TITLE XI—USE OF UNITED STATES BONDS TO PAY ESTATE TAX

SEC. 1101. REPEAL OF AUTHORITY TO USE BONDS FOR TAX PAYMENTS.

(a) REPEAL.—Section 14 of the Second Liberty Bond Act (31 U.S.C. 765) is repealed.

(b) PROHIBITION AGAINST USE OF BONDS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no bond or other obligation of the United States may be accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury in satisfaction of any amount of Federal estate tax liability greater than the fair market value of such obligation at the time it is presented as payment of such liability.

SEC. 1102. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Section 1101 shall apply with respect to obligations acquired after June 30, 1969.

TITLE XII—USE OF FARMING DEDUCTIONS TO OFFSET NONFARM INCOME

SEC. 1201. LIMITATION ON DEDUCTIONS.

Part IX of subchapter B of chapter 1 (relating to items not deductible) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 277. LIMITATION ON DEDUCTIONS ATTRIBUTABLE TO FARMING.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In the case of a taxpayer engaged in the business of farming, the deductions attributable to such business

which, but for this section, would be allowable under this chapter for the taxable year shall not exceed the sum of—

"(1) the adjusted farm gross income for the taxable year, and—

"(2) the higher of—

"(A) the amount of the special deductions (as defined in subsection (d) (3)) allowable for the taxable year, or

"(B) \$15,000 (\$7,500 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return), reduced by the amount by which the taxpayer's adjusted gross income (taxable income in the case of a corporation) for the taxable year attributable to all sources other than the business of farming (determined before the application of this section) exceeds \$15,000 (\$7,500 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return).

"(b) EXCEPTION FOR TAXPAYERS USING CERTAIN ACCOUNTING RULES.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to a taxpayer who has filed a statement, which is effective for the taxable year, that—

"(A) he is using, and will use, a method of accounting in computing taxable income from the business of farming which uses inventories in determining income and deductions for the taxable year, and

"(B) he is charging, and will charge, to capital account all expenditures paid or incurred in the business of farming which are properly chargeable to capital account (including such expenditures which the taxpayer may, under this chapter or regulations prescribed thereunder, otherwise treat or elect to treat as expenditures which are not chargeable to capital account).

"(2) TIME, MANNER, AND EFFECT OF STATEMENT.—A statement under paragraph (1) for any taxable year shall be filed within the time prescribed by law (including extensions thereof) for filing the return for such taxable year, and shall be made and filed in such manner as the Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe by regulations. Such statement shall be binding on the taxpayer, and be effective, for such taxable year and for all subsequent taxable years and may not be revoked except with the consent of the Secretary or his delegate.

"(3) CHANGE OF METHOD OF ACCOUNTING, ETC.—If, in connection with a statement under paragraph (1), a taxpayer changes his method of accounting in computing taxable income or changes a method of treating expenditures chargeable to capital account, such change shall be treated as having been made with the consent of the Secretary or his delegate and, in the case of a change in method of accounting, shall be treated as a change not initiated by the taxpayer.

"(c) CARRYBACK AND CARRYOVER OF DISALLOWED FARM OPERATING LOSSES.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The disallowed farm operating loss for any taxable year (hereinafter referred to as the 'loss year') shall be—

"(A) a disallowed farm operating loss carryback to each of the 3 taxable years preceding the loss year, and

"(B) a disallowed farm operating loss carryover to each of the 5 taxable years following the loss year,

and (subject to the limitations contained in paragraph (2)) shall be allowed as a deduction for such years, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, in a manner consistent with the allowance of the net operating loss deduction under section 172.

"(2) LIMITATIONS.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—The deduction under paragraph (1) for any taxable year for disallowed farm operating loss carrybacks and carryovers to such taxable year shall not exceed the taxpayers' net farm income for such taxable year.

"(B) CARRYBACKS.—The deduction under paragraph (1) for any taxable year for disallowed farm operating loss carrybacks to

such taxable year shall not be allowable to the extent it would increase or produce a net operating loss (as defined in section 172(c)) for such taxable year.

"(3) TREATMENT AS NET OPERATING LOSS CARRYBACK.—Except as provided in regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, a disallowed farm operating loss carryback shall, for purposes of this title, be treated in the same manner as a net operating loss carryback.

"(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) ADJUSTED FARM GROSS INCOME.—The term 'adjusted farm gross income' means, with respect to any taxable year, the gross income derived from the business of farming for such taxable year (including recognized gains derived from sales, exchanges, or involuntary conversions of farm property), reduced, in the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, by an amount equal to 50 percent of the lower of—

"(A) the amount (if any) by which the recognized gains on sales, exchanges, or involuntary conversions of farm property which under section 1231(a) are treated as gains from sales or exchanges of capital assets held for more than 6 months, or

"(B) the amount (if any) by which the recognized gains described in section 1231(a) exceed the recognized losses described in such section.

"(2) NET FARM INCOME.—The term 'net farm income' means, with respect to any taxable year, the gross income derived from the business of farming for such taxable year (including recognized gains derived from sales, exchanges, or involuntary conversions of farm property), reduced by the sum of—

"(A) the deductions allowable under this chapter (other than that by subsection (c) of this section) for such taxable year which are attributable to such business, and

"(B) in the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, an amount equal to 50 percent of the amount described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1), whichever is lower.

"(3) SPECIAL DEDUCTIONS.—The term 'special deductions' means the deductions allowable under this chapter which are paid or incurred in the business of farming and which are attributable to—

"(A) taxes,

"(B) interest,

"(C) the abandonment or theft of farm property, or losses of farm property arising from fire, storm, or other casualty,

"(D) losses and expenses directly attributable to drought, and

"(E) recognized losses from sales, exchanges, and involuntary conversions of farm property.

"(4) FARM PROPERTY.—The term 'farm property' means property which is used in the business of farming and which is property used in the trade or business within the meaning of paragraph (1), (3), or (4) of section 1231(b) (determined without regard to the period for which held).

"(5) DISALLOWED FARM OPERATING LOSS.—The term 'disallowed farm operating loss' means, with respect to any taxable year, the amount disallowed as deductions under subsection (a) for such taxable year, reduced, in the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, by an amount equal to 50 percent of the amount described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1), whichever is lower.

"(e) SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) BUSINESS OF FARMING.—A taxpayer shall be treated as engaged in the business of farming for any taxable year if—

"(A) any deduction is allowable under sec-

tion 162 or 167 for any expense paid or incurred by the taxpayer with respect to farming, or with respect to any farm property held by the taxpayer, or

"(B) any deduction would (but for this paragraph) otherwise be allowable to the taxpayer under section 212 or 167 for any expense paid or incurred with respect to farming, or with respect to property held for the production of income which is used in farming.

For purposes of this paragraph, farming does not include the raising of timber. In the case of a taxpayer who is engaged in the business of farming for any taxable year by reason of subparagraph (B), property held for the production of income which is used in farming shall, for purposes of this chapter, be treated as property used in such business.

"(2) INCOME AND DEDUCTIONS.—The determination of whether any item of income is derived from the business of farming and whether any deduction is attributable to the business of farming shall be made under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, but no deduction allowable under section 1202 (relating to deduction for capital gains) shall be attributable to such business.

(3) CONTROLLED GROUP OF CORPORATIONS.—If two or more corporations which—

"(A) are component members of a controlled group of corporations (as defined in section 1563) on a December 31, and

"(B) have not filed a statement under subsection (b) which is effective for the taxable year which includes such December 31, each have deductions attributable to the business of farming (before the application of subsection (a)) in excess of its gross income derived from such business for its taxable year which includes such December 31, then, in applying subsection (a) for such taxable year, the \$15,000 amount specified in paragraph (2)(B) of such subsection shall be reduced for each such corporation to an amount which bears the same ratio to \$15,000 as the excess of such deductions over such gross income of such corporation bears to the aggregate excess of such deductions over such gross income of all such corporations.

"(4) PARTNERSHIPS.—A business of farming carried on by a partnership shall be treated as carried on by the members of such partnership in proportion to their interest in such partnership. To the extent that income and deductions attributable to a business of farming are treated under the preceding sentence as income and deductions of members of a partnership, such income and deduction shall, for purposes of this chapter, not be taken into account by the partnership.

"(5) TWO OR MORE BUSINESSES.—If a taxpayer is engaged in two or more businesses of farming, such businesses shall be treated as a single business.

"(6) RELATED INTEGRATED BUSINESSES.—If a taxpayer is engaged in the business of farming and is also engaged in one or more businesses which are directly related to his business of farming and are conducted on an integrated basis with his business of farming, the taxpayer may elect to treat all such businesses as a single business engaged in the business of farming. An election under this paragraph shall be made in such manner, at such time, and subject to such conditions as the Secretary or his delegate may prescribe by regulations.

"(7) SUBCHAPTER S CORPORATIONS AND THEIR SHAREHOLDERS.—

"For special treatment of electing small business corporations which do not file statements under subsection (b) and of the shareholders of such corporations, see section 1379.

"(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section."

SEC. 1202. TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS.

(a) The table of sections for part IX of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item: "Sec. 277. Limitation on deductions attributable to farming."

(b) Section 172(1) of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(3) For limitations on deductions attributable to farming and special treatment of disallowed farm operating losses, see section 277."

(c) Section 381(c) of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(24) FARM OPERATING LOSS CARRYOVER.—The acquiring corporation shall take into account, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, the disallowed farm operating loss carryovers under section 277 of the distributor or transferor corporation."

(d) (1) Subchapter S of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 1379. ELECTING SMALL BUSINESS CORPORATIONS ENGAGED IN BUSINESS OF FARMING.

"(a) SEPARATE APPLICATION TO FARMING INCOME AND DEDUCTIONS.—Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, an electing small business corporation which is engaged in the business of farming during its taxable year (other than a corporation which has filed a statement under section 277(b) which is effective for such taxable year), and the shareholders of such corporation, shall apply the provisions of sections 1373 through 1378, separately with respect to—

"(1) income derived from the business of farming by such corporation and deductions attributable to such business, and

"(2) all other income and deductions of such corporation.

In computing the taxable income and undistributed taxable income, or net operating loss, of such corporation with respect to the business of farming, no deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter shall be disallowed to such corporation under section 277.

"(b) SHAREHOLDERS TREATED AS ENGAGED IN BUSINESS OF FARMING, ETC.—For purposes of section 277—

"(1) each shareholder of an electing small business corporation to which subsection (a) applies shall be treated as engaged in the business of farming,

"(2) the undistributed taxable income of such corporation which is included in the gross income of such shareholder under section 1373 and is attributable to income and deductions referred to in subsection (a)(1), and dividends received which are attributable to such income and deductions and are distributed out of earnings and profits of the taxable year as specified in section 316(a)(2), shall be treated as income derived from the business of farming by such shareholder, and

"(3) the deduction allowable (before the application of section 277) to such shareholder under section 1374 as his portion of such corporation's net operating loss attributable to income and deductions referred to in subsection (a)(1) shall be treated as a deduction attributable to the business of farming.

"(c) SPECIAL RULES OF SECTION 277(e) APPLICABLE.—For purposes of this section, the special rules set forth in section 277(e) shall apply."

(2) The table of sections for subchapter S of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"SEC. 1379. Electing small business corporations engaged in business of farming."

SEC. 1203. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this title shall

apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this title, except that for purposes of applying section 277(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (as added by section 1201 of this title) with respect to disallowed farm operating losses of any taxpayer for taxable years beginning after such date—

(1) such amendments shall also apply to the 3 taxable years of such taxpayer preceding the first taxable year beginning after such date, and

(2) in the case of a taxpayer to whom section 1379(b) of such Code (as added by section 1202(d) of this title) applies for any of his first 3 taxable years beginning after such date, section 1379 of such Code shall apply with respect to the electing small business corporation of which such taxpayer is a shareholder for the 3 taxable years preceding each such taxable year of such taxpayer, but only with respect to any such preceding taxable year for which the corporation was an electing small business corporation.

TITLE XIII—GAINS FROM THE DISPOSITION OF DEPRECIABLE REALTY

SEC. 1301. INCLUSION OF REALTY AS SECTION 1245 PROPERTY.

(a) AMENDMENT OF SECTION 1245.—Section 1245(a)(3) (relating to gain from dispositions of certain depreciable property) is amended by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively, and by inserting immediately after subparagraph (A) the following new subparagraph:

"(B) any real property which is or has been property of a character subject to the allowance for depreciation provided in section 167, or"

(b) REPEAL OF SECTION 1250.—Section 1250 (relating to gain from dispositions of certain depreciable realty) is repealed.

SEC. 1302. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This title shall apply to dispositions occurring after June 30, 1969.

TITLE XIV—REPEAL OF 7-PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

SEC. 1401. REPEAL OF CREDIT.

Section 38 (relating to credit for investment in certain depreciable property) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) TERMINATION OF CREDIT.—The credit provided by subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to property placed in service by the taxpayer on or before the date of the enactment of this subsection and with respect to property placed in service after such date—

"(1) to the extent such property is attributable to construction, reconstruction, or erection by the taxpayer (A) on or before such date, or (B) after such date pursuant to the terms of a binding written contract as in effect on such date, or

"(2) such property was acquired by the taxpayer (A) on or before such date, or (B) after such date pursuant to the terms of a binding written contract as in effect on such date.

Notwithstanding section 46(b) (relating to carryback and carryover of unused credits), no amount shall be added pursuant to such section to the amount allowable as a credit by this section for any taxable year ending after the date of the enactment of this subsection."

SEC. 1402.

The amendment made by section 1401 shall apply with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. PEPPER (at the

request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. ZWACH) special orders were granted to:

Mr. HALPERN, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROBISON, for 15 minutes, on January 30; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. SANDMAN, for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. REUSS (at the request of Mr. ALEXANDER), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. MADDEN in two instances.

Mr. ZABLOCKI.

Mr. MICHEL and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ZWACH) to extend their remarks and include extraneous matter in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD):

Mr. CLEVELAND in two instances.

Mr. MESKILL.

Mr. BUSH.

Mr. ARENDS in two instances.

Mr. CARTER in four instances.

Mr. STAFFORD.

Mr. BROTZMAN.

Mr. ZWACH in three instances.

Mr. MYERS.

Mr. RAILSBACK.

Mr. SCHERLE in two instances.

Mr. COLLIER in three instances.

Mr. PRICE of Texas.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ALEXANDER) to extend their remarks and to include additional matter in that section of the RECORD entitled "Extensions of Remarks":)

Mr. RARICK in four instances.

Mr. POBELL in two instances.

Mr. FALLON in two instances.

Mr. PATTEN in two instances.

Mrs. MINK in two instances.

Mr. CELLER in three instances.

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia in two instances.

Mr. PEPPER in two instances.

Mr. DINGELL.

Mr. CORMAN.

Mr. MARSH in two instances.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD.

Mr. JOHNSON of California in two instances.

Mr. PHILBIN in three instances.

Mr. FASCELL in two instances.

Mr. RYAN in four instances.

Mr. BENNETT in two instances.

Mr. HAMILTON.

Mr. MANN in two instances.

Mr. BOLAND in two instances.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 30, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

446. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report setting forth the financial condition and operating results of working capital funds at June 30, 1968, pursuant to the National Security Act of 1947, as amended; to the Committee on Armed Services.

447. A letter from the Chairman, District of Columbia Armory Board, transmitting the 1968 annual reports for the District of Columbia National Guard Armory and the District of Columbia Stadium, including financial statements, pursuant to Public Laws 80-605 and 85-300; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

448. A letter from the vice president, the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a statement of receipts and expenditures for the year 1968, and a comparative general balance sheet, pursuant to the acts of 1904; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

449. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting the audit of certain banks of the farm credit system supervised by Farm Credit Administration for the fiscal year 1968 (H. Doc. No. 91-69); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

450. A letter from the Director, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting a report of negotiated sales contracts for disposal of materials during the period July 1-December 31, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 87-689 (76 Stat. 587); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

451. A letter from the chairman, New England River Basins Commission, transmitting information relative to a study of water and related land resources of southeastern New England and a report of the uncertainty of the status of Federal funding; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

452. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting information relative to pending applications for conditional entry under section 203(a) (7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act and detailed reports on aliens who conditionally entered the United States, pursuant to the provisions of section 203(f) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

453. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report and recommendation concerning the claim of Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Elgin against the United States, pursuant to 45 Stat. 413; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

454. A letter from the national corporation agent, Legion of Valor of the United States of America, Inc., transmitting a copy of the financial statement of the Legion of Valor for the period August 1, 1967-July 31, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 224, 84th Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

455. A letter from the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a report with respect to positions in the Federal Bureau of Investigation in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18, pursuant to title 5, United States Code An-

notated, section 5114; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

456. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report concerning positions in the U.S. General Accounting Office in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 for calendar year 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 5 U.S.C. 5114; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

457. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a report of the status of construction, alteration, or acquisition of public buildings, pursuant to the provisions of section 11(a) of the Public Buildings Act of 1959 (40 U.S.C. 610(a)); to the Committee on Public Works.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 5168. A bill to amend chapter 207 of title 18 of the United States Code to authorize conditional pretrial release or pretrial detention of certain persons who have been charged with noncapital offenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California (for himself, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BOLLING, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. COHELAN, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. DRUGS, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FARBER, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HICKS, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. JACOBS, and Mr. LEGGETT):

H.R. 5169. A bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act with respect to the labeling of packages of cigarettes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ASPINALL (for himself and Mr. BROTZMAN):

H.R. 5170. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in a feasibility investigation of the Missouri River Basin project, Longs Peak division, Front Range unit, in Cache la Poudre River and St. Vrain Creek Basins and adjacent areas in the general vicinity of Boulder, Colo.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself, Mr. ADAIR, Mr. BARDING, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana, Mr. FISHER, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. HALEY, Mr. HEBERT, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. KING, Mr. KYL, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. POAGE, Mr. RARICK, Mr. SCHNEEBEL, Mr. SIKES, Mr. VIGORITO, and Mr. WOLFF):

H.R. 5171. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 5172. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 5173. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to protect the people of the United States against the lawless and irresponsible use of firearms, and to assist in the prevention and solution of crime by requiring a national registration of firearms, establishing minimum licensing standards for the possession of firearms, and encouraging the

enactment of effective State and local firearms laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of Utah:

H.R. 5174. A bill to encourage national development by providing incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing and job-training industrial and commercial facilities in rural areas having high proportions of persons with low incomes or which have experienced or face a substantial loss of population because of migration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BUSH:

H.R. 5175. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a longer period of time for disposition of certain assets in the case of regulated investment companies furnishing capital to development companies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 5176. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit the recomputation of retired pay of certain members and former members of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 5177. A bill to prevent vessels built or rebuilt outside the United States or documented under foreign registry from carrying cargoes restricted to vessels of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 5178. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CEDERBERG:

H.R. 5179. A bill to provide for the issuance of a volunteer's medal to each individual who enlists in the Armed Forces of the United States during a period of war or armed conflict involving the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 5180. A bill to amend chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, to provide for the appellate review of sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5181. A bill to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 with respect to the discriminatory use of tests and devices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5182. A bill to amend section 1498 of title 28, United States Code, to permit patent holders to bring civil actions in district courts against Government contractors who infringe patents while carrying out Government contracts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 5183. A bill to establish a Federal sabbatical program to improve the quality of teaching in the Nation's elementary or secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 5184. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 5185. A bill to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for more effective prevention, control, and abatement of air pollution through the establishment of air regions and standards applicable thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 5186. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5187. A bill to provide for orderly trade in textile articles; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DEVINE:

H.R. 5188. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ECKHARDT:

H.R. 5189. A bill to require a radiotelephone on certain vessels while navigating upon specified waters of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 5190. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 5191. A bill to amend chapter 15 of title 38, United States Code, in order to increase by 20 percent the income limitations imposed by that chapter on persons entitled to pensions thereunder; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

H.R. 5192. A bill to amend section 503 of title 38 of the United States Code to exclude from consideration as income, for the purpose of determining eligibility for pension, all amounts paid to an individual under public or private retirement, annuity, endowment, or similar-type plans or programs; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 5193. A bill to permit the administrative adjustment of certain wheat acreage allotment reductions resulting from action taken by farmers prior to 1965 in good faith reliance upon representations or advice of authorized representatives of the Secretary of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 5194. A bill to extend the executive reorganization provisions of title 5, United States Code, for an additional 2 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 5195. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to entitle veterans of World War I and their widows and children to pension on the same basis as veterans of the Spanish-American War and their widows and children, respectively; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 5196. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenues by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 5197. A bill to amend chapter 55 of title 10 of the United States Code to provide medical and dental care in service facilities to dependents of certain members of the uniformed services for a period of 90 days (or up to 12 months in maternity cases) after the separation of such members from active duty; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 5198. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to require the establishment of certain standards relating to equipment designed for the use and protection of small children; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 5199. A bill to exempt from the antitrust laws certain joint newspaper operating arrangements; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUYKENDALL:

H.R. 5200. A bill to name the bridge being constructed across the Mississippi River linking the States of Tennessee and Missouri in honor of a former Member of the House, Robert A. Everett; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. KUYKENDALL (for himself, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. BATTIN, Mr. BUESTER, Mr. BROOKS, Mr. BUSH, Mr. CAHILL, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HUNT, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. KING, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MCCULLOUGH, Mr. MACGREGOR, Mr. MOSS, Mr. POFF, Mr. REEGLE, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. RIVERS, Mr. ROGERS of Colorado, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. SIEGEL of Arizona, and Mr. WIGGINS):

H.R. 5201. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to assault or kill any member of the armed services engaged in the performance of his official duties while on duty under orders of the President under chapter 15 of title 10 of the United States Code or paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 3500 of title 10 of the United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KYROS (for himself, Mr. ANDERSON of California, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. FARBERSTEIN, Mr. GRAY, Mr. MINISH, Mr. PODELL, and Mr. ST. GERMAIN):

H.R. 5202. A bill to amend title IV of the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Lung Institute; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LENNON:

H.R. 5203. A bill to appropriate funds for the construction of the Carolina Beach and vicinity project, North Carolina; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5204. A bill to appropriate funds for the beach erosion protection at Carolina Beach Inlet, N.C.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5205. A bill to appropriate funds for the beach erosion project at Fort Fisher, N.C.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5206. A bill to appropriate funds for continuing construction of the New Hope Dam and Reservoir project, North Carolina; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5207. A bill to appropriate funds for the upper part of Wilmington Harbor, N.C.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5208. A bill to appropriate funds for the hurricane flood protection and beach erosion project at Wrightsville Beach, N.C.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. LLOYD:

H.R. 5209. A bill to enable citizens of the United States who change their residences to vote in presidential elections, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MCDADE:

H.R. 5210. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to exclude certain social security benefits in computing annual income for the purpose of determining eligibility for pensions under that title; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

H.R. 5211. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the reduction in disability insurance benefits which is presently required in the case of an individual receiving workmen's compensation benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA (for himself, Mr. McPALL, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. PATMAN, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REES, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. STRATTON, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VOGORRO, Mr. WALDE, Mr. CHARLES H. WELSON, Mr. WOLFF, and Mr. WYDLER):

H.R. 5212. A bill to amend the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act with respect to the labeling of packages of cigarettes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MICHEL:

H.R. 5213. A bill to amend chapter 207 of title 18 of the United States Code to au-

thorize conditional pretrial release or pretrial detention of certain persons who have been charged with noncapital offenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5214. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to establish extended terms of imprisonment for certain offenders convicted of felonies in Federal courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5215. A bill to provide for the investigative detention and search of persons suspected of involvement in, or knowledge of, Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5216. A bill to prohibit the investment of income derived from certain criminal activities in any business enterprise affecting interstate or foreign commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5217. A bill to amend the Sherman Act to prohibit the investment of certain income in any business enterprise affecting interstate or foreign commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5218. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make it unlawful to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any fireman performing his duties during the course of any riot; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5219. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for improved criminal procedure, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5220. A bill to amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to strengthen the penalty provision applicable to a Federal felony committed with a firearm; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5221. A bill to establish a Joint Committee on Organized Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

H.R. 5222. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that child's insurance benefits shall in all cases be payable to children upon the death of their mother without regard to the mother's insured status; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5223. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to modify the provisions relating to taxes on wagering to insure the constitutional rights of taxpayers, to facilitate the collection of such taxes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. MINK:
H.R. 5224. A bill to amend Public Law 874, 81st Congress, to permit certain payments to enable children whose parents are employed on our outlying bases to attend boarding schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. OLSEN:
H.R. 5225. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to facilitate the collection of statistics with respect to the incidence of crime and to provide for the establishment of a National Crime Statistics Center, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5226. A bill to revise the laws relating to the transportation of mail so as to provide the Postmaster General greater flexibility in the procurement of such transportation; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5227. A bill to reclassify certain key positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5228. A bill to permit a retired employee or Member receiving health benefits pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 (ch. 89, title 5, U.S.C.) to elect coverage under the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1960 (Public Law 86-724); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5229. A bill to modify the decrease in Federal group life insurance at age 65 or

after retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5230. A bill to amend section 8341 of title 5, United States Code, to provide annuities for surviving spouses without deduction from a retired employee or Member's annuity, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5231. A bill to amend chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the reduction in the annuities of employees or Members who elected reduced annuities in order to provide a survivor annuity if predeceased by the person named as survivor and permit a retired employee or Member to designate a new spouse as survivor if predeceased by the person named as survivor at the time of retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5232. A bill relating to rates of postage on third-class matter mailed by certain nonprofit organizations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5233. A bill to establish a basic workweek of 35 hours for Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5234. A bill to amend section 8338, title 5, United States Code, to correct inequities applicable to those employees or Members separated from service with title to deferred annuities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5235. A bill to provide increased annuities under subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5236. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, to provide minimum annuities for employee annuitants and spouse survivor annuitants; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 5237. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore to individuals who have attained the age of 65 the right to deduct all expenses for their medical care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5238. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the first \$5,000 received as civil service retirement annuity from the United States or any agency thereof shall be excluded from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5239. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the reduction in disability insurance benefits which is presently required in the case of an individual receiving workmen's compensation benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5240. A bill to provide that the value of survivor annuities payable under chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, shall not be taken into account for State inheritance tax or Federal estate tax purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATMAN:
H.R. 5241. A bill to carry out the recommendations of the Joint Commission on the Coinage; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PERKINS:
H.R. 5242. A bill to provide for retroactive awards of the Army's Combat Infantryman and Medical Badges; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 5243. A bill to provide for the award of the Good Conduct Medal to certain veterans of World War I; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 5244. A bill to provide that railroad employees may retire on a full annuity at age 60 or after serving 30 years, to provide that such annuity for any month shall not be less than one-half of the individual's average monthly compensation for the 5 years of highest earnings; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 5245. A bill to provide for orderly trade in iron and steel mill products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PHILBIN:
H.R. 5246. A bill to amend the act of August 7, 1961, providing for the establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PODELL:
H.R. 5247. A bill to amend the Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1969, to increase annual rent supplement payments which may be contracted for through the fiscal year 1969 under section 101 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.R. 5248. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the making of guaranteed loans for the modernization of hospitals and other health facilities and otherwise to facilitate the modernization and improvement of hospitals and other health facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 5249. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REUSS (for himself, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. REES, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. EDWARDS of California, and Mr. ZABLOCKI):

H.R. 5250. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenue by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RODINO:
H.R. 5251. A bill to amend title IV of the Social Security Act to repeal the provisions limiting the number of children with respect to whom Federal payments may be made under the program of aid to families with dependent children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:
H.R. 5252. A bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ROTH (for himself, Mr. BETTS, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. GUBE, Mr. LANGREBE, Mr. McDONALD of Michigan, Mr. McKNEAL, and Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin):

H.R. 5253. A bill to establish the Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ROTH (for himself, Mr. BETTS, Mr. CASELL, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. GROSS, Mr. GUBE, Mr. LANGREBE, Mr. McDONALD of Michigan, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin, and Mr. WIDNALL):

H.R. 5254. A bill to create a catalog of Federal assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:
H.R. 5255. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:
H.R. 5256. A bill to prevent vessels built or rebuilt outside the United States or documented under foreign registry from carrying cargoes restricted to vessels of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 5257. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 5258. A bill to authorize the release of 100,000 short tons of lead from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 5259. A bill to provide for a study of the extent and enforcement of State laws and regulations governing the operations of youth camps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SCHADEBERG:

H.R. 5260. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SKUBITZ:

H.R. 5261. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for income tax purposes of certain expenses incurred by the taxpayer for the education of a dependent; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5262. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and holding certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5263. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5264. A bill to revise the quota-control system on the importation of certain meat and meat products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNYDER:

H.R. 5265. A bill to amend section 320 of title 23 of the United States Code to increase the authorization for that section, and to earmark such increase for a bridge across Markland Dam on the Ohio River; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. STANTON:

H.R. 5266. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the individual income tax for expenses incurred in providing education and training for mentally retarded or physically handicapped children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TAFT:

H.R. 5267. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp honoring the 100th anniversary of professional baseball; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 5268. A bill to provide for the establishment of a program under which supplemental agricultural workers can be recruited for temporary employment in the continental United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 5269. A bill to amend title I of Public Law 874, 81st Congress, to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of children of migrant agricultural employees; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 5270. A bill to establish a Commission on Malnutrition; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 5271. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 5272. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increased subsistence allowance rates for veterans pursuing courses in vocational rehabilitation; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 5273. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an income tax exemption for nonprofit corporations established to provide certain assistance to businesses in disadvantaged areas which are otherwise unable to obtain capital from conventional sources; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5274. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an exclu-

sion from gross income for interest paid by nonprofit corporations established to provide certain assistance to businesses in disadvantaged areas which are otherwise unable to obtain capital from conventional sources; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5275. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing job-training programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 5276. A bill to include prepared or preserved beef and veal within the quotas imposed on the importation of certain other meat and meat products, to reduce the percentage applied to certain aggregate quantity estimations used, in part, to determine such quotas from 110 to 100 percent, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN:

H.R. 5277. A bill to authorize the President of the United States to place an embargo on of prayer in Public Buildings; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 5278. A bill to amend the act of July 24, 1956, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to contract with the Benbrook Water & Sewer Authority for the use of water supply storage in the Benbrook Reservoir; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 5279. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZWACHE:

H.R. 5280. A bill to amend section 105(e) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 to require the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain payments in advance of determination of performance; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BUSH:

H.J. Res. 320. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in Public Buildings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 321. Joint resolution to direct the Federal Communications Commission to conduct a comprehensive study and investigation of the effects of the display of violence in television programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DENT:

H.J. Res. 322. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 323. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.J. Res. 324. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.J. Res. 325. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim May 5, 1969, as "Chaplains' Sunday"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. HORTON, and Mr. JACOBS):

H.J. Res. 326. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORTON:

H.J. Res. 327. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.J. Res. 328. Joint resolution creating a Federal Committee on Nuclear Development to review and reevaluate the existing civilian nuclear program of the United States; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.J. Res. 329. Joint resolution to provide for the consideration of certain recommendations for decoration by the United States for services rendered during World War I; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SKUBITZ:

H.J. Res. 330. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 331. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to the terms of office of judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and inferior courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAFT:

H.J. Res. 332. Joint resolution designating the 7-day period beginning on the Sunday starting the last full week in October, each year, as "Cleaner Air Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.J. Res. 333. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia to negotiate and enter into a compact to establish a multistate authority to construct and operate a passenger rail transportation system within the area of such States and the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.J. Res. 334. Joint resolution to establish a commission to conduct a full and complete investigation of the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FLYNT:

H. Res. 178. Resolution disapproving the recommendations of the President with respect to the rates of pay of Federal officials transmitted to the Congress in the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. Res. 179. Resolution relative to consideration of House Resolution 133; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KOCH:

H. Res. 180. Resolution to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and enlarge the jurisdiction of the House Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ROTH (for himself, Mr. BUSBY, and Mr. KUTENSTALL):

H. Res. 181. Resolution disapproving the recommendations of the President with respect to the rates of pay of Federal officials transmitted to the Congress in the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H. Res. 182. Resolution to establish a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS (by request):

H.R. 5281. A bill for the relief of Aurora Garcia Directo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 5282. A bill for the relief of George Antonopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5283. A bill for the relief of Argyrios Bambakarlis, also known as Argirios Vam-

bakaris, and his wife Kyroussia Bambakaris, also known as Soula Vambakaris, and their minor children, Nicoletta, Marie Elpis, and Leonardo Bambakaris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5284. A bill for the relief of Maria L. Benuzio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5285. A bill for the relief of Mario Bernardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5286. A bill for the relief of Andrea Brusca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5287. A bill for the relief of Calogero Cabibi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5288. A bill for the relief of Pietra Lodiio Calabrese; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5289. A bill for the relief of Antonio Cardillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5290. A bill for the relief of Gregoria Castillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5291. A bill for the relief of Essie Christopher; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5292. A bill for the relief of Millicent E. Christopher; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5293. A bill for the relief of Raphael Christopher; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5294. A bill for the relief of Pietro DeVita; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5295. A bill for the relief of Salvina Farrugia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5296. A bill for the relief of Anna Fodera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5297. A bill for the relief of Dominic Fodera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5298. A bill for the relief of Vito and Giacomina Ganctano and their minor children, Antonino and Matteo Ganctano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5299. A bill for the relief of Elizabeth Grillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5300. A bill for the relief of David Hajblauim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5301. A bill for the relief of Carmela and Salvatore Levante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5302. A bill for the relief of Maria Lozza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5303. A bill for the relief of Anna Marrazza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5304. A bill for the relief of Ernesto Manuel Masuh-Vasquez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5305. A bill for the relief of Ahmet Edman, also known as Ozmid Osmanovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5306. A bill for the relief of Mary Martha Thompson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5307. A bill for the relief of John Lee Tin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5308. A bill for the relief of Anthony Albert and Cirilla Zelaya Williams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5309. A bill for the relief of Myrtle P. Williams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AYRES:
H.R. 5310. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Nicholas D. Psilolichnou nee Maria B. Kapenekas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:
H.R. 5311. A bill for the relief of Henricus Bieren; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATES:
H.R. 5312. A bill for the relief of Gioacchino Ferrara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI:
H.R. 5313. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Corbi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5314. A bill for the relief of Victoria Cohen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5315. A bill for the relief of Bettina Cortina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5316. A bill for the relief of Filippo Cortina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5317. A bill for the relief of Luigi Curatolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5318. A bill for the relief of Renato Mapua and his wife, Dr. Lydia Aquino Mapua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5319. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Marcante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:
H.R. 5320. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Barbera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5321. A bill for the relief of Giacomo Bianco and Maria Giovanna Trombino Bianco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5322. A bill for the relief of Carmen D. Black; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5323. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Caleca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5324. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Caracchiolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5325. A bill for the relief of Carmelo Parruggia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5326. A bill for the relief of Ditta Giovanni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5327. A bill for the relief of Pauline Hollingsworth; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5328. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Loduca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5329. A bill for the relief of Vito Mannino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5330. A bill for the relief of Michel Montalbano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5331. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Romeo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5332. A bill for the relief of Ignazio Santangelo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5333. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Taormina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:
H.R. 5334. A bill to authorize the award of the Soldier's Medal or other appropriate decoration to S. Sgt. Charles S. Tollas; to the Committee on Armed Services.
H.R. 5335. A bill for the relief of Maria Bulcao; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5336. A bill for the relief of Roberto V. Castaneda; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5337. A bill for the relief of the late Albert E. Jameson, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5338. A bill for the relief of Patrick J. Kelly; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5339. A bill for the relief of Stavroula C. Kolocotronis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5340. A bill for the relief of Hristina Kostopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5341. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Velina D. Lambert; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5342. A bill for the relief of Orsalina Leo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5343. A bill for the relief of Patrick Hugh McDonnell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5344. A bill for the relief of James L. Smith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5345. A bill for the relief of Francesco Vatalaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5346. A bill for the relief of Olga Vatalara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5347. A bill for the relief of Henrique De Pina Veiga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5348. A bill for the relief of Anna Vissa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5349. A bill for the relief of Andre and Elvire Yazbek; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:
H.R. 5350. A bill for the relief of Dr. Triponia Artendi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5351. A bill for the relief of Ignlio Cammarota; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5352. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ricardo J. Crudo and his wife, Antonia Yulo Crudo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5353. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Cucuzza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5354. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Cusumano, his wife, Maria Cristina Cusumano, and their son, Giovanni Cusumano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5355. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe D'Angelo, his wife, Rose D'Angelo, and Onofrio D'Angelo and his wife, Francesca D'Angelo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5356. A bill for the relief of Maria Gagliano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5357. A bill for the relief of San Lutfrya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5358. A bill for the relief of Nicolo Rutigliano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. CHISHOLM:
H.R. 5359. A bill for the relief of Norman Fitz-Herbert Moses; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK:
H.R. 5360. A bill for the relief of Fausto Peletti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLIER (by request):
H.R. 5361. A bill for the relief of Uldarico B. Blando; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COORMAN:
H.R. 5362. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Susanne Evers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY (by request):
H.R. 5363. A bill for the relief of Etemer Nyarady; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5364. A bill for the relief of Henry E. Dooley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:
H.R. 5365. A bill to provide for the conveyance of certain public land held under color of title to Mrs. Jessie L. Gaines of Mobile, Ala.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH:
H.R. 5366. A bill for the relief of Caterina and Guseppe Furnari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5367. A bill for the relief of Juana Anguluan Ngo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5368. A bill for the relief of Victoria Josefina Perez Norton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5369. A bill for the relief of Sahara Saka, Wahidollah Saka, and Wajma Saka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. EVINS of Tennessee:
H.R. 5370. A bill for the relief of Miss Tullia Boldrin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. FALLON:
H.R. 5371. A bill for the relief of Eirilinda M. Batista; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5372. A bill for the relief of Wenifreda Migue; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. FARSTEIN:
H.R. 5373. A bill for the relief of Tsin Yee Chen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5374. A bill for the relief of Ingrid Froehlich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5375. A bill for the relief of Dr. Leonda B. Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5376. A bill for the relief of Dr. Iscoo Kang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5377. A bill for the relief of Recto P. Luz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5378. A bill for the relief of Dominador E. Maasin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
H.R. 5379. A bill for the relief of Katsuo Watanabe; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FISH:
H.R. 5380. A bill for the relief of Phillip

G. Leclercq; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 5381. A bill for the relief of Domenico Piemonte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 5382. A bill for the relief of Anthony and Carolina Monaco, and their daughters, Lucia Monaco and Patricia Monaco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 5383. A bill for the relief of Miss Ninfa Evola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5384. A bill for the relief of Dr. Khatchadour B. Palandjian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOGAN:

H.R. 5385. A bill for the relief of Kun Pil Koh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACOBS:

H.R. 5386. A bill for the relief of Sylvia G. Brazzale and her infant son, David R. Brand; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 5387. A bill for the relief of Emille Abbocchian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5388. A bill for the relief of Zofia Klosowska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING:

H.R. 5389. A bill for the relief of Dyung-Ki Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLUCZYNSKI:

H.R. 5390. A bill for the relief of Panagiotis Bozfonelos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5391. A bill for the relief of Constantino Lucas Celis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5392. A bill for the relief of Bernard Farrelly; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KOCH:

H.R. 5393. A bill for the relief of Paçita de Azucena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5394. A bill for the relief of Dr. Raul A. Limjuoco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5395. A bill for the relief of Dagny Barbro Meuller; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5396. A bill for the relief of Weenieciez Joan Sharma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

H.R. 5397. A bill for the relief of Philippe Al Machhara (also known as Phillipp Yousef Moses); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MCCARTHY:

H.R. 5398. A bill for the relief of Anton Sobonis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 5399. A bill for the relief of Emilia B. Ajwan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5400. A bill for the relief of Julitta S. Manela; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5401. A bill for the relief of Dragica Milosevic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5402. A bill for the relief of Zumrut Sooley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5403. A bill for the relief of Nazir Hayat Khan Tiwana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5404. A bill for the relief of Luisa Vignocchi and Ugo Guido Vignocchi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5405. A bill for the relief of Bruna Molinari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCCLURE:

H.R. 5406. A bill for the relief of Miguel Angel Abanzabalegui Cenarruzabetia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5407. A bill for the relief of Rajindra K. Sarin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MICHEL:

H.R. 5408. A bill for the relief of Dr. Erdogan Y. Baysal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSHER:

H.R. 5409. A bill for the relief of Panagiotis N. Illopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 5410. A bill for the relief of Alfio Margiotta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 5411. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Gumina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 5412. A bill for the relief of Dr. Abdussattar Jamadar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5413. A bill for the relief of Houshang Khorram; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 5414. A bill for the relief of Francesca Cianfrani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5415. A bill for the relief of George S. Exarchos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5416. A bill for the relief of Zolla Candida Lozoya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5417. A bill for the relief of Juana J. Ovendo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5418. A bill for the relief of Gerardo B. Rojas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5419. A bill for the relief of Commander Edwin J. Sabec, U.S. Navy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5420. A bill for the relief of Filippo Sardo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 5421. A bill for the relief of Luisita Bonano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5422. A bill for the relief of Dr. Carmelita Teves Carriaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5423. A bill for the relief of Isidoro Castronovo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5424. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Deluca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5425. A bill for the relief of Ronald V. Fuglie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5426. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Grasso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5427. A bill for the relief of Dr. Manohar U. Hasarajani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5428. A bill for the relief of Stella Kostoglou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5429. A bill for the relief of Christos Panagiotacopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5430. A bill for the relief of Pantelis Panagopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5431. A bill for the relief of Bijoy Sankar Paul and Heldrun Paul, husband and wife; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5432. A bill for the relief of Miss Dina Pieri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5433. A bill for the relief of Dr. Choong Oi Reddy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5434. A bill for the relief of Dr. Nagaraju Reddy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5435. A bill for the relief of Dr. Martha F. Vasquez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. QUIE:

H.R. 5436. A bill for the relief of Georgios Mangartsidis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 5437. A bill for the relief of Melr Dayan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 5438. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Giovanni Altobello, and Francesco, Vincenzo and Pino Altobello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5439. A bill for the relief of Gaetana Buttitta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5440. A bill for the relief of Rosario Buttitta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5441. A bill for the relief of Dr. Shinsahl Chang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5442. A bill for the relief of Olga Cibin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5443. A bill for the relief of Stanislaw Ciochon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5444. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Dugo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5445. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Gusella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5446. A bill for the relief of Trinidad Laceras; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5447. A bill for the relief of Luigi and Maria Carmen Malorino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5448. A bill for the relief of Carlo and Mauri Manconi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5449. A bill for the relief of Antonino and Nicolina Mannino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5450. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Carlo Montello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5451. A bill for the relief of Editha Zerna Navarro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5452. A bill for the relief of Kazimiera Niemirowska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5453. A bill for the relief of Milica Balic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5454. A bill for the relief of Antoni Banotowski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5455. A bill for the relief of Jovito Lucas Salvador; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5456. A bill for the relief of Maria Seire; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5457. A bill for the relief of Jose Armando Silvestre; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5458. A bill for the relief of Daniela Skaradzinska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5459. A bill for the relief of Janina Szmey; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5460. A bill for the relief of Pieter Cusumano, Margaret Cusumano, and Phillip Cusumano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5461. A bill for the relief of Daniel Jen Wai Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 5462. A bill for the relief of David L. Blair; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5463. A bill for the relief of James Papadakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STOKES:

H.R. 5464. A bill for the relief of Dr. Cyril A. Akpom; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5465. A bill for the relief of Amechi Chuba Akpom, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5466. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mohammad Mehd Sahaf; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 5467. A bill for the relief of Kunie Kiyomura; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5468. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Geochen Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 5469. A bill for the relief of Harold P. Conroy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5470. A bill for the relief of Julie Heazlett; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5471. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Vera Cvetkovic and Bozidar Popov; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WEICKER:

H.R. 5472. A bill for the relief of Jose

Manuel Simoes Calvo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5473. A bill for the relief of Mario Mendes da Cunha; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5474. A bill for the relief of Giovanna Russo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 5475. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Antonia Berlangieri and her daughter, Micheline Berlangieri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5476. A bill for the relief of Pietro Campagnuolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5477. A bill for the relief of Ismail

Elbol, Nuriya Elbol, and Fedva Elbol; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5478. A bill for the relief of Ralph Gallo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5479. A bill for the relief of Nicola Giammarresi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5480. A bill for the relief of Antonio Masucci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5481. A bill for the relief of Carmen Yacofano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF (by request):

H.R. 5482. A bill for the relief of Elena Affo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 5483. A bill for the relief of Pasqualino Petringa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

42. By the SPEAKER: Petition of William T. Allen, Columbus, Ga., relative to retired pay of veterans of the armed services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

43. Also, petition of the board of supervisors, Niagara County, N.Y., relative to Supreme Court appointments; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

44. Also, petition of James L. Hatfield, Dallas, Tex., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE—Wednesday, January 29, 1969

(Legislative day of Friday, January 10, 1969)

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

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou whose name is above every name, and whose sovereignty transcends all other sovereignties, make us mindful of who we are, and whom we serve, that we fall Thee not.

O Lord, put Thy law in our minds and Thy love in our hearts that we may have a good conscience, a serene spirit, a peaceful soul, a robust faith, so that this day our labor may begin, continue, and end in Thee, for the welfare of this Nation, and the advancement of Thy kingdom. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 28, 1969, be approved.

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

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

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

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief period be allowed for the transaction of routine morning business today, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of

the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

A letter from the Secretary of Defense, reporting, pursuant to law, that no disbursements have been made against the \$10,000,000 appropriated for contingencies, defense, appropriation contained in the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1969, through December 31, 1968; to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT OF THE CHESAPEAKE & POTOMAC TELEPHONE CO.

A letter from the vice president, the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the company for the year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the audit of certain banks of the Farm Credit System supervised by the Farm Credit Administration, for the fiscal year 1968, dated January 28, 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT OF VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION ON DISPOSAL OF FOREIGN EXCESS PROPERTY

A letter from the Deputy Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on its activities in the disposal of foreign excess property, for the calendar year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON CLAIM OF Mr. CORBIE F. COCHRAN

A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report and recommendation concerning the claim of Mr. Corbie F. Coch-

ran (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT ON POSITIONS IN GRADES GS-16, GS-17, AND GS-18

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning positions in the U.S. General Accounting Office in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 and their incumbents (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE U.S. COURTS

A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, reporting, pursuant to law, that the duties of the four GS-17 positions allocated to this agency have not changed since their last report; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORT OF GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the status of construction, alteration or acquisition of public buildings, dated December 31, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Public Works.

PETITION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the National Council of the Aging, at a regional meeting held in Charleston, W. Va., praying for the provision of, in future budgets, sufficient funds to implement the administration and execution of programs designed to facilitate the involvement of the elderly poor, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. PASTORE, from the Committee on Commerce, without amendment:

S. 17. A bill to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 with respect to the election of the board of the Communications Satellite Corp. (Rept. No. 6).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session, The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted: