

there was more. Individuals at all levels in Congress and in the Executive knew him. He was a good friend, had an engaging personality and a compelling range of speech. No one went to see him without returning to tell of some prescient observation by Lyndon Johnson, some amusing or slightly off-color metaphor.

Liking Johnson, politicians and other leaders aligned with him. All wanted the association preserved, so they did as Johnson commanded. We speak much of the power of personality; in Lyndon Johnson it was evident, effective and had its own distinctive style. Long before he became President, this was well recognized in the Congress. Asked after the 1960 Convention why he had chosen Lyndon Johnson as Vice-President, John F. Kennedy gave several reasons. The last and perhaps the decisive reason: "It wouldn't be worthwhile being President if Lyndon were Majority Leader." When President, Lyndon Johnson was effectively both. Kennedy, as I've said on other occasions, used less power than he had as President; Johnson used more.

I summarize: on civil rights and on poverty, the two truly urgent issues of the time, we had with Johnson one of the greatest changes of our time. I turn now to the historical correction which, along with others of my political faith, I need to make.

My association, even friendship, with Lyndon Johnson came to an end with the Vietnam war. We had intensely discussed it: Johnson's case was not unpersuasive. "Ken, you have no idea what the generals would be doing were I not here." And this, I must add, I did not know. Next year the Harvard University Press will publish "American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson and the Origins of the Vietnam War" by David Kaiser. It makes full, intelligent, even exhaustive use of newly declassified documents—all are now available except for some continuing and perhaps well-considered reticence by the CIA. Kaiser tells in extensive and, to this day, alarming detail of the military pressure on Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The generals and their civilian acolytes took over, were even eager for a war. Nuclear weapons were freely proposed. One reads with relief and gratitude of the Presidential resistance, that of Kennedy in particular but also that of L.B.J. The widening military intervention was relentlessly pressed. And so the war and the deaths.

Knowing that part of the world from presence and experience, I knew that Communism was irrelevant in a primitive village and jungle economy—as Marx would have been the first to agree. There was also the irrelevance of our military establishment in the densely covered countryside that characterized much of Vietnam. The military forces of the Viet Cong would have been swept aside in a few days in Normandy. Here they could retreat conveniently and safely to the jungle, or even to the water-laden reaches of the Delta. Accordingly, I joined with others in opposition to this cruel and hopeless effort and to sending our youth, still under draft, to serve and die. In the political campaign of 1968, I was accorded a measure of leadership. I do not regret my effort against this error. One must, however, regret the way in which we allowed the Vietnam war to become the totally defining event of those years and likewise of the history. In the Johnson years it was the Vietnam war and nothing else. And so in the history it remains. Those of us who were involved allowed that response; at the time, perhaps it was inevitable. But certainly we have done far too little to correct the history since.

The needed correction is clear. In the Johnson years two major flaws in the Amer-

ican community and its polity were addressed. What was called the American democracy became in reality a democracy. All Americans became citizens. There was a long step toward peaceful coexistence between ethnic groups. And for the first time we had a clear recognition of the presence of deep, unforgiving poverty in this generally affluent land. The danger to domestic peace and harmony was recognized. Poverty, economic deprivation, is still with us. Income inequality is great and still growing. But recognition of this together with the belief that something can and must be done—that there can be remedial action—goes back to the Johnson years. And so does the range of action for the young, the poor, the ill and the old without which all would be much worse.

Three Presidents in our lifetime have seen the social need of their citizenry from their particular position in life. Franklin D. Roosevelt, as I've elsewhere said, saw the people of the United States as a tenantry stretching out from Hyde Park. For them and their depression hardship he had a landlord's responsibility. From Irish Boston, John F. Kennedy saw a great minority still seeking to escape—and his family had escaped—the trials and oppressions of a once beleaguered community. (It helped that it had become a political force.) Johnson's identification was with a larger, less easily identified, politically less powerful community—the widely distributed urban and rural poor. What Kennedy and his family had escaped, Johnson had experienced at first hand. (His personal encounter with rural privation was never understated.) The basic motivation of all three Presidents was the same: the sense of responsibility for a larger, less fortunate community within the range of actual observation and experience.

There is a final, greatly needed revision. We must accord much more emphasis to the dangerous, even insane military pressures to which Kennedy and Johnson were subject. We should note that these were especially strong in 1965, the time when Johnson's mind and effort were sharply focused on poverty and civil rights and the requisite legislation.

When we think of Vietnam, we must think much more of the generals (and associated civilians) who pressed powerfully for the war, for the risks of a greater war and for an opening for nuclear weapons. That, in the full light of history, there were presidential errors here cannot be doubted. We must, however, be grateful for what was resisted.

Thus the historical revision I seek, we must all seek. The initiatives of Lyndon Johnson on civil rights, voting rights and on economic and social deprivation and the responding role of the state must no longer be enshrouded by that war. Those of us who helped make the war central to the public attitude and politics of the time have a special responsibility here. That responsibility I would like to think I have partly assumed on this favored evening.

#### HOLD ON H.R. 2260

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, today I have notified the minority leader that I have placed a hold on H.R. 2260, the Pain Relief Promotion Act of 1999. This legislation would negate Oregon's physician assisted suicide law which was debated and passed twice by the voters of Oregon.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to

the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 22, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 3194. An act making consolidated appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the enrolled bill was signed on November 22, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 29, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

H.R. 15. An act to designate a portion of the Otay Mountain region of California as wilderness.

H.R. 449. An act to authorize the Gateway Visitor Center at Independence National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

H.R. 459. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act for FERC Project No. 9401, the Mt. Hope Waterpower Project.

H.R. 592. An act to designate a portion of Gateway National Recreational Area as "World War Veterans Park at Miller Field."

H.R. 658. An act to establish the Thomas Cole National Historic Site in the State of New York as an affiliated area of the National Park System.

H.R. 747. An act to protect the permanent trust funds of the State of Arizona from erosion due to inflation and modify the basis of which distributions are made from those funds.

H.R. 748. An act to amend the Act that established the Keweenaw National Historical Park to require the Secretary of the Interior to consider nominees of various local interests in appointing members of the Keweenaw National Historical Park Advisory Commission.

H.R. 791. An act to amend the National Trail System to designate the route of the War of 1812 British invasion of Maryland and Washington, District of Columbia, and the route of the American defense, for study for potential additional to the national trail system.

H.R. 970. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide assistance to the Perkins County Rural Water System, Inc., for the construction of water supply facilities in Perkins County, South Dakota.

H.R. 1094. An act to amend the Federal Reserve Act to broaden the range of discount window loans which may be used as collateral for Federal reserve notes.

H.R. 1104. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to transfer administrative jurisdiction over land within the boundaries of the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site to the Archivist of the United States for the construction of a visitor center.

H.R. 1191. An act to designate certain facilities of the United States Postal Service in Chicago, Illinois.

H.R. 1251. An act to designate the United States Postal Service building located at 8850 South 700 East, Sandy, Utah, as the "Noal Cushing Bateman Post Office Building."

H.R. 1327. An act to designate the United States Postal Service building located at 34490 Highway 101 South in Cloverdale, Oregon, as the "Maurine B. Neuberger United States Post Office."

H.R. 1528. An act to reauthorize and amend the National Geologic Mapping Act of 1992.

H.R. 1619. An act to amend the Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Corridor Act of 1994 to expand the boundaries of the Corridor.

H.R. 1665. An act to allow the National Park Service to acquire certain land for addition to the Wilderness Battlefield in Virginia, as previously authorized by law, by purchase or exchange as well as by donation.

H.R. 1693. An act to amend the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938 to clarify the overtime exemption for employees engaged in fire protection activities.

H.R. 1794. An act concerning the participation of Taiwan in the World Health Organization (WHO).

H.R. 1887. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to punish the depiction of animal cruelty.

H.R. 1932. An act to authorize the President to award a gold medal on behalf of the Congress to Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, in recognition of his outstanding and enduring contribution to civil rights, higher education, the Catholic Church, the Nation, and global community.

H.R. 2079. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain National Forest System lands in the State of South Dakota.

H.R. 2140. An act to improve protection and management of the Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area in the State of Georgia.

H.R. 2401. An act to amend the U.S. Holocaust Assets Commission Act of 1998 extend the period by which the final report is due and to authorize additional funding.

H.R. 2632. An act to designate certain Federal lands in the Talladega National Forest in the State of Alabama as the Dugger Mountain Wilderness.

H.R. 2737. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Illinois certain Federal land associated with the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail to be used as an historic and interpretive site along the trail.

H.R. 2886. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that an adopted alien who is less than 18 years of age

may be considered a child under such Act if adopted with or after a sibling who is a child under such Act.

H.R. 2889. An act to amend the Central Utah Project Completion Act to provide for acquisition of water and water rights for Central Utah project purposes, completion of Central Utah project facilities, and implementation of water conservation measures.

H.R. 3257. An act to amend the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to assist the Congressional Budget Office with the scoring of State and local mandates.

H.R. 3373. An act to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in conjunction with the minting of coins by the Republic of Iceland in commemoration of the millennium of the discovery of the New World by Leif Ericson.

H.R. 3381. An act to reauthorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Trade and Development Agency, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3456. An act to amend statutory damages provision of title 17, United States Code.

H.J. Res. 46. Joint resolution 46 conferring status as an honorary veteran of the United States Armed Forces on Zachary Fisher.

H.J. Res. 65. Joint resolution commending the World War II veterans who fought in the Battle of the Bulge, and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 85. Joint resolution appointing the day for the convening of the second session of the One Hundred Sixth Congress.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions were signed on November 30, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 30, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 1555. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2000 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government, the Community Management Account, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2280. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide a cost-of-living-adjustment in the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans.

H.R. 20. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct and operate a visitor center for the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River on land owned by the State of New York.

H.R. 322. An act for the relief of Suchada Kwong.

H.R. 197. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service at 410 North 6th Street in Garden City, Kansas, as the "Clifford R. Hope Post Office."

H.R. 100. An act to establish designations for United States Postal Service buildings in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

H.R. 2116. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to establish a program of extended care services for veterans, to make other improvements in health care programs of the Department of Veterans Affairs, to enhance compensation, memorial affairs, and housing programs of the Department of Veterans Affairs, to improve retirement authorities applicable to judges of the United States Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims, and for other purposes.

S. 28. An act to authorize an interpretive center and related visitor facilities within the Four Corners Monument Tribal Park, and for other purposes.

S. 67. An act to designate the headquarters building of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, District of Columbia, as the "Robert C. Weaver Federal Building."

S. 335. An act to amend chapter 30 of title 39, United States Code, to provide for the nonmailability of certain deceptive matter relating to sweepstakes, skill contests, facsimile checks, administrative procedures, orders, and civil penalties relating to such matter, and for other purposes.

S. 416. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey to the city of Sisters, Oregon, a certain parcel of land for use in connection with a sewage treatment facility.

S. 438. An act to provide for the settlement of the water rights claims of the Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, and for other purposes.

S. 548. An act to establish the Fallen Timbers Battlefield and Fort Miamis National Historic Site in the State of Ohio.

S. 574. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to make corrections to a map relating to the Coastal Barrier Resources System.

S. 580. An act to amend title IX of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the Agency for Healthcare Policy and Research.

S. 791. An act to amend the Small Business Act with respect to the women's business center program.

S. 1418. An act to provide for the holding of court at Natchez, Mississippi, in the same manner as court is held at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and for other purposes.

S. 1595. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 401 West Washington Street in Phoenix, Arizona, as the "Sandra Day O'Connor United States Courthouse."

S. 1866. An act to redesignate the Coastal Barrier Resources System as the "John H. Chafee Coastal Barrier Resources System."

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the enrolled bills were signed subsequently on November 30, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the Secretary of the Senate, on December 2, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 3443. An act to amend part E of title IV of the Social Security Act to provide States with more funding and greater flexibility in carrying out programs designed to help children make the transition from foster care to self-sufficiency, and for other purposes.