

ranking ahead of soybeans, corn, and wheat. One possible economic answer is diversification within the tobacco industry. Philip Morris, for example, is already doing this, with over 20 percent of its income coming from the produc-

tion of razor blades, scissors, and packages. Last, but not least, a final important economic consideration cannot be overlooked. At the present time, the tobacco industry pays over \$3 billion a year in taxes, \$2 billion of which goes to

the Federal Government, and \$1 billion to the State. A drop in these revenues would certainly affect all citizens. It is clear that much more research is vitally needed, and the current Federal efforts in this field must be expanded.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1964

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

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

Almighty and everlasting God: At morning and evening and noonday, in Thy light, we would see life steadily and, seeing it whole, discern in it Thy purpose for us and for all Thy children.

Thou art revealed to us in the order of the world in which we live, in the beauty which opens vistas in a world beyond our senses. We find Thee in the truth our minds discover and, above all, in spiritual life as we touch it in the noblest sons of men.

Thou knowest the lure of temptation to be less than our best; Thou understandest the drain of our daily work and the limitations of our strength. In all our relationships with our fellows, grant us, we pray Thee, the grace of meekness and the power of self-control. Remove far from us all hypocrisy and pretense. Help us this day to speak only such words and to do only such things as will leave no regret at the setting of the sun.

As we lift up our hearts for divine help, in these days that baffle our human wisdom and discernment, come down the secret stairs by which Thou canst enter every contrite heart, for Thou hast taught us that out of the heart are the issues of life.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HUMPHREY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, January 15, 1964, was dispensed with.

ATTENDANCE OF A SENATOR

WINSTON L. PROUTY, a Senator from the State of Vermont, attended the session of the Senate today.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1057) to promote

the cause of criminal justice by providing for the representation of defendants who are financially unable to obtain an adequate defense in criminal cases in the courts of the United States, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 1604) to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to the transfer of producer rice acreage allotments, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

LIMITATION OF DEBATE DURING MORNING HOUR

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, to consider the nomination on the Executive Calendar.

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore 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.)

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. ROBERTSON, from the Committee on Banking and Currency:

Joseph W. Barr, of Indiana, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no further reports of committees, the nomination on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of John R. Reilly, of Iowa, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the unex-

pired term of 7 years from September 26, 1962.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On motion of Mr. HUMPHREY, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE ARMED FORCES

A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1965 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and research, development, test, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY

A letter from the Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Agency, for the fiscal year 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

AMENDMENT OF PEACE CORPS ACT

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend further the Peace Corps Act (75 Stat. 612), as amended (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PROPOSED CONCESSION CONTRACT IN GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a proposed concession contract to authorize Dr. Watson M. Lacy to continue to provide medical, surgical, and hospital services for the public on the south rim of Grand Canyon National Park (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO CONCESSION CONTRACT IN HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a proposed amendment to the concession contract with the Quapaw Bath House Co. to operate a bathhouse in Hot Springs National Park and to obtain hot waters therefor (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

DISPOSITION OF CERTAIN FUNDS OF PAWNEE TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT OF NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

A letter from the Chairman, National Mediation Board, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Board, including the report of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. ROBERTSON, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, without amendment:

S. Res. 256. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to make certain investigations (Rept. No. 819); referred to Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. SPARKMAN, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, without amendment:

S. Res. 257. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate matters pertaining to public and private housing (Rept. No. 820); referred to Committee on Rules and Administration.

REPORT ENTITLED "OPERATION OF ARTICLE VII, NATO STATUS OF FORCES TREATY" (S. REPT. NO. 818)

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on December 12, 1963, the full Committee on Armed Services approved the annual report entitled "Operation of Article VII, NATO Status of Forces Treaty" together with other jurisdictional operations.

I submit to the Senate this report and ask that it be printed, with illustrations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be received and printed, as requested by the Senator from North Carolina.

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original

resolution (S. Res. 261) to study administrative practice and procedure, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a full and complete study and investigation of administrative practice and procedure within the departments and agencies of the United States in the exercise of their rulemaking, licensing, and adjudicatory functions, including a study of the effectiveness of the Administrative Procedure Act, with a view to determining whether additional legislation is required to provide for the fair, impartial, and effective performance of such functions.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$120,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 262) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a complete, comprehensive, and continuing study and investigation of unlawful restraints and monopolies, and of the antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, their administration, interpretation, operation, enforcement, and effect, and to determine and from time to time redetermine the nature and extent of any legislation which may be necessary or desirable for—

(1) clarification of existing law to eliminate conflicts and uncertainties where necessary;

(2) improvement of the administration and enforcement of existing laws; and

(3) supplementation of existing law to provide any additional substantive, proce-

dural, or organizational legislation which may be needed for the attainment of the fundamental objects of the laws and the efficient administration and enforcement thereof.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$512,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund for the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

CONSIDERATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO GOVERNMENT CHARTERS, HOLIDAYS, AND CELEBRATIONS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 263) to consider matters pertaining to Government charters, holidays, and celebrations, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to consider all matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$7,500, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

AUTHORIZATION OF STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 264) authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments, which, under the

rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional amendments.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its activities and findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$68,215.93, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 265) to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to constitutional rights.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Sen-

ate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$165,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 266) to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$135,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 267) to study and examine the Federal judicial system, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a study and examination of the administration, practice and procedures of the Federal judicial system with a view to determining the legislation, if any, which may be necessary or desirable in order to increase the efficiency of the Federal courts in the just and expeditious adjudication of the cases, controversies, and other matters which may be brought before them.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to

January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis professional, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600, than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments and agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND ENFORCEMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 268) to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, insofar as they relate to the authority of the committee, to make a complete and continuing study and investigation of (1) the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended; (2) the administration, operation, and enforcement of other laws relating to espionage, sabotage, and the protection of the internal security of the United States; and (3) the extent, nature, and effect of subversive activities in the United States, its territories and possessions, including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage, and infiltration by persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organizations controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$360,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL PENITENTIARIES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 269) to investigate national penitentiaries, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and inspect national penitentiaries.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$5,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

EXAMINATION OF ADMINISTRATION OF PATENT OFFICE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 270) to examine and review the administration of the Patent Office, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a full and complete examination and review of the administration of the Patent Office and a complete examination and review of the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized to (1) make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$125,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY FLOW OF REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES FROM COMMUNISTIC TYRANNY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 271) to investigate problems created by flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from Communist tyranny.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee from February 1, 1964 to January 31, 1965 inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ on a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$87,500 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate by vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

STUDY OF REVISION AND CODIFICATION OF THE STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 272) to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to revision and codification of the statutes of the United States.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable

able; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That if more than one counsel is employed, the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$28,200, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION OF TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 273) to investigate the administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee of the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a further examination and review of the administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended, and the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, and consider proposed legislation affecting said Acts.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$60,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 274) to investigate juvenile delinquency, which, under the

rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to juvenile delinquency in the United States, including (a) the extent and character of juvenile delinquency in the United States and its causes and contributing factors; (b) the adequacy of existing provisions of law, including chapters 402 and 403 of title 18 of the United States Code, in dealing with youthful offenders of Federal laws; (c) sentences imposed on, or other correctional action taken with respect to, youthful offenders by Federal courts; and (d) the extent to which juveniles are violating Federal laws relating to the sale or use of narcotics.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, from February 1, 1964, to January 31, 1965, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation, as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1965.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$188,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. COTTON:

S. 2428. A bill to authorize a study of means of increasing the capacity and security of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

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

By Mrs. NEUBERGER (for herself, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. CLARK, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S. 2429. A bill to confer upon the Federal Trade Commission the power and duty to regulate the advertising and labeling of cigarettes; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 2430. A bill to bring under control the health hazards produced by the smoking of cigarettes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mrs. NEUBERGER when she introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself, Mr. CASE, Mr. COOPER, Mr. KEATING, Mr. KUCHEL, and Mrs. SMITH):

S. 2431. A bill to provide health care for persons 65 years of age and over through contributory social insurance, and a complementary basic national private insurance plan; to the Committee on Finance.

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

By Mr. KEATING (for himself, Mr. BEALL, Mr. CASE, Mr. COOPER, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KUCHEL, and Mr. SCOTT):

S. 2432. A bill to provide for a comprehensive study and investigation of the adequacy of the present system of compulsory military training under the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

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

By Mr. RUSSELL (for himself and Mr. SALTONSTALL) (by request):

S. 2433. A bill to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1965 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and research, development, test, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

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

By Mr. KENNEDY:

S. 2434. A bill for the relief of Araxie Puzant Tekeyan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT:

S. 2435. A bill for the relief of Capt. Stanley Wing Handford, U.S. Navy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. 2436. A bill for the relief of Mihajlo Radosavljevic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUMPHREY:

S.J. Res. 146. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of a bipartisan commission to make a study and investigation of the food and fiber policies of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. HUMPHREY when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTIONS

EXTENSION OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. SMATHERS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 260); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

Resolved, That the Special Committee on Aging established by S. Res. 33, Eighty-seventh Congress, agreed to on February 13, 1961, as amended and supplemented, is hereby extended through January 31, 1965.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of such committee to make a full and complete study and investigation of any and all matters pertaining to problems of older people, including but not limited to, problems of maintaining health, of assuring adequate income, of finding employment, of engaging in productive and rewarding activity, of securing proper housing, and, when necessary, care or assistance. No proposed legislation shall be referred to such committee, and such committee shall not have power to report by bill or otherwise have legislative jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. The said committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned

periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable.

Sec. 4. A majority of the members of the committee or any subcommittee thereof shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

Sec. 5. For purposes of this resolution, the committee is authorized (1) to employ on a temporary basis from February 1, 1964, through January 31, 1965, such technical, clerical, or other assistants, experts, and consultants as it deems advisable: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,600 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (2) with the prior consent of the executive department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to employ on a reimbursable basis such executive branch personnel as it deems advisable.

Sec. 6. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$213,000 from February 1, 1964, through January 31, 1965, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Sec. 7. The time for filing a final report is hereby extended to January 31, 1965. The committee shall cease to exist at the close of business on January 31, 1965.

STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 261) to study administrative practice and procedure, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 262) to investigate antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

CONSIDERATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO GOVERNMENT CHARTERS, HOLIDAYS, AND CELEBRATIONS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 263) to consider matters pertaining to Government charters, holidays, and celebrations, which, under

the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

AUTHORIZATION OF STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 264) authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 265) to investigate matters pertaining to constitutional rights, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

STUDY OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 266) to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

STUDY OF FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 267) to study and examine the Federal judicial system, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND ENFORCEMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 268) to investigate the

administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL PENITENTIARIES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 269) to investigate national penitentiaries, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

EXAMINATION OF ADMINISTRATION OF PATENT OFFICE

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 270) to examine and review the administration of the Patent Office, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY FLOW OF REFUGEES AND ESCAPEES FROM COMMUNISTIC TYRANNY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 271) to investigate problems created by flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

STUDY OF REVISION AND CODIFICATION OF THE STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 272) to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATION OF TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 273) to investigate the

administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 274) to investigate juvenile delinquency, which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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

NEEDED—A NEW PANAMA CANAL

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the deplorable series of events in Panama and the Canal Zone in recent days has focused new attention on the Panama Canal, and evoked new interest in our relations with Panama. But in all the excitement, the status and future of the canal itself have been almost overlooked.

The evidence is now increasingly clear that the present canal will be obsolete by 1980, its capacity strained to the saturation point.

Over the last 10 years, the number of ships passing through the canal has increased from 7,000 to more than 12,000 a year. A study prepared by the Stanford Research Institute in 1957 estimated that by 1975, 12,000 ships a year would be passing through the canal. The recent upsurge in traffic has treated their forecasts harshly, for 1960 was the first year when transits exceeded 12,000, 15 years earlier than the prediction.

The capacity of the canal also is being strained by its inability to handle many of the supertankers and large merchant ships now being constructed. Furthermore, none of the Navy's modern, large aircraft carriers can use the canal, simply because they are too big.

As use of the canal increases, so does its economic importance to the United States and to international trade generally. It is worth noting that nearly 60 percent of cargo carried through the canal in 1962 involved the commerce of the United States.

For these reasons, I believe it is important that prompt studies be undertaken of the means either to increase the capacity of the Panama Canal, or to construct a new interoceanic canal to meet the future needs of commerce and the national defense.

Such a study should include a careful review, including on-site surveys, of potential locations for a new canal, whether in Panama, Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico, or elsewhere, and should also cover the possibility of building a sea level canal, to avoid the use of costly and time-consuming locks.

The construction of a new canal, in some other country, would have special advantages which must be thoroughly explored in such a study. It would, of course, put an end to the Panamanian monopoly which could well become an irritant to other Latin American countries, as well as to us. It would provide an alternative route for shipping, should disasters of any type force the closing of one canal or curtail its usage.

It is also true that such a study would give the United States an improved bargaining position and would strengthen the hand of the President in meeting the present situation. However, that is not my primary purpose in introducing this bill, and it should not be considered in any sense a threat to the Republic of Panama.

My bill is identical to proposed legislation submitted to the 87th Congress by the Kennedy administration in 1962, except that instead of directing the Panama Canal Company to make the study, it empowers the President to appoint a commission, including a representative or representatives of the Company. I believe that this study is of such vital importance that it should not be narrowed to one agency of the Government.

I hope this bill will have the backing of the administration; and as soon as the bill has been referred to committee, I shall request early hearings, and shall seek to expedite action.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2428) to authorize a study of means of increasing the capacity and security of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. CORTON, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

CIGARETTE SMOKING—A TIME FOR ACTION

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, this has been a painful week for many millions of Americans. Smoking is a habit that does not die easily. The report of the Surgeon General's Committee on Smoking and Health is no well-meaning sermon to be acknowledged and then ignored. It is not a parental lecture. It is not an echo of Victorian morality. It is a massive, unequivocal, and unimpeachable scientific indictment of cigarette smoking. These are the Committee's findings:

Cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action.

In view of the continuing and mounting evidence from many sources, it is the judgment of the Committee that cigarette smoking contributes substantially to mortality from certain specific diseases and to the overall death rate.

Cigarette smoking is causally related to lung cancer in men; the magnitude of the effect of cigarette smoking far outweighs all other factors. The data for women, though less extensive, point in the same direction.

Cigarette smoking is the most important of the causes of chronic bronchitis in the United States, and increases the risk of dying from chronic bronchitis.

Last Saturday, at noon, this report exploded upon the American consciousness. Even the legendary smoker who had heard so much about the hazards of smoking that he vowed to give up reading could not avoid the impact of the Committee's message. It has truly been a painful week for millions of Americans.

But what happens next week? No more front-page headlines; no more network specials; no more alarms from the editorial pages. But the advertisements, the commercials will still be with us—\$132 million reassuring the troubled smoker:

They're so mild, so friendly to your taste.

After all, what civilized government would permit the use of the public airways to lure customers to a recognized, lethal habit?

The Committee found:

The overwhelming evidence points to the conclusion that smoking—its beginning, habituation and occasional discontinuation—is to a large extent psychologically and socially determined.

The smoking habit is thus clearly identified as a product of our social environment. And who can deny that the omnipresent cigarette advertisement operates constantly to reinforce and accentuate the role of smoking in the social environment.

The British experience is not comforting. The efforts of the Ministry of Health to launch an educational program to control smoking could not match the bold and imaginative advertising campaigns of the tobacco industry—even when circumscribed by the moderate advertising guides promulgated by the Independent Television Authority. British doctors heard—and absorbed—the message of the Royal College of Physicians: In 1952, 60 percent of British physicians were cigarette smokers; today that number has dwindled to 20 percent, a change only in part attributable to excess mortality rates among the smokers. But the public, generally, drifted back after the initial impact of the report was permitted to wear off.

Last week, in anticipation of the Surgeon General's Committee report, I wrote to Chairman Paul Rand Dixon of the Federal Trade Commission urging the Commission to initiate a broad program of advertising and labeling reform within its existing legislative framework. In that letter, I outlined what I believe to be the broad responsibilities of the Federal Government in combating the cigarette epidemic without impairing the right of the adult American to "choose his own poison":

1. We must make certain that no adult chooses to smoke without full knowledge of the risks inherent in that choice.

2. For the benefit of those who are unwilling or unable to forgo cigarette smoking, we must stimulate the development of less hazardous cigarettes and facilitate intelligent choice between competing brands on the basis of relative safety.

3. Finally, we bear a heavy obligation to the Nation's children. Freedom of choice presupposes mature judgment, which children cannot possess; and, because cigarette smoking is clearly habituating, the choice made during adolescence to smoke cannot

easily be undone. Thus, we must make a special effort to eliminate the promotion and advertising of cigarettes which tend to make cigarette smoking attractive to children.

In brief, I recommended that the Commission utilize its rule-making procedures to:

First. Require that each cigarette label, advertisement, and commercial, contain the following warning or its equivalent: "Caution—habitual cigarette smoking is injurious to health."

Second. Establish standards similar in function to the guides established for commercial TV in Great Britain by the Independent Television Authority to eliminate advertisements which tend to make cigarette smoking attractive to children and adolescents.

Third. As soon as is technically feasible, replace the present moratorium on tar and nicotine claims with a closely policed "tar derby," and implement such policy by: (a) Establishing standardized testing procedures for determining tar and nicotine yields; (b) establishing facilities for the periodic monitoring of tar and nicotine yields; (c) requiring a statement of average tar and nicotine yields, by FTC test, on each cigarette package label; and (d) sanctioning tar and nicotine claims which conform to such statements.

With respect to filters, the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has performed a valuable service for the confirmed smoker by obtaining clarification from Surgeon General Terry of the Committee's position on the potential gains to be derived from intensified filter research. No one who has witnessed the anguish of a smoker unable to quit can fail to recognize the need for eliminating, insofar as possible, the hazardous substances from cigarette smoke.

I am greatly encouraged by the Commission's receptivity to these recommendations. In an interview, published yesterday, Chairman Paul Rand Dixon indicated that the Commission was likely to undertake this type of action.

But the Chairman also acknowledged the existence of obstacles to efficient Commission policing of cigarette advertising. In order to enforce its cigarette advertising regulations, the Commission must now obtain final court orders under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. Considering the amply demonstrated facility of the tobacco industry for prolonging litigation, the Commission may not succeed in effecting its advertising reforms for years.

The Cigarette Advertising and Labeling Act which I am today introducing, would therefore grant to the Federal Trade Commission the same authority to regulate cigarette advertising and labeling as it has now to regulate food, drug, and cosmetic advertising, including the power to obtain injunctive relief against the dissemination of proscribed advertisements or packages.

In addition, Congress must grant the Public Health Service a clear and broad mandate to educate the American people to the hazards of smoking and to apply its vast resources to an intensive program of research designed to bring the hazards of smoking under control. To

this end, I also introduce today the Cigarette Health Hazards Act. This bill commences with a congressional finding that "the smoking of cigarettes constitutes a grave hazard to the public health."

The bill would direct the Secretary to conduct a program of research for the purpose of first, identifying, measuring, and evaluating the nature and kind of substance found in cigarette smoke; second, determining the mechanisms by which these substances affect human health; third, advancing knowledge with respect to the behavioral aspects of the smoking habit; fourth, developing the means of eliminating or reducing the hazards of smoking; and, fifth, aiding individuals to control the smoking habit.

The bill would also direct the Secretary to conduct an educational program on the hazards of smoking, to purchase space and time in commercial media for that purpose, to conduct periodic surveys of smoking patterns in the United States with a view to determining the effectiveness of smoking control procedures, and, to report to Congress on the results of such surveys.

I have the honor to be joined today in the sponsorship of these measures by the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the junior Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], and the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG].

I am also delighted to announce that Representative BLATNIK, of Minnesota, who early and courageously took the lead in the effort to enact national public health measures to control the hazards of smoking, is today introducing companion measures in the House.

It is the responsibility of Congress to furnish overall policy guidance, to clarify and to grant such additional authority as is needed. Equally important, Congress must make manifest to the American people its acceptance of the Surgeon General's verdict that cigarette smoking is a critical health problem.

President Kennedy charged the Federal Government with the responsibility for preserving the American consumer's "right to safety—to be protected against the marketing of goods which are hazardous to health or life."

Strong evidence incriminating smoking as a cause of disease and fatality has been within the public domain for nearly 15 years. The Public Health Service has officially acknowledged the hazards incident to smoking for nearly 5 years. The work of the Advisory Committee consumed 19 months. This Nation can afford to wait no longer. The time for the Federal Government to act has come.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the texts of the Cigarette Advertising and Labeling Act, and the Cigarette Health Hazards Act, together with the following documents: the letter of January 6, 1964, to Chairman Paul Rand Dixon; the letter of May 15, 1962, from Commissioner Anderson; an article published in the

New York Times of January 14, 1964; and a copy of the Independent Television Authority guides.

I also ask unanimous consent that the bills lay over until January 22, 1964, for additional cosponsors.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the bills, and other matters will be printed in the RECORD, and the bills will lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from Oregon.

The bills, introduced by Mrs. NEUBERGER (for herself and other Senators), were received, read twice by their titles, appropriately referred, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Committee on Commerce:

S. 2429. A bill to confer upon the Federal Trade Commission the power and duty to regulate the advertising and labeling of cigarettes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Cigarette Advertising and Labeling Act".

FINDINGS OF FACT

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that the unrestricted promotion and advertising of cigarettes in interstate commerce, in the light of the conclusive evidence that cigarette smoking is injurious to health, constitutes a grave threat to the public welfare.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 3. It is therefore the policy of the Congress, and the purpose of this Act—

(a) to require that cigarette packages contain a warning that habitual smoking of cigarettes is injurious to health.

(b) to require that each cigarette package disclose the average yields of incriminated agents (as defined in section 4(f)) from the cigarettes contained therein, and

(c) to eliminate cigarette advertising that tends to make cigarette smoking attractive to children.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 4. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "cigarette" means any roll of tobacco, wrapped in paper or any substance other than tobacco.

(b) The term "Commission" means the Federal Trade Commission.

(c) The term "Federal Trade Commission Act" means the Act entitled "An Act to create a Federal Trade Commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes", approved September 26, 1914, as amended.

(d) The term "commerce" means commerce between any State, Territory, or possession of the United States, or the District of Columbia, and any place outside thereof; or between points within the same State, Territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or within any Territory or possession of the District of Columbia.

(e) The term "United States" means the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories and possessions of the United States.

(f) The term "incriminated agent" means any substance found in cigarette smoke which, as determined by the Commission, tends to contribute to the medical hazards of smoking.

FALSE ADVERTISING AND LABELING OF CIGARETTES

SEC. 5. (a) The Federal Trade Commission, with the cooperation of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall

establish such standards and requirements for the labeling and advertising of cigarettes which are in commerce as it may deem necessary to protect the public health.

(b) Such standards and requirements for the labeling of cigarettes shall include the requirement that each package or container in which cigarettes in commerce are offered for sale to consumers bear a clear and distinct label which—

(1) contains the following words: "Caution—habitual smoking is injurious to health"; and

(2) sets forth the average yield, or other index, of each incriminated agent to be found in the smoke of the cigarettes contained in such package or container.

(c) Such standards and requirements with respect to the advertising of cigarettes shall—

(1) provide that each cigarette advertisement contain the following warning: "Caution—habitual cigarette smoking is injurious to health"; and

(2) provide for the elimination of all advertising matter which tends to make cigarette smoking attractive to children.

(d) Any cigarette package or container or any advertisement of cigarettes which fails to comply with the standards and requirements established by the Commission under the preceding subsections of this section shall be deemed to be a false advertisement of drugs for the purposes of sections 12, 13, 14, and 15 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (38 Stat. 719; 15 U.S.C. 52, 53, 54, and 55), as amended, and the Commission shall have the duty and authority to proceed with respect to any such false advertisement in the same manner and to the same extent as with respect to other false advertisements of drugs which are unlawful under the Federal Trade Commission Act.

To the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

S. 2430. A bill to bring under control the health hazards produced by the smoking of cigarettes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Cigarette Health Hazard Act".

FINDINGS OF FACT

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that the smoking of cigarettes, as presently processed and offered for sale, constitutes a grave hazard to the public health.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 3. It is therefore the policy of the Congress, and the purpose of this Act—

(a) to enjoin all departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Government from taking any action or pursuing any policy which encourages the public, or any segment thereof, to buy or use cigarettes, or which in any way promotes the sale or use of cigarettes;

(b) to publicize, and to educate the public to, the health hazards involved in the use of cigarettes; and

(c) to provide for the expansion of research for the purpose of (1) identifying, measuring, and evaluating the nature and kind of substances found in cigarette smoke, (2) determining the mechanisms by which these substances affect human health, (3) advancing knowledge with respect to the behavioral aspects of the smoking habit, (4) developing the means of eliminating or reducing the hazards of smoking, and (5) aiding individuals to control the smoking habit.

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY

SEC. 4. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized and directed to—

(1) implement the policy set forth in section 3, and coordinate the activities of other

departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Government with respect to the implementation of such policy;

(2) conduct directly, through other agencies and instrumentalities of the Government, and through grants to public and non-profit agencies and to individuals, research for the purposes of (A) identifying, measuring, and evaluating the nature and kind of substances found in cigarette smoke, (B) determining the mechanisms by which these substances affect human health, (C) advancing knowledge with respect to the behavioral aspects of the smoking habit, (D) developing means of eliminating or reducing the hazards of smoking, and (E) aiding individuals to control the smoking habit;

(3) conduct an educational program to inform and educate the public to the health hazards involved in the smoking of cigarettes and to the means which they can employ to avoid or reduce such hazards; and, in the conduct of such a program, the Secretary shall be authorized to purchase space and time in commercial media; and

(4) conduct periodic surveys of smoking patterns in the United States with a view to determining the effectiveness of smoking control procedures, and report to the Congress on the results of such surveys.

The material presented by Mrs. NEUBERGER is as follows:

JANUARY 6, 1964.

Hon. PAUL RAND DIXON,
Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As the Nation awaits imminent publication of the report of the Surgeon General's Committee on Smoking and Health, I know that you, as we, are engaged in the formulation of an appropriate response to that report. Though we cannot know what the report will say, we can anticipate that the Committee will conclude that there is now sufficient evidence that habitual cigarette smoking is injurious to health to justify the immediate imposition of control measures.

Among the responsibilities which the Federal Government can and must appropriately shoulder, I would include the following:

1. We must make certain that no adult chooses to smoke without full knowledge of the risks inherent in that choice.

2. For the benefit of those who are unwilling or unable to forgo cigarette smoking, we must stimulate the development of less hazardous cigarettes and facilitate intelligent choice between competing brands on the basis of relative safety.

3. Finally, we bear a heavy obligation to the Nation's children. Freedom of choice presupposes mature judgment, which children cannot possess; and, because cigarette smoking is clearly habituating, the choice made during adolescence to smoke cannot easily be undone. Thus, we must make a special effort to eliminate the promotion and advertising of cigarettes which tend to make cigarette smoking attractive to children.

Plainly, a fully coherent program dedicated to these goals requires centralized administrative leadership and legislative action. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that the Commission will exercise characteristic leadership in initiating several meaningful steps within the framework of existing legislation toward the realization of these goals.

Thus, I believe that adoption by the Commission of a program encompassing the following elements would do much to discharge the Government's responsibility to its citizens in meeting this major public health crisis:

1. That the Commission require that each cigarette label, advertisement, and commercial contain the following warning or its equivalent: "Caution—habitual cigarette smoking is injurious to health."

As Commissioner Anderson concluded in his letter to me of May 15, 1962, the Commission, to avoid deception, can require affirmative disclosure of the hazards inherent in cigarette smoking. Nevertheless, the Commission felt compelled to await reevaluation of the medical data on smoking by the Public Health Service.

I had thought that the overwhelming verdict of the medical community on smoking was already sufficient to sustain any such requirement. But surely, the addition of a vigorous and unequivocal report from the Surgeon General's Committee will dispel any lingering doubt.

There is evidence that the failure of the Government to regulate cigarette advertising has acted as an affirmative reassurance to smokers that cigarettes cannot be all that bad. The American consumer has come to believe that what is advertised may not be the great bargain that it is represented as, but thanks to the watchful eye of his Government, it will, at least, not kill him.

The absence of visible governmental control thus reinforces the normal commercial expectation of the consumer, articulated by the Florida Supreme Court in the Green case by the doctrine of implied warranty: "The manufacturer of products which are offered for sale to the public in their original package for human consumption or use impliedly warrants that its products are reasonably wholesome or fit for the purpose for which they are sold."

Moreover, there appears to be agreement among behavioral scientists that any well-publicized action by an arm of the Federal Government which places the Government unequivocally on record as accepting the medical verdict against smoking will significantly enhance public acceptance of that evidence. No single Government action would achieve this objective as efficiently and as forcefully as a required warning in all labeling and advertising.

Indeed, following the recent decisions in the Green case, cautionary labeling by the manufacturer would now appear to serve the manufacturers' self-interest in forestalling an otherwise inevitable rash of expensive tort claim actions by cigarette victims and their families.

2. That the Commission replace the present moratorium on tar and nicotine claims with a closely policed "tar derby" and that the Commission implement such policy by: (a) Establishing standardized testing procedures for determining tar and nicotine yields; (b) establishing facilities for the periodic monitoring of tar and nicotine yields; (c) requiring a statement of average tar and nicotine yields, by FTC test, on each cigarette package label; and (d) sanctioning tar and nicotine claims which conform to such statements.

I am delighted to welcome the American Tobacco Co. to the ranks of those who acknowledge the significance of tar and nicotine yields. There is, indeed, substantial evidence that differences in gross tar and nicotine yields from both filter and nonfilter cigarettes bear a significant relationship to the relative safety of the competing brands. In particular, the American Cancer Society studies conducted by Dr. Hammond have recorded the absence of symptoms, such as coughing, among filter smokers generally. It is therefore highly desirable that the cigarette consumer be made aware of the significance of tar and nicotine and be able to inform himself of the respective tar and nicotine ratings of the competing brands.

In addition to the established significance of tar and nicotine yields, there is new evidence that the removal by filtration of ciliastatic substances may also aid in reducing the hazard of cigarettes. However, there is as yet no suggestion that the use of such filters will render tar and nicotine levels irrelevant. Nor have any standardized tests yet

been developed to measure either the relative effect of competing filters on the action of the cilia in transporting mucus, or the relative significance of ciliastatic substances and gross tar and nicotine yields.

Until such standards are developed, claims will doubtless be made, indeed are now being made by implication, on behalf of filters which produce relatively low levels of ciliastasis. In my opinion, so long as advertisements for these cigarettes (1) comply with Commission requirements for affirmative warning and tar and nicotine disclosure, (2) are supported by demonstrable evidence, and (3) are not misleading as to the possible benefit or degree of benefit to be derived from such filtration, such claims will be tolerable.

Although competing filter claims can cause confusion among the cigarette-consuming public, I believe that under effective supervision the excesses of the "tar derby" of the late 1950's can be avoided. Yet even a return to the raucous and confusing counter-claims of the "tar derby" would be preferable to the present situation. Thus, the incredible growth of filter cigarette sales in the mid 1950's must be attributed in part to the "tar derby." And, though some of these smokers did not derive full imagined benefit from their filter cigarettes, the overall effect was to stimulate sales of significantly less hazardous smoking products. Unhappily, since the moratorium on health claims, this trend has been severely muted. Relative safety claims can only serve as constant reminders of the hazards of smoking and will inevitably induce most smokers to seek out the least hazardous brand.

3. That the Commission establish guidelines similar in function to the guides established for commercial TV in Great Britain by the Independent Television Authority to eliminate advertisements which tend to make cigarette smoking attractive to children and adolescents.

Advertisements which attempt to associate smoking with the fruits of social and physical maturity manifestly exploit the psychological needs and ambitions of the adolescent. Such appeals are surely "unfair" within the doctrine of *FTC v. Keppel*.

Moreover, the implications fairly drawn from many such ads; e.g., that cigarette smoking will enhance athletic prowess or will lead to romantic conquest, are insupportable in fact, and hence deceptive.

I believe that a program such as I have outlined, achieved perhaps through the substantive rulemaking powers of the Commission, would constitute a creative and courageous chapter in the proud history of FTC consumer protection.

Sincerely,

MAURINE B. NEUBERGER,
U.S. Senator.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 15, 1962.

Hon. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NEUBERGER: Thank you for your letter of April 9, 1962, requesting our opinion as to whether the Federal Trade Commission is empowered, under existing legislation, to require that cigarette advertisements and commercials contain adequate warning of the hazards of smoking.

As you probably know, the Commission has engaged in constant endeavor to prevent advertisements and commercials for cigarettes from being deceptive or misleading.

As we understand your position, it is that such advertisements and commercials should disclose affirmatively the possible hazards of smoking.

Any authority for the Commission to require such disclosure must rest on its jurisdiction under sections 12 (15 U.S.C. 52)

and 15 (a) and (c) (15 U.S.C. 55) or 5 (15 U.S.C. 45) of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

The first group of sections apply only to false advertisements of "food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics." The Commission attempted to bring a suit under section 14 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 53), which is interrelated to sections 12 and 15 of the act, to enjoin certain advertisements of Chesterfield cigarettes on the ground that cigarettes are "drugs." The courts refused to adopt the Commission's theory and held that cigarettes are not "drugs," so that these sections of the Federal Trade Commission Act applying to false advertisements of drugs, etc., are not applicable. (*Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Co. v. Federal Trade Commission*, 108 F. Supp. 573 U.S.D.C., S.D.N.Y., 1955; "order affirmed on opinion below," 203 F. 2d 956 (2d Cir., 1953).) Thus, in the absence of affirmative therapeutic claims in the advertisements or representations of cigarettes, we do not believe the Commission has any jurisdiction to classify cigarettes as drugs. If such claims were made, then the cigarettes would, in our opinion, come under the definition of "drug" as defined in section 15(a)(1)(c) of the Federal Trade Commission Act, since the claim would be made that they are articles "intended to affect the structure" or a "function of the body" of man.

The Commission has, under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, required affirmative disclosure in the advertisements of products which are not classified as "food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics," and the orders of the Commission have been upheld by appellate courts, generally on the ground that such disclosure was necessary to prevent deception. (*L. Heller & Son, Inc., et al. v. Federal Trade Commission*, 191 F. 2d 954 (7th Cir., 1951).)

If the Commission is able to secure competent probative scientific evidence including that furnished by the Public Health Service, that a causal relationship exists between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, heart ailments, etc., it is likely that an order of the Commission, based on such evidence, which require an affirmative disclosure of the possible hazards to health from smoking cigarettes, would be upheld in the appellate courts.

We have been informed by the Public Health Service that the scientific evidence now accumulated is such as to remove almost the last doubt that there are major health effects associated with smoking. Furthermore, officials of the Public Health Service have told us that they are now in the process of reevaluating all of the data and evidence as to what practical action can, and should be, taken to decrease any adverse effects on health because of tobacco smoking.

Unquestionably, if the Commission instituted proceedings against any cigarette company, in which it sought to secure the required statutory amount of proof to sustain finding that a causal relationship existed between cigarette smoking and hazards to health, it could be expected that the respondent would contend very vigorously that there is no evidence to sustain such a finding. The result could be a long, involved and protracted trial before the Commission and in the appellate courts.

Consequently, even though the Commission has the statutory authority to do so, we do not believe it would be advisable for the Commission to institute a case, which has as its objective the type of order you suggest, unless and until there is available the required evidence.

Sincerely yours,

SIGURD ANDERSON,
Acting Chairman.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Jan. 14, 1964]

U.S. PLANS CURBS ON CIGARETTE ADS—TRADE AGENCY DRAFTS NEW RULES FOR INDUSTRY—CODE DUE WITHIN A MONTH

(By Eileen Shanahan)

WASHINGTON, January 13.—The Federal Trade Commission is planning comprehensive curbs on cigarette advertising.

These would go far beyond a mere requirement that the public be warned, on every cigarette package and in every ad, that cigarette smoking has been found a health hazard.

The Commission hopes to be able to force the cigarette industry to change the whole tone of its advertising.

Specifically, it will attempt to force the elimination from cigarette advertising of statements or indications that people "feel good" when smoking, that smoking is a social grace, a sign of maturity or a part of sophisticated living.

The Commission believes it has authority to act under present law. It therefore plans to tell Congress that it sees no need for new legislation. It will say, however, that it has no objection if Congress wants to make the authority more specific.

Prices of cigarette stocks dipped sharply in early trading on the New York Stock Exchange but recovered part of the losses in later trading. Cigar stocks posted sharp gains.

The Federal Commission's intended restrictions on cigarette advertising, which would virtually oblige the industry to stop trying to make cigarettes seem attractive or desirable, are certain to encounter strong industry and political opposition.

It is not yet clear whether this opposition will be sufficient to cause the Commission to compromise the sweeping nature of its planned attack. Commission officials, some of whom view the problem of cigarette advertising as the most important in its 40-year history, say they will not compromise.

The Commission's Chairman, Paul Rand Dixon, said today that in his opinion his agency had the most important single role to play in carrying out the Surgeon General's report, which found that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance to warrant appropriate remedial action."

The Commission's approach to the policing of cigarette advertising will be general, officials said. That is, it will be aimed at the industry as a whole and not at a particular company or companies.

No punitive action is planned for past advertising claims. The approach will be directed at the future.

CODE OF ADVERTISING

What the Commission has decided to do is to draw up a set of rules covering cigarette advertising, specifying statements and presentations that will be considered a violation of law.

The Commission has the authority to issue such industrywide rules under sections 5 and 6 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. It has frequently used its broad rulemaking powers to police advertising practices of entire industries.

Such rules have, however, usually been aimed at such specific offenses as the offering of "free" merchandise that is not free or other types of outright misrepresentation.

The Commission decided to approach the problem of cigarette advertising through its rulemaking procedures because it thought that would be faster and more effective than an attempt to bring legal action against individual companies. The individual suits could take years before a comprehensive set of advertising restrictions was worked out, case by case, in court decisions.

Under the rulemaking procedure, the Commission itself will draw up its new rules—

hopefully within a month. Then it will call a public hearing, at which the industry will be able to voice its objections to all or part of the proposed rules. The Commission would not, however, be bound to reflect the industry's criticisms in its final rules.

Once the rules were put into force, the industry could challenge them in court.

A company could deliberately violate the rules, thus making itself subject to a legal complaint by the Commission, which would then be litigated in the Federal courts.

The industry, or any company, could go immediately into Federal court and seek an injunction against the rules. The ground would presumably be that the Commission had exceeded its authority.

The cellophane industry's third largest customer, for example, is the tobacco industry, with annual purchases of 35 million pounds of cellophane.

New anticigarette legislation suggested today included a bill by Representative PAUL A. FINO, Republican, of the Bronx, that would require cigarette packages to carry labels specifying the tar and nicotine contents of the cigarettes.

Congressional reaction to the report, meanwhile, continued to rise in intensity.

Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina, the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, introduced legislation providing \$5 million for an emergency research program to find ways of making smoking safer.

Tobacco State Congressmen were also seeking to round up support from representatives of other States that have a large economic stake in cigarettes—areas where cellophane, cigarette papers and aluminum foil, for example, are produced. The suppliers of the cigarette industry are spread from South Dakota to Texas.

At some point in the litigation that is inevitably in prospect the Federal courts—presumably the Supreme Court—will have to decide whether the Surgeon General's report proves that cigarette smoking is a cause of specific diseases. The report said that cigarette smoking is a cause of lung cancer and some other diseases but that no causal relationship was yet proved between cigarette smoking and other types of disease, such as heart ailments. Smokers do have higher rates of death from heart ailments than nonsmokers, however.

In addition the office of information and publications in the Surgeon General's office reported that it had begun an intensive study to determine what sort of campaign it should start to educate the public to the dangers of cigarette smoking.

This is the office that has, in the past, carried on publicity campaigns urging inoculation against poliomyelitis, Asian influenza, and other diseases. It has an annual budget of \$400,000.

Copies of the smoking report are not yet available for public sale. When printing is completed, they will be for sale by the Government Printing Office at \$1.25 each, with a discount for volume purchases.

TEXT OF NOTE PUBLISHED BY THE POSTMASTER GENERAL OF ENGLAND IN THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 10, 1962, CONCERNING ACTION TAKEN BY THE INDEPENDENT TELEVISION AUTHORITY IN CONNECTION WITH CIGARETTE ADVERTISING ON TELEVISION

The authority has concluded its review of cigarette advertising in the light of the report of the Royal College of Physicians and, with the support of the advertising advisory committee, has asked the program companies to secure modifications that will include the avoidance of those aspects of the advertising which could reasonably be taken to make a special appeal to young people.

Neither the authority nor its advisory committee think it reasonable to be so discriminating as to use their powers to exclude all cigarette advertising from independent television alone. Action has already been taken by the tobacco industry voluntarily to withdraw all cigarette advertising until about 9 p.m.

The authority is now securing modifications of the advertising so that in the future there will be no advertisements that can be seen clearly to come within the following broad classes:

1. Advertisements that greatly overemphasize the pleasure to be obtained from cigarettes.
2. Advertisements featuring the conventional heroes of the young.
3. Advertisements appealing to pride or general manliness.
4. Advertisements using a fashionable social setting to support the impression that cigarette smoking is a "go ahead" habit or an essential part of the pleasure and excitement of modern living.
5. Advertisements that strikingly present romantic situations and young people in love, in such a way as to seem to link the pleasures of such situations with the pleasures of smoking.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE HEALTH CARE FOR THE ELDERLY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill introduced on behalf of myself, the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], my colleague from New York [Mr. KEATING], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

This is the Health Care Insurance Act of 1964, about which so much has been heard and written.

This bill provides health care for all persons 65 years of age and over through contributory social insurance and a complementary national standard private insurance plan. It embodies in legislative form the recommendations of the 12-member National Committee on Health Care for the Aged, which was formed at my suggestion in 1962 to make a fresh and independent review of this issue. The members of this committee are:

Arthur S. Flemming, chairman, president, University of Oregon.

Russell Nelson, M.D., Vice Chairman, president, Johns Hopkins Hospital.

James Dixon, M.D., president, Antioch College.

Marion B. Folsom, director and former treasurer, Eastman Kodak Co.

Arthur Larson, Ph. D., director, World Rule of Law Center, Duke University.

Russel V. Lee, M.D., founder, Palo Alto Clinic.

John C. Leslie, chairman, committee on aging, Community Service Society of New York.

Winslow Carlton, Secretary of the Board, chairman, Group Health Insurance, Inc.

Vernon W. Lippard, M.D., dean, Yale Medical School.

Dickinson W. Richards, M.D., Lambert professor of medicine emeritus, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University.

Thomas M. Tierney, director, Colorado Hospital Service.

Hubert W. Yount, former executive vice president, Liberty Mutual Insurance Cos.

Howard L. Bost, Ph. D., study director. Prof. Henry H. Foster, Jr., legal consultant.

The committee offered a new approach which makes it possible to accommodate the views of those who advocate a plan under the social security system and those who want to make use of the private insurance system and the vast body of experience and know-how it has developed. In contrast to other proposals placed before the Congress in recent years, the committee took the total health care needs of the older citizens under consideration and recommended separate but complementary programs for Government and private insurance as the best solution to the problem.

The bill which I and other Senators are introducing establishes this dual Government-private health insurance program. It limits the Government's role to insurance covering costs of hospitalization and skilled nursing-home care to be financed under social security, and at the same time makes possible coverage of medical and noninstitutional care under low-cost private insurance plans to be developed on a nonprofit, tax-free basis with special provision for concerted selling and risk pooling.

This is by far the most advanced and comprehensive program to be placed before the Congress. That part of it to be covered by social security financing provides for 45 days of hospital care for all persons 65 years of age or over without deductible or option, up to 180 days of skilled nursing care, and over 200 days of home care following treatment in a hospital. This portion of the program would be financed by an increase of one-fourth of 1 percent each on employers and employees in the social security tax to be deposited in a separate health fund. It would also permit local administration by existing agencies.

The complementary national private insurance program for physicians, surgeons, and other noninstitutional care limits the Government's role and is a built-in limit on its future expansion, and thereby offers the key aspect of the bill, answering the fears of many that the Government in a political way was seeking to expand its part in the health care field for the aged.

It is estimated that the national "standard" policy could be made available at a cost of about \$2 a week, which is well within the income range of most aged persons. All over 65 would be eligible to purchase this national standard policy, which will be stamped with a symbol of approval. The bill provides for a nationwide federally chartered association which private insurance and group service companies could join in order to sell a standard policy providing uniform basic coverage at a uniform low rate but with regional variations in benefits and fees, or qualified alternative policies.

By covering the major causes of dependency due to illness and the largest part of the individual's total medical bill in this dual public-private program, the burden placed on public assistance meas-

ures such as Kerr-Mills would be substantially reduced. According to the Bureau of Census statistics, the per capita income of 80 percent of all retired persons is \$2,000 a year or less.

Thus, today, they are being priced out of the health care market by rapidly increasing costs; yet we want them to have the best health care that enhanced life expectancies can produce.

Private health insurance alone cannot do the job of providing protection at a cost this growing section of our population can afford. While 50 percent of those over 65 are estimated to have some kind of health insurance, less than 10 percent of their total medical costs are paid by this insurance.

Moreover, the heaviest burden and the greatest loss risk for health insurance comes from hospital costs, which in the last decade have gone up by 65 percent. Even higher, therefore, went the group insurance premiums for the over-65 group, in some States soaring as high as 83 percent. By comparison, the Consumer Price Index during this decade rose only 12 percent.

Today even the lowest cost private insurance programs are far too expensive for most of our older citizens. The premium cost for the "State 65" plans, which are nonprofit, is \$228 annually, much more than the aging generally can afford. Moreover, the plans call for a substantial deductible and 80 percent coinsurance. These are good plans, probably the best benefit plans so far developed by the private sector, but experience in at least two States indicates that they will not prove adequate to the task because of the adverse risk selection arising from limited membership, and their rates will have to be increased.

In Connecticut, for example, less than 10 percent of the eligible persons have enrolled and most of these took only one part of the maximum program—the major medical option. The inescapable conclusion is that only a mass approach on a nationwide scale, such as this bill proposes, can achieve broad pooling of risks, complete availability, and lowest costs.

The bill also adheres to the basic principles that I and my associates on the question have consistently supported. I should like to pay tribute to Senators who have joined me in sponsoring the bill, and who have indefatigably pursued the subject with the same vigor and the same interest that I have shown. I deeply believe that their study, their work, and their willingness to assume the risks of supporting so massive and important a piece of proposed legislation will make a great contribution to the ultimate result which I join with the President in being sure will come about, provided that this kind of approach is used with that of the so-called social security approach proposed by the administration.

The principles for which we have all contended are as follows:

First. To include all over 65 including those not now covered by the social security system; second, to provide for the participation of State agencies and ap-

proved private organizations in the administration of the program; and third, to set up a special health insurance fund separate from other social security funds.

The potentialities of this public-private program go far beyond any existing practice developed to meet a special social need. It includes in the legislation provision also for the establishment of a strong National Advisory Council on Health Insurance for the Aged which will be charged with the task of advising the Secretary in administering the public plan and with making reports to Congress on the progress of both the public and private sectors of the program. This Council should be broadly representative of all groups, public and private, who are directly concerned with health care for the aged and who will be able to have some effective influence on the formulation of policy in the administration of the plan.

Finally, when President Kennedy, of beloved memory, received the report of the National Committee on Health Care for the Aged—and the bill translates into legislative terms the Committee's recommendations—he expressed the hope that implementing legislation would have broad bipartisan support.

I believe that the bill comes close to meeting the requirements of the health care experts as well as of legislators on both sides of the aisle. It will do so at a cost which is relatively modest in view of the magnitude of the program. I am confident that the cost of the public part of it will be just about what is called for under the King-Anderson proposal. It will avoid the dangers of so-called socialized medicine. It will observe the traditional doctor-patient relationship, and provide for the participation of the private sector, which has built up a great and deserved interest in the field over the years.

I offer the considered judgment—and I believe my view is shared by my brothers in this effort—that the program is one which has the best prospect of becoming law in 1964.

I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis of the bill, as prepared by the Library of Congress, be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF BILL

The first section of the bill provides that the act may be cited by its short title (the "Health Care Insurance Act of 1964").

Section 2 of the bill contains congressional findings and a declaration of the purposes of the act and certain policies of Congress.

The congressional findings state that rising health care costs are a major threat to the independence and dignity of most aged persons who cannot afford private health insurance, and that there has been an increase in dependency and the number of medically indigent aged persons with subsequent burdening of the public relief programs.

The purpose of the act is to meet this problem by a dual public-private program of basic health care providing: (1) hospital and related care financed through social insurance, and (2) medical, surgical, and related services through the establishment of a national association of private insurance carriers which shall make available to aged

persons a nonprofit, tax-exempt standard health insurance policy at reasonable cost.

It is declared to be the policy of Congress that where they would suffice, authorized skilled nursing facilities be utilized in preference to inpatient hospital services; that home health services be used in preference to inpatient hospital services or skilled nursing facilities; and that no individual who receives aid or assistance under a public assistance program should receive less benefits or be otherwise disadvantaged by reason of the enactment of the act.

The remainder of the bill is divided into five titles as follows:

Title I: Hospital insurance benefits for the aged.

Title II: Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Title III: Railroad retirement amendments.

Title IV: Miscellaneous provisions.

Title V: Complementary private health insurance for individuals aged 65 or over.

TITLE I—HOSPITAL INSURANCE BENEFITS FOR THE AGED

Section 101 adds a new title to the Social Security Act—title XVIII—Hospital Insurance Benefits for the Aged.

Section 1801 of the new title states that nothing in the title shall give Federal employees any supervision or control over the practice of medicine or over operation or administration of medical facilities.

Section 1802 provides that beneficiary may choose any participating institution or agency which offers services to him.

Section 1803: Subsection (a) defines inpatient hospital services as services, biologicals, drugs and appliances customarily furnished by a hospital for care and treatment of its inpatients. Includes bed and board, nursing and related services, and diagnostic and therapeutic services furnished by the hospital or under arrangements made by hospital with others who provide the services. Excludes services of private-duty nurses, and medical and surgical services of physicians, except services rendered in fields of pathology, radiology, physical medicine and anesthesiology, or by an intern or resident in training under an AMA (or osteopathic body) approved teaching program.

Subsection (b) defines Skilled Nursing Facility Services as including: nursing care furnished by or under supervision of a registered professional nurse; bed and board; drugs and supplies customarily furnished by the facility for care and treatment of inpatients; services generally provided by such facilities in connection with nursing care, including physical, occupational, and speech therapy furnished by the facility or by others under arrangements made by the facility; and medical services of interns and residents in training under an approved teaching program of the hospital with which such facility is affiliated. Any service which would not be covered if furnished in a hospital is excluded. Services will be provided in skilled nursing homes after transfer from hospital or without prior hospitalization as to patients in skilled nursing homes with hospital affiliation.

Subsection (c) defines Home Health Services as services and medical supplies (other than drugs and biologicals) furnished in the patient's residence by a home health agency (or by others under arrangements made by such agency with them) under plan established and supervised by a physician; includes part-time nursing care by or under supervision of an RN, physical, occupational and speech therapy, medical social services, part-time home health aid services, and medical services of interns and residents in training under approved teaching programs of hospital with which agency is affiliated. Excludes any item or service which would not be covered if furnished in a hospital.

Subsection (d) defines drugs and biologicals (except for purposes of the exclusion of drugs and biologicals under home health services) as those included in the U.S. Pharmacopoeia, National Formulary, New and Non-Official Drugs, Accepted Dental Remedies, or approved by the pharmacy and drug therapeutics committee of the hospital's medical staff.

Subsection (e) defines arrangements as those under which receipt of payment by a participating provider of services discharges all financial liability for the services.

Section 1804: Subsection (a) provides the following duration of services maximums:

1. 45 days of inpatient hospital services per benefit period;

2. 180 days of skilled nursing facility services per benefit period; and

3. 240 days of home health services during a calendar year.

Subsection (b) defines benefit period as beginning with the first day (not in a previous benefit period) covered inpatient hospital or nursing facility services are furnished to an individual and ending with last day of first 45-day period (whether or not consecutive) occurring within a period of not more than 180 consecutive days during which he was not an inpatient in hospital or skilled nursing facility.

Section 1805: Subsection (a) provides entitlement to benefits to every individual who (1) has attained age 65, and (2) is entitled to old-age and survivors insurance benefits.

Subsection (b) provides that benefits will be payable only if furnished in the United States but for health benefit purposes includes month of death (even though not a month for which cash benefits are payable) as a month for which benefits will be paid.

Subsection (c) provides that no payments shall be made for hospital services or home health services prior to January 1, 1965, or for skilled nursing facility services prior to July 1, 1965.

Section 1806 provides the following definitions of providers of services:

Subsection (a) defines hospital as institution which: (1) is primarily engaged in providing diagnostic and therapeutic or rehabilitation services; (2) maintains clinical records; (3) has bylaws for medical staff; (4) provides 24-hour nursing services by or under supervision of a registered nurse; (5) has utilization review plan in effect; (6) is licensed (or meets standards for such licensing) pursuant to State or local law; and (7) meets other requirements for consideration by Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals as Secretary finds necessary for health and safety. For purposes of determining how long an individual is out of hospital and when benefit period ends, institution meeting element (1) or definition above is a "hospital." In determining whether emergency services are covered, institution considered "hospital" if it meets elements (1), (2), (4), and (6) above. Mental and TB hospitals are not covered.

Subsection (b) defines skilled nursing facility as institution (or part thereof) which is affiliated with a participating hospital and which: (1) primarily provides skilled nursing care for persons requiring planned medical or nursing care or rehabilitation services; (2) has policies established by professional group (including physicians and registered nurses) to govern services with requirement that each patient be under a physician's care; (3) has physician or registered nurse responsible for execution of such policies; (4) maintains clinical records; (5) provides 24-hour nursing services by or under supervision of registered nurse; (6) operates under utilization review plan; (7) is licensed (or meets standards for such licensing) pursuant to State or local law; and (8) meets other conditions prescribed by Secretary as necessary for health and safety. For purposes of determining how long

an individual is out of skilled nursing facilities and when benefit period ends, facility meeting element (1) of definition above is a "skilled nursing facility."

Subsection (c) defines home health agency as one which is affiliated or under common control of a hospital and which: (1) is public or nonprofit; (2) primarily provides skilled nursing or therapeutic services; (3) has policies established by the hospital (including physicians and registered nurses) to govern services; (4) maintains clinical records; (5) is licensed (or meets standards for such licensing) pursuant to State or local law; (6) meets other conditions prescribed by Secretary as necessary for health and safety. The term shall not include any agency which is primarily for the care and treatment of tuberculosis or mentally ill patients.

Subsection (d) defines physician as person licensed by State to practice surgery or medicine (including osteopaths).

Subsection (e) provides that hospital utilization review plan acceptable if applicable to services furnished beneficiaries and if it provides (1) for review, on a sample or other basis, from standpoint of medical necessity, of admissions, duration of stays and professional services; (2) for such review to be made by hospital staff committee of two or more physicians or by similarly composed group outside the hospital; (3) for such review, in each case of a hospital stay of 21 continuous days, to be made no later than 1 week following the 21st day—and subsequently at intervals specified in regulations for longer stays; (4) and for prompt notification to the institution, the individual and his physician (after opportunity for consultation has been provided such physician) in case of finding that further stay in the institution is not medically necessary. Hospital utilization review plan must provide for review by group outside hospital where, because of small size (or for other reasons as may be included in regulations), it is impracticable for hospital to have properly functioning staff committee.

Subsection (f) defines "provider or services" as hospital, skilled nursing facility or home health agency.

Subsection (g) provides that a hospital and nursing facility will be deemed affiliated or under common control if written agreement between them provides assurance that (1) nursing facility is operated under jointly established standards with respect to nursing and related services (other than physicians' services), clinical records, and use of drugs; (2) timely transfer and joint use of clinical records of patients will be made; and (3) utilization review plan of hospital will be extended to admissions, stays and professional services furnished in nursing facility.

Subsection (h) provides that a home health agency shall be deemed affiliated or under common control with hospital if a written agreement between it and a hospital provides assurance that (1) the policies governing the skilled nursing or other therapeutic services provided by the agency shall be established by or with the approval of the hospital, and (2) the agency shall maintain such clinical and other records as prescribed by the hospital.

Subsection (i): "State" and "United States" have the same meaning as when used in title II of the Social Security Act.

Subsection (j). Meaning of additional skilled nursing facilities: Secretary required to study ways of increasing availability of skilled nursing facility care for beneficiaries. On the basis of such study, and after consultation with appropriate professional organizations, Secretary may authorize participation of facilities which, though not affiliated with hospitals, operate under conditions assuring good quality

care—provided such action does not create (or increase) actuarial imbalance in trust fund. Secretary to report periodically to Congress, but no later than July 1, 1966, on result of study and action taken.

Section 1807 provides, relative to Conditions of Participation and the Use of State and Voluntary Agencies, that the Secretary shall consult with the Advisory Council on Health Insurance for the Aged, State agencies, and national listing or accrediting bodies in prescribing such conditions for participation as may be necessary for health and safety. Conditions may be varied for different areas or classes of institutions, and may be set higher for a State at its request (but not higher than accreditation requirements of Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals). To the maximum practicable, the Secretary shall use the services of voluntary agencies in administration of the program, inviting such organizations to submit proposals with respect to the use of their services. If the Secretary is satisfied that the services offered will contribute to efficient and economic administration, he shall accept the proposal.

Section 1808 provides, in subsection (a), relative to the Use of State Agencies, that the Secretary may use such agencies for purposes of (1) determining which providers may participate, and (2) providing consultative services to providers to assist them to qualify for participation, to establish and maintain fiscal records and to provide information necessary to determine what benefits are payable. Secretary may accept State's findings as to eligibility of providers to participate. States will be reimbursed for costs of activities performed under the program, and for fair share of State's costs attributable to planning and other efforts directed toward coordination of State's own programs with Federal program.

Subsection (b) provides that a hospital accredited by Joint Commission deemed to meet all conditions of participation save utilization review requirement. If such Commission requires utilization review plan (or another requirement serving same purpose) for accreditation, Secretary authorized to find that accredited hospitals meet all conditions for participation. Secretary may also accept the findings of national accreditation bodies other than the Joint Commission as to the eligibility of providers to participate.

Section 1809, conditions and limitations on payment for services:

Subsection (a) relating to requests and certifications provides that payment will be made only if (1) written request is filed by the beneficiary (or by others designated by Secretary when impractical to get beneficiary's signature), and (2) a physician certifies that: (A) inpatient hospital services were required for medical treatment or inpatient diagnostic study; (B) skilled nursing facility services were required because beneficiary needed continuous skilled nursing care for a condition for which hospitalized prior to transfer, or which arose while receiving such care; or (C) home health services were required because beneficiary needed intermittent skilled nursing care, or physical or speech therapy, and that the services were performed under a plan established and reviewed periodically by a physician. Payment made for inpatient hospital or nursing facility services furnished after 21st day of stay only if hospital or nursing facility is making timely utilization reviews of long-stay cases. If finding is made, pursuant to system of utilization review, that inpatient hospital or skilled nursing facility services furnished during a continuous period are not medically necessary, payment would not be made after the second day after the day notice of such finding is received by the hospital or nursing facility.

Subsection (b) provides that payments will be based on the reasonable cost of services furnished. Cost determined under regulations but Secretary must consider reimbursement principles developed by national organizations in setting regulations. Subsection (c) provides that if patient receives services in accommodations more expensive than 2- to 4-bed accommodations, payments are limited to cost of 2- to 4-bed room unless more expensive accommodations were medically necessary. If a patient receives, at his request, services more expensive than those for which payment can be made, Secretary can pay no more than reasonable cost of services.

Subsection (d) provides that if patient does not request but is placed in 5-bed (or more) accommodations for a reason Secretary determines is not consistent with program's purpose, payment shall equal cost of services for which payment could otherwise be made minus difference between customary charges for semiprivate and ward accommodations.

Subsection (e) provides that no payment can be made to Federal providers of services, except for emergency services, unless it serves as community hospital. Payment cannot be made to any provider for services it is obligated to render at public expense under Federal law or contract.

Subsection (f) provides that payment may be made for emergency inpatient hospital service in the absence of an agreement if hospital agrees not to charge beneficiary for covered services.

Subsection (g) provides that if provider acted reasonably in believing an individual was entitled to payment under this act, the provider can get payment for services furnished prior to certification from Secretary that individual is not entitled. No payment made under this provision if provider obtains payment from the individual.

Section 1810, relating to agreements with providers, states in subsection (a) that a provider shall be eligible for payment if it files agreement with Secretary not to charge for covered services and to make adequate provision for refund of erroneous charges. A provider can charge individual for extra services supplied at patient's request.

Subsection (b) provides that an agreement may be terminated by provider or Secretary at such time and upon such notice as may be prescribed by regulation. Secretary may require agreement to remain in effect for up to 6 months after provider notice. Secretary may terminate only if provider (a) is not complying with agreement or law, (b) is no longer eligible to participate, or (c) fails to provide data to determine benefit eligibility or amount of payment due provider, or refuses access to records for verification. The termination of agreement with provider will be effective with respect to (1) inpatient hospital and skilled nursing services furnished to individual admitted on or after effective date of termination; and (2) home health services furnished under plan established on or after effective date of termination, or, if earlier, after calendar year in which termination effective.

Subsection (c) provides that the provider may be represented by agent in negotiations with Government.

Subsection (d) provides that if Secretary terminates agreement, provider may not file another unless Secretary finds the reason for termination is removed and there is assurance it will not recur.

Subsection (e) provides that if Secretary finds timely reviews of long-stay cases not being made by hospital or nursing facility, Secretary may, in lieu of terminating agreement, deny payment for services furnished after 21st day of continuous stay. Such decision may be made only after notice to provider and public and shall be rescinded

when reviews are being made and there is assurance reviews will continue to be made.

Section 1811 provides that payments to providers be made from Federal hospital insurance trust fund.

Section 1812 provides that the same hearing and appeal procedures for hospital insurance benefits as now are provided for old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits.

Section 1813, relating to overpayments to individuals, provides in subsection (a) that the payment to a provider for services furnished an individual are considered payment to the individual.

Subsection (b) provides that where an overpayment is made to provider and cannot be recouped from the provider, or payment is made for individual not entitled to hospital benefits under conditions specified, subsequent cash benefits payable to the individual (or if such individual dies to others based on individual's earnings record) be reduced in accordance with regulations prescribed by Secretary.

Subsection (c) provides that there shall be no reduction in cash benefits to be made in any case in which individual is without fault, or reduction would defeat purposes of title II or be against equity and good conscience.

Subsection (d) provides that no certifying or disbursing officer shall be held liable for overpayments where recovery of such payments is waived or where recovery is not completed prior to death of all persons against whose benefits recovery authorized.

Section 1814, relating to the use of private organizations to facilitate payment to providers, authorizes the Secretary, under subsection (a), to enter agreements whereby organizations designated by providers would determine amount of and receive payments on behalf of providers.

Subsection (b) authorizes the Secretary to designate organizations to (1) serve as centers for communicating with providers, (2) make audits of provider records, (3) assist in application or utilization safeguards, and (4) other related functions.

Subsection (c) provides for the advance of funds to designated organizations for making payments to providers, and payment of administrative costs they incur.

Subsection (d) provides that if organization is designated by association of providers, the individual provider may elect not to have payment made to such organization. Providers who so elect (and providers who have not designated an organization) may designate another organization which has entered agreement with Secretary, provided Secretary and designated organization agree.

Subsection (e) provides that an agreement may be terminated by designated organization or Secretary at such time and upon such notice as may be provided in regulations. The Secretary may terminate an agreement, after opportunity for hearing provided for organization, only if (1) organization fails to carry out agreement or (2) continued delegation of functions to organization disadvantageous or inconsistent with efficient administration.

Subsection (f) provides that employees of designated organizations give surety bond to United States in amount determined by Secretary.

Subsection (g) provides that employees of designated organizations responsible for certifying or disbursing payments pursuant to agreement be not liable, in absence of gross neglect or intent to defraud, for payments.

Section 1815 provides that the term "regulations" means, unless the context otherwise requires, regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

Section 1816 makes certain provisions of the old age, survivors, and disability program, relating to representation of claim-

ants, evidence and procedures, and penalties for fraud, etc., applicable to this title.

Section 1817 provides that if the name of a nongovernment body or publication is designated, changes in name or succession of a new organization to the function served will not make the provision invalid.

Section 102, Federal hospital insurance trust fund: Amends title II of the Social Security Act by adding a provision creating a Federal hospital insurance trust fund. The new trust fund shall consist of amounts appropriated to fund beginning with fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, equivalent to (1) 0.68 of 1 percent of wages paid after December 31, 1964, and (2) 0.51 of 1 percent of self-employment income for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1964.

Section 103, transitional provision for eligibility for presently uninsured individuals: In subsection (a) provides hospital insurance benefits for persons who attain age 65 before 1967 (or have earned 3 quarters for each calendar year after 1964 and before year of attainment of 65) and who are not eligible for monthly old age and survivor or railroad retirement benefits.

Subsection (b) limits hospital insurance coverage for uninsured persons to resident U.S. citizens or aliens resident in United States continuously for not less than 10 years.

Subsection (c) excludes from coverage uninsured persons who are (1) employees of United States or eligible for benefits under Federal employee or retired employee health insurance plans, or (2) members of subversive organizations or convicted of certain subversive acts.

Subsection (d) provides that payments for cost of hospital insurance benefits for uninsured persons be made from Federal general revenues by a general authorization of appropriation.

Section 104, increase in earnings base: In subsection (a) amends the Social Security Act to raise the wage base from \$4,800 to \$5,200 a year effective 1965 for benefit purposes.

Subsection (b) raises the self-employment income base in a similar manner.

Subsection (c) provides that four quarters of coverage will be credited if \$5,200 are earned in a year after 1964.

Subsection (d) changes benefit table in the law to reflect benefit increases resulting from increase in earnings base to \$5,200. Maximum for worker increased from \$127 to \$134 per month. The table also reflects changes in maximum family benefits consistent with benefit and earnings base changes raising maximum from \$254 to \$268 per month.

Subsection (e) increases to \$5,200 earnings that can be counted in computing average monthly wage for years after 1964.

Section 105, technical amendments: In subsection (a) extends old-age and survivors insurance provisions suspending payment of benefits to certain aliens outside United States, to hospital insurance program.

Subsection (b) extends provisions on penalties court may assess for subversive activities to hospital insurance program.

Subsection (c) makes further conforming changes in trust fund and benefits references.

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

Section 201, changes in tax schedules: Subsection (a) amends section 1401 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the rate of tax on self-employment income) as follows:

| | [In percentage] | |
|---------|-----------------|----------|
| | Present | Proposed |
| 1963-64 | 5.4 | 5.4 |
| 1965 | 5.4 | 5.8 |
| 1966-67 | 6.2 | 6.6 |
| 1968 | 6.9 | 7.3 |

Subsection (b) amends section 3101 of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to rate of tax on employees under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act) as follows:

| | Present | Proposed |
|---------|---------|----------|
| 1964 | 3% | 3% |
| 1965 | 3% | 3% |
| 1966-67 | 4% | 4% |
| 1968 | 4% | 4% |

Subsection (c) amends section 3111 of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to rate of tax on employers under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act) in the same manner as is done for employees.

Section 202, increase in tax base: Subsection (a) raises tax base to \$5,200 for self-employment income effective for taxable years ending after 1964.

Subsection (b) raises tax base to \$5,200 for wages effective for calendar years after 1964.

Subsections (c), (d), (e), and (f) provide various conforming changes relative to change in tax base.

Section 203, technical amendment: Provides conforming change in Internal Revenue Code reference to trust funds.

TITLE III—RAILROAD RETIREMENT AMENDMENTS

Section 301, hospital insurance benefits for the aged under the Railroad Retirement Act: Subsection (a) adds a new section to the Railroad Retirement Act, section 21. Subsection (a) of the new section establishes a separate hospital insurance benefits program under railroad retirement system which is the same as program provided under the old-age and survivors insurance program. Makes hospital insurance benefits available in Canada under railroad program (payments in Canada financed entirely from railroad retirement account).

Subsection (b) provides that at age 65, railroad retirement annuitants, pensioners and certain others who have been old-age and survivors beneficiaries, would be eligible for hospital insurance benefits; payments made from railroad retirement account (later coming under financial interchange). Payments in Canada will be reduced by any payments under Canadian law.

Subsection (c) prohibits duplication of payments in dual coverage cases and provides for jointly established procedures to handle such cases. The dual coverage provisions are not to impair or diminish rights of person affected.

Subsection (d) provides that any agreement entered into by Secretary for hospital benefit purposes is also entered into for the Railroad Retirement Board, but the Board can enter into agreements with railroad hospitals and Canadian hospitals.

Subsection (e) provides that a request for payment under one program (railroad or OASI) shall be request for payment under other program.

Subsection (f) provides for the exchange of information between two agencies.

Subsection (b) of section 301 amends financial interchange provisions of Railroad Retirement Act to take into account hospital insurance trust fund and apply financial interchange to hospital insurance benefits.

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Section 401, studies and recommendations: Directs the Secretary to conduct studies and develop recommendations relating to (1) adequacy of health care facilities; and (2) methods of encouraging development of economical and efficient forms of care.

TITLE V—COMPLEMENTARY PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE FOR INDIVIDUALS AGED 65 OR OVER

Section 501, purpose: In section 501 of the bill Congress declares that the purpose of this title is to provide all aged individuals the opportunity to secure at reasonable cost private health insurance which will insure

them for services not covered by the program established under the new title XVIII of the Social Security Act.

Section 502, definitions: Section 502 of the bill defines the following terms as used in title V:

(a) "Health insurance policy" means any policy, contract or other arrangement between a carrier and another person under which a carrier, in return for the payment of premiums, agrees to pay for or reimburse the cost of health services furnished the beneficiary or beneficiaries of such policy, contract, or other arrangement.

(b) The "standard policy" to be devised under section 503(c) of the bill may include any of the "health insurance benefits" described in subsection (c), but it must include at least all of the following benefits:

1. Payment of part or all charges for most physicians' services wherever performed;

2. Payment, in accordance with a schedule, for part or all costs of surgery performed in or out of a hospital;

3. Payment of at least the first \$15 of charge for consultation with a medical or surgical specialist;

4. Payment, in accordance with a fee schedule, for part or all fees for diagnostic care, and laboratory and X-ray services.

(c) The term "health insurance benefits," or the term "benefits" when used in connection with health insurance, means insurance covering the cost in whole or in part of any or all of the services or items listed below, to the extent that they are not covered under the new program of hospital benefits for the aged established under title XVIII of the Social Security Act enacted by title I of the bill:

1. Physicians', surgeons', dentists' services, or any other medical or remedial care recognized under State law;

2. Diagnostic care and laboratory and X-ray services;

3. Prescribed drugs, eyeglasses, dentures, and prosthetic devices;

4. Private duty nursing services;

5. Home health care services;

6. Inpatient hospital services; and

7. Skilled nursing home services.

(d) The term "carrier" means a lawfully established private health insurance company, association, partnership, or other non-governmental organization engaged in selling health insurance, which carrier meets reasonable standards prescribed by the Secretary.

(e) "Premium" means the charge made by a carrier for coverage under a health insurance policy.

(f) "Secretary" refers to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Section 503, authorization of association: This section authorizes the establishment of a national association, with the approval of the Secretary, to carry out the purposes of the title in making complementary health insurance available to aged persons. The association would be called the "National Association of Carriers to Provide Health Insurance for Individuals Aged 65 or Over."

The association would be made up of carriers voluntarily joined together with membership open to all responsible carriers that desire to participate and agree to follow the rules governing the association as set forth in the law and regulations promulgated pursuant to the law.

The principal function of the association is to devise and offer for sale through its members a "standard policy" of health insurance for eligible aged persons providing at least the benefits specified in section 502(b) of the bill. All the terms and conditions of the standard policy as well as the terms and conditions of its sale are to be uniform. However, in order to reflect geographical differences in the cost of furnishing health care, the amount of the premiums

and the extent of benefits provided under the standard policy may vary in different areas, either within or outside of State boundaries.

In order to minimize the factor of adverse selection in the sale of the standard policy, the association is authorized to limit the period during each year when it may be offered to new subscribers.

The carriers who are members of the association would be able to offer for sale one or more "alternative policy" which could be offered to eligible aged persons in place of the standard policy. These alternative policies would have to meet minimum standards developed by the association and approved by the Secretary. Such standards would require that an alternative policy must fulfill the same purpose as, and represent to the subscriber at least the same dollar value as, the standard policy. Before offering an alternative policy for sale a member carrier would have to submit copies of it for their approval to the association and the Secretary, together with other information the association deems pertinent. After approval by the association and the Secretary (based on findings that it fulfills the same purposes as and has at least the same dollar value to the subscriber as the standard policy) an alternative policy could be offered for sale by any member carrier in the same manner and subject to the same conditions as apply to the standard policy.

All premiums paid for standard or alternative policies would be covered into a common fund (called the "reserve fund") established by the association and all benefits and the reasonable expenses of administering such policies would be paid from the reserve fund. Surpluses in the reserve fund would be invested by the association in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed both as to principal and interest by the United States. The assets of the reserve fund would belong to the association and its moneys would be used to pay the expenses of the association.

The association would be authorized to place appropriate limitations (subject to the approval of the Advisory Council on Health Insurance for the Aged and the Secretary) upon the amounts which could be claimed from the reserve fund on account of expenses incurred in connection with the sale and administration of standard and alternative policies.

The association is directed (in cooperation with the Advisory Council and with the approval of the Secretary) to provide means to enable persons under age 65 to prepay the cost of purchasing the insurance provided in the standard policy or an alternative policy while they are working.

An executive committee of three individuals elected by the Advisory Council would manage the reserve fund and conduct the affairs of the association.

In order to provide additional health insurance coverage to subscribers of standard and alternative policies offered by member carriers, the carriers would be authorized and encouraged to offer "supplementary" health insurance policies. The supplementary policies would not have to be uniform and could be offered at premiums which allow for a fair profit to the carrier. They could be offered in conjunction with the sale of standard or alternative policies but with their costs and benefits clearly distinguishable.

The association would be authorized to adopt 2 appropriate symbols signifying official public endorsement of the standard policy and the other, of alternative policies (but not of supplementary policies) for use in connection with their sale, subject to the approval of the Secretary and the Advisory Council.

The activities of member carriers of the association are not to be controlled in any way other than with respect to the sale of standard and alternative policies described in the bill and they are to be free to offer other insurance policies, unaffected by their membership in the association.

Section 504, regional divisions of the association: Regional divisions of the association could be created under the rules issued by the association to allow member carriers to confine their business of offering standard or alternative policies for sale to a particular geographical area. Such a division could be established by any one or more carriers that wish to confine their business in such manner, but membership in a regional division would be open to any carrier that is a member of the association and that wishes to confine its business to the area in which such a division is established.

Whenever such a division is established it would have a regional reserve fund, which would serve the same purpose and be subject to the same requirements as the reserve fund, into which members of the division would deposit their premiums in lieu of depositing them in the reserve fund. A regional reserve fund would be managed by the members of the division under regulations issued by the executive committee of the association with the approval of the Secretary and the Advisory Council. The assets of a regional reserve fund would belong to the regional division for which it is established and the expenses of such division would be defrayed from moneys in such fund.

Regulations governing the operations of any regional division would be prescribed by the executive committee of the association, with the approval of the Secretary and the Advisory Council. Under these regulations, responsibility for the management and operation of the division would be in its membership, but necessary safeguards would be provided to insure that the division would be managed and operated to carry out the established purposes and functions of the association within the division.

Section 505, establishment of the association: The Secretary is directed to declare that the association provided for in section 503 is established when five or more carriers make application to him to form the association and he is satisfied that such carriers are ready, willing, and able to carry out the functions of the association. The Secretary would also be required to make rules and regulations to insure that the association complies with the requirements of section 503 and fulfills the purposes of title V of the bill.

Section 506, Advisory Council: This section provides for the creation of an Advisory Council on Health Insurance for the Aged to consult with and advise the Secretary on the administration of title XVII of the Social Security Act, to elect the executive committee of the association and to advise and assist the association, the executive committee and the Secretary in carrying out their respective functions under title V of the bill.

The Advisory Council is also to conduct a continuing study and investigation of the insurance programs established under title V of the bill and title XVIII of the Social Security Act in order to assist in the formulation and implementation of national policy in the field of health care for the aged and to make reports to the President (for transmittal to Congress) of its findings and recommendations.

The Advisory Council is authorized to employ staff in accordance with the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

The Advisory Council would be composed of 24 members appointed by the President to reflect broad representation of the in-

surance industry (not less than 4 members approved by insurance industry as having adequate insurance experience), labor, business, the medical profession, consumers, and other interested elements of society. The Council would elect one of its members as chairman.

The term of office of members of the Council would be for 4 years but a member appointed to fill a vacancy would serve out the term of his predecessor. The members first taking office would be appointed for terms expiring in rotation: 4 ending at the end of each of the first 4 years, as designated by the President. A member would not be eligible to serve continuously for more than 2 terms.

Members of the Advisory Council would receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary not exceeding \$100 per day and travel and subsistence while serving away from their homes. The Council would meet whenever it deems necessary but not less frequently than twice a year and the Chairman would be required to call a meeting upon a request of 13 or more members.

Section 507, exemption of the association from certain laws: Under this section the association and each member carrier would, with respect to its business operations concerned with the selling of standard or alternative policies, be considered a charitable and benevolent institution and exempt from:

1. Regulation by a State or political subdivision (e.g., anti-monopoly regulation);
2. Federal or State income taxation;
3. State taxes on policies or premiums; and
4. The provisions of the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, and the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Operations of a carrier exempted from regulation as specified above would be subject to the exclusive regulation of the Secretary.

Section 508, compliance provisions: Under this section the Secretary is authorized to permanently terminate or suspend membership of a carrier if he determines that the carrier has failed to comply with any requirement of title V of the bill or any regulation promulgated under that title. Reasonable opportunity for a hearing would have to be extended to the carrier before such action could be taken. A suspended or terminated carrier would not be entitled to any exemption provided in section 507 and would be prohibited from representing itself as being a member of the association. Any carrier which falsely represents itself to be a member of the association and offering any health insurance policy for sale would be subject to a fine of not more than \$10,000.

Section 509, hearings and judicial review:

Under this section the Secretary would be required to hold appropriate hearings, with adequate opportunity to representatives of the association and member carriers to attend and present testimony, before promulgating any requirement or taking any other action affecting the association or any member thereof.

Any action of the Secretary subject to such a hearing may be appealed to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. A copy of the notice of appeal would be transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Secretary or person designated by him, and the Secretary would be required to file with the court a record of proceedings on which he based his action. The action of the Secretary would be reviewed by the court in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2431) to provide health care for persons 65 years of age and over

through contributory social insurance, and a complementary basic national private insurance plan, introduced by Mr. JAVITS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. I rise to commend my distinguished colleague [Mr. JAVITS] for his dedication to the cause of health care for the aged and for his leadership in devising the bill. Our goal in offering the proposed legislation is to provide the most comprehensive protection yet offered to older Americans while at the same time preserving the role of the private insurance companies, and the personal nature of the doctor-patient relationship. Many Americans now have some form of health insurance. They choose their own doctors and do not want the Government doing that for them. Neither do we. But we do want all Americans over 65—not just half of them—to be able to purchase private insurance. The nonprofit "State 65" plans, which have been so successful in insuring this group, are not available throughout the country and for many retired Americans, is prohibitively expensive. The national committee which drew up these recommendations, and whose members included insurance executives, has estimated that by pooling risks and devising a standard policy, the industry would be able to offer older citizens a comprehensive medical policy for about \$2 a week. Eighty percent of this group would be able to afford this policy, and those who could not would be covered by the Kerr-Mills program.

As my colleague [Mr. JAVITS] has pointed out, the late President Kennedy expressed the hope that the proposed legislation would have broad bipartisan support. The bill is doubly urgent this year if we are to provide health protection for 13½ million Americans and if we are to establish a precedent for the role of private insurance and private doctors in this field. I am proud to add my name to this progressive legislation and urge my colleagues to join us, and to urge that it receive early attention and consideration by the appropriate committees, and that we come to grips with the problem in a bipartisan-nonpartisan fashion, since those over 65 and those who need the help are of all political affiliations, of all races, creeds, and colors. This is no place for any partisanship in the consideration of that important question.

Mr. JAVITS. I am very grateful to my colleague.

I should like to make two additional brief comments, and then I shall be through.

First, it is especially gratifying to me that the valiant band which has supported the proposed legislation, which I deeply feel will be successful, has now been joined by the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

To me that is a signally important element of strength. The Senator from Maine is known for her sound views about the private enterprise system and

about human problems. I do not believe she would be with us on the subject unless she had thoroughly satisfied herself in the study for which she is so very well known that the proposal was a feasible way in which to do what needs to be done and at the same time be most scrupulous about the relationships between doctors and patients, between citizens and their Government, and what the Government could do for citizens without compromising the basic traditions of our society.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mrs. SMITH. I thank my distinguished colleague for his kind and generous reference to me. It is a privilege to be included in the sponsorship of the health insurance bill which he and his distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. KEATING] have so ably discussed.

I concur with all they have said and hope that before long, all of the people, especially those in need, may benefit by its provisions.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague most warmly.

Finally, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] and I got together on a bill in 1962. We failed by a very small margin. I believe all of us feel that the eventuation of the proposed legislation should be in the same direction. I express for myself—and I deeply feel that what I say represents a common view among all of us, as my colleague [Mr. KEATING] said, in relation to bipartisanship—that we may achieve unity with Senators led on the other side of the aisle by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], so that we may have a common purpose. I deeply believe that we have today submitted what ought to be the common design.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

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

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, in 1962, the able senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] devoted himself assiduously to solving the problem of health care for elderly Americans. I was honored to work with him. He provided the leadership which brought some of us to his side in attempting to have the Congress enact legislation under which American citizens over the age of 65 could have sheared away from them the constant and growing hazard which must consume a part of every day of their lives in retirement—the tragic possibility of an illness striking them and of their inability to pay the bills which would result from that misfortune because of the unbelievably skyrocketing costs for all kinds of health care.

We were particularly interested under the leadership of the Senator from New York in bringing a modicum of relief with respect to hospital costs. I remember those days. I remember the

meetings that were held. The Senator sponsored them. I remember our discussions with the late President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, as to our views, as to how his recommendations might be improved. What we stood for on that occasion was accepted by the administration.

I regret that that legislative effort failed. I am extremely proud once again to be associated with the Senator from New York and other Republican Senators in advancing the most comprehensive health care legislation ever offered—legislation which will utilize not only the public sector of the economy of the United States, but also the private sector of this economy, including health insurance companies across the land, so that, as the Senator from New York has so ably described, people in retirement, no matter what their level of income may be, can live in comparative assurance with respect to their capacity to meet a catastrophic illness.

I have some comments which I shall make in my own time. I am glad to rise on this occasion to congratulate the Senator from New York for what he has done.

Mr. JAVITS. I am very grateful to my friend the deputy minority leader. I assure him that without his help and that of other Senators, such as the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING] and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], the proposal would not have reached its present stage. I hope and feel that this time we shall be successful in providing health care for the aged.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. KUCHEL. Is there a limitation of time in effect?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is a 3-minute limitation on statements in the morning hour.

Mr. KUCHEL. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes on this subject.

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

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE PROGRAM FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I am delighted to join with five other Republican colleagues in today offering in the Senate the most comprehensive health care proposal ever presented to Congress. You will recall, Mr. President, that it was largely from members of this group, in the summer of 1962, that long-needed improvements and changes were made in the hospitalization bill then before the Senate. That bill regrettably lost by only two votes. It was a bill which had much merit and would have gone far to meet many of the serious health care problems which daily confront many of our senior citizens.

We have continued to make improvements in the legislation which we early proposed. Some of these improvements have resulted from the excellent report submitted by a committee of distinguish Americans chaired by Arthur S. Flemming, who was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Eisen-

hower administration and is now the president of the University of Oregon. The National Committee on Health Care of the Aged was instigated at the suggestion of our able colleague, Senator JAVITS, who has long taken the lead in this area of public policy. Several of us, through our staffs, were privileged to witness the deliberations of this group first hand. Five of the 12 members were M.D.'s. Others had long experience with health care problems as public servants and as medical care and health insurance administrators.

One eminent member of the group was Dr. Russel V. Lee, who is the distinguished founder of the Palo Alto Clinic, which has been a pace setter in meeting the health care problems of elderly citizens. Under Dr. Lee's guidance, the clinic later this month will open Channing House, a unique experiment in meeting housing, living, recreation, and health needs, on a private basis, for those over 65.

This committee made certain additional suggestions beyond those which several of us had submitted and which were voted on in 1962. For the first time a comprehensive framework is provided by which the public and private sectors can cooperate to meet the health care needs which exist and are of grave concern to our senior citizens. The committee clearly understood, as most of us have understood, that the problems of catastrophic illness are not remedied by either a completely Government program or a completely private health insurance program. For neither can do the job which needs to be done. Only by working together and doing that task for which each is uniquely qualified will these problems be met.

The bill which we offer today would provide, as it did in 1962, that the public portion of the program be financed on a pay-as-you-go social security basis whereby an individual, whether wage earner or self-employed, could put away in his working years sufficient funds, on an actuarial basis, to cover the possible benefits he might receive once he has retired. A notable leader in American industry, Mr. Edgar F. Kaiser, has testified in favor of this approach before the House Committee on Ways and Means. Mr. Kaiser, a distinguished Californian, knows firsthand as president of the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, and has repeatedly stated publicly, that hospital insurance under social security is neither socialism nor government administered medicine. I agree. It is the very antithesis of it. It is insurance which will foster nongovernmental hospitalization. Said Mr. Kaiser:

The logical outgrowth of social security financing, as contrasted with appropriations from general revenues and administration through social welfare agencies, will be to keep a greater and increasing proportion of retired persons in the mainstream of medical and hospital care, with services provided in private and voluntary hospitals. This will reduce reliance on county hospitals and other governmental institutions.

Such comments from an eminent businessman like Mr. Kaiser make a great deal of commonsense to me.

As you will recall, Mr. President, in 1962, several of us proposed the following basic changes in the then pending health care legislation. We proposed that all citizens over the age of 65 be covered initially, not just those whose employment had been covered by social security. We proposed that a private option be offered to provide an incentive for private health insurance to help meet these needs. We proposed that an appropriate role be given to State and local government in determining the eligibility of participating institutions and that approved private health providers of services who already deal with hospitals, skilled nursing homes, and home care services be encouraged to undertake the responsibility for implementing the public program. We proposed that a Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Hospitals, made up of representatives of the medical and hospital professions, determine the eligibility of private institutions to participate in the program. We proposed that a separate health insurance trust fund be established into which a specified portion of the social security tax would be allocated to pay the costs of the public program. This tax, resulting from the benefits provided in the bill would be one-fourth of 1 percent levied on both employer and employee on a wage base of \$5,200 a year. The self-employed would contribute four-tenths of 1 percent of his income up to \$5,200. This means that the wage earner would contribute a maximum of approximately \$13 a year from his income for this program. That amount would be matched by his employer.

Hospitalization benefits of up to 45 days with no deductible in any one benefit period would be available. In addition, skilled nursing home services up to 180 days in a benefit period and home health services up to 240 days in a calendar year would also be possible. As I noted earlier, in the beginning all over the age of 65 would be covered regardless of whether or not they had ever had the necessary social security credits. This is only elemental justice, since these citizens no longer have the opportunity to secure such credits by working in covered employment. After a transition period it would be necessary to have 12 quarters of social security coverage to be eligible for this program.

In addition to this public program, our bill would carry out the recommendations of the Flemming committee in having Congress authorize the establishment of a national association of interested private health insurance companies which could come together and voluntarily pool their resources in order to develop a standard policy which could be offered to all citizens who are over 65 at a very minimum cost. It is estimated that this comprehensive medical-surgical care could be provided for as little as \$8 a month.

This policy would be designed to cover those services which the public portion of the program does not provide. The public portion of the program would only cover approximately one-third of the health care costs which are borne by an aged person. These are the highly

expensive costs of institutional care. But the challenging task has long been to devise a complementary program which would go far toward meeting the two-thirds of the health care costs which remain. This is what we have tried to do in authorizing this national association. It is based, in part, on the experience of the "over 65 plans" which now exist in States such as New York and Connecticut and are beginning in California. The national association would be exempt from the antitrust laws and also from Federal and State taxation. In this way, the premium could be reduced much more than at present where such health insurance policies are subject to taxation. The standard policy which this association would develop, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, must include at least the following health insurance benefits:

First, payment of part or all of a physician's services whether performed in his office or elsewhere;

Second, payment, in accordance with a schedule, for or toward the costs of surgery performed in or out of a hospital;

Third, payment of not less than the first \$15 charged for consultation with a specialist; and

Fourth, payment, in accordance with a schedule, for or toward charges for diagnostic care, laboratory, and X-ray services.

Such services available under the private standard policy devised by the national association could include payment for services provided by physicians, surgeons, or dentists as well as any other medical care practitioner recognized under State law, such as members of the optometric profession. Such services could include prescribed drugs, eyeglasses, dentures, and other devices, as well as private duty nursing services, home health care services, inpatient hospital services, and skilled nursing home services to the extent that they are not already provided under the public portion of the program.

Mr. President, today, almost 18 million Americans are over 65. Their number is increasing rapidly by at least 1,000 each day. Statistics clearly show that the per capita costs of personal health services for those over 65 are running about 2½ times as high as for the remainder of our population. In 1961, such costs were estimated to be \$226 per aged person as compared to \$103 for other persons. In the last 13 years, health care costs have risen greatly on the Consumer Price Index maintained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. While the price index generally grew by only 27 percent, medical care items rose by 59 percent. But hospital daily rates alone in this period have risen by 139 percent.

We are thus faced with more and more senior citizens who are confronted with greatly increased medical care costs in the very years they are living on a low level of income. In 1960, of those aged who live alone, almost half had an annual income of \$1,000 or less. Three-fourths had an income of less than \$2,000 a year. This amount will not go

far in meeting today's catastrophic health care costs.

Mr. President, I have briefly outlined most of the essentials of this program which we have today presented. There has been no question in my mind for some time that the need exists and that if we are to meet that obvious need it will take the cooperation and hard work of both those in the public and private sectors of our economy and of leaders and members of both political parties. I deeply believe that if needed and overdue legislation in this area is adopted by this Congress, and I hope that at long last it will be, that it will be along the lines we have today proposed. I urge the responsible committees of the Congress to consider this proposal as soon as possible. I am confident that the Senate this time will speedily approve a comprehensive health care measure should the necessary legislation be sent to us by the House of Representatives where, under the Constitution, it should originate because it relates to a change in the social security tax.

Mr. President, I have tried to indicate the problem and our method of solving it. We face a crucial and critical issue. It is an issue which is growing in importance. It must be solved. The laws today do not solve it. The laws today operate to alleviate pain and suffering only of elderly Americans who are held to be indigent. Our program would bring to any person in this free country of ours the kind of protection that he and his spouse need in their elderly years.

I believe that in presenting this vehicle we are performing a public service. I am glad to be one of the coauthors of the proposed legislation at this session of Congress under the leadership of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. This is an American problem. It ought not to be a political problem. It must not be a partisan problem.

I hope the legislation we have today proposed will be given sympathetic consideration by all Members of the Senate. I sincerely believe that we have offered an excellent means of solving a distressing and tragic problem which exists among a growing segment of the American people. Such an integrated public-private comprehensive health care program is one of the great unfinished tasks which confronts us as Americans.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator very much.

COMMISSION FOR STUDY OF THE DRAFT

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, for myself, and Senators BEALL, CASE, COOPER, JAVITS, KUCHEL, and SCOTT, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to provide for a comprehensive study and investigation of the adequacy of the present system of compulsory military training under the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

This bill would authorize a definitive investigation, by both civilians and members of the Armed Forces, of a system that has been too long extended almost as a matter of course. Too little attention

has been focused on the men and muscle which represent the inherent strength of our military system especially as we concentrate more on the transition to modern military methods and weapons systems. Clearly, the guidelines for selecting young men to serve in our Armed Forces are of great concern to the youth of this Nation as well as their families, and warrant careful congressional attention in their behalf. The updating of this system is of no less concern to the future security of America than the attention being paid to military bases and logistics structure.

It should be stressed, Mr. President, that it is not just the 500,000 annual volunteers and draftees who are seriously affected by the existing system, but every single able-bodied young man who reaches the age of 18.

The Commission would consist of 14 members, 6 to be appointed by the President, 4 by the President pro tempore of the Senate, and 4 by the Speaker of the House. No more than three of the presidential appointees or one each of the Senate and House appointees would be selected from the Armed Forces, but the Commission could also, of course, include Defense Department officials and Members of Congress.

Some of the present inequities in the draft system have been called to my attention by an ever increasing number of letters from New York State and other parts of the country. Disturbed by these criticisms, I first spoke on this subject last year on Veterans Day. I pointed out then that the achievements of our drafted citizen armies of World War I and II were great and deserved the lasting gratitude of the people of America. Yet, in honor of the service they have rendered, I believe we owe it to this generation and to the Nation to review the changing needs of national defense in terms of possible changes in our manpower structure.

After speaking out on the matter in November, I have received a good many indications of further interest in such a survey, and I am glad to note that there is now also an increased interest in other branches of our Government in the operation and equities of the draft.

For the more than 1.5 million youths who reached 18 in 1963, the 8-year minimum period of eligibility demands decisions and actions that will significantly influence their future.

Although perfect equity in any selective system is a difficult goal to attain, a fairer arrangement than the one that has been periodically extended by Congress, virtually without debate, since 1951 can and should be explored. If we are to improve upon the allocation of our human resources, we must devote more thought and study to our present and future needs.

Several pertinent questions must be raised. Are present priorities for selection equitable? Will the increasing number of young men reaching draft age plus the need for increasingly specialized training make the draft an inefficient way to maintain military manpower? How does the draft affect civilian needs for more and better trained

professional people? What is the economic and social impact of the draft on young men reaching draft age and making career plans?

These are questions that should be considered by a panel of both military and civilian experts in the field of manpower resources and military strategy, so that the Armed Services Committees and the Congress can have this information at hand before taking further action on our draft laws.

A study by Defense Department officials and military men alone would not be sufficient to consider all the ramifications of the problem. In fact, I believe the President's recently expressed concern for assisting persons rejected by the selective service as physically or mentally unqualified demonstrates the need for a wider perspective on the draft, its effect, and its problems.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks the transcript of a television program entitled "Senate Report," in which I engaged on November 10, 1963, and, following that, an article entitled "New Attitude on Peacetime Draft," written by Hanson W. Baldwin, and published in the New York Times of March 8, 1963.

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

KEATING ASKS STUDY OF DRAFT LAWS

(Following is a transcript of Senator KENNETH B. KEATING's televised "Senate Report," scheduled for Sunday, November 10:)

As we celebrate this year's Veterans Day, we look with mingled fear and relief at the world our veterans have fought to defend and preserve for freedom.

There is no doubt that the citizen armies of World War II and Korea did a magnificent job. They showed that America could rise to the challenge. They showed that GI Joe, often drafted against his will, could still hold his own. And, in the years since Korea, as cold wars have replaced hot ones, our military men have played a vital part in maintaining free world strength.

Manpower, able and intelligent, provides the real sinews of war; but strangely enough, even though the Defense Department is enraging generals and admirals by a new approach to bombers, aircraft carriers, and tanks, there has not been any serious discussion even of a new approach for the men who run the machines, the minds and muscles behind a modern military force. The draft, which we are told is vital to our Military Establishment, has never recently been seriously or objectively reviewed outside the Department of Defense.

It is time for a full-scale study and report, by competent military and civilian personnel of just what kind of military force we need. Can we do without the draft? Can we shorten the period of eligibility and uncertainty? Can we use smaller but better trained forces to meet cold war needs? These are the sort of questions that should be studied, not just by the Defense Department, but by a qualified panel of strategists.

The draft laws make every young man between the ages of 18½ and 26 liable for military service. Theoretically, all owe their country service. Practically speaking, fathers, teachers, scientists, students—and since the President's recent order—even husbands can avoid it. What's more, by a peculiar logic, after draft dodgers and volunteers, the oldest are called first. The

teenagers, with fewer responsibilities, may be ready to go, but the draft does not touch them until they are 22. For 4 years, many young men wait, marking time, and having a hard time finding a good job.

What this means is that every young man has to decide when he reaches 18 whether to volunteer, wait to be drafted, hope to be 4-F, struggle to be unnoticed, go on to further study, or get married as fast as he can. Incidentally, I understand that the girls are already beginning to capitalize on this. High school and college dances are often advertised "avoid the draft. Come to the dance and find a mate." For what may be the most critical years of their lives, most young men face uncertainty and difficulty in finding a steady job unless they have already served or can afford to start a family fast.

Seriously, the time has come for a good long look at how our draft laws really work. A recent study showed that about 42 percent of 26-year-olds have not fulfilled their service.

Now let me make it clear that I am not calling for an end to the draft. Some military men are sincerely convinced that it is the only way to get people to enlist voluntarily. But the effect that the draft has on the lives and careers of the young men of this country is important enough to deserve an up-to-date review. And the needs of our Defense Establishment are changing so fast that the 15-year-old system now in effect may not be the best way to guarantee military preparedness.

No one outside military life has seriously examined today's manpower needs in terms of our new strategies and tactics or its impact on young men's careers.

One of the most constructive tasks that the Congress could undertake in honor of our veterans today, in consideration of our changing military needs of tomorrow, and out of respect for the millions of young men who face an uncertain future, would be to establish an independent panel to study the entire draft and military manpower situation.

This is Senator KEN KEATING.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 8, 1963]
NEW ATTITUDE ON PEACETIME DRAFT—SYSTEM OF RECRUITING IS NOW UNCHALLENGED—STUDY NEED SEEN

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

NEW YORK.—The unanimous backing of the House Armed Services Committee for legislation that will extend the draft for another 4 years emphasizes the changed attitudes of our society in the nuclear age.

Just a few years ago the draft, as a peace-time measure, was a subject of major controversy and there was considerable opposition to its perpetuation.

Today, as the cursory 2-day hearings before the House committee show the opposition is apathetic and politically unimportant.

As in so many other fields of American life, the people appear to be accepting with resignation—what they do not feel they can change.

This is unfortunate, for the draft has too great an effect—for good and bad—upon our military manpower policies, our defense system and our society, to treat its extension as "routine."

POLICIES EXAMINED

Congress has frequently examined in recent years various aspects of our military manpower policies. Last year, for instance, the Reserve Forces were studied. This year the ROTC programs and a military pay bill are part of the legislative program.

But all of these and numerous other aspects of our defense programs are part of the whole and are directly influenced by the draft. The entire subject of military man-

power and the various means of procuring and training personnel requires an integrated and extensive study, which it has not had in recent years.

The military rationalization for the draft is that given to the House committee by Assistant Secretary of Defense Norman Paul. The Pentagon, supported by selective service officials has always maintained that the present strength of our Armed Forces—almost 2,700,000 men—could not be maintained without the spur of compulsory service.

Draft calls are low and the majority of uniformed personnel are volunteers, at least in name. But without the draft the services believe the number of volunteers might decline drastically. Yet no one really knows whether this is so.

With a constantly increasing population and a great post-World War II "baby crop" reaching military age within the next 4 years, the armed services will have far more men to pick from. Projected figures show that about 1,880,000 male youths will become 18 in 1966, as compared with 1,476,000 in 1962.

If the strength of the armed services remained about their present peak—and since Korea the manpower level appears to have topped off at around 2,700,000—there should be far more chance to obtain an entirely volunteer Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.

Today, none of the services except the Army uses drafted men, though all of them acknowledge that the pressure of the draft provides them with plenty of volunteers. Tomorrow, the sheer increase in population, if nothing else, should increase the possibility of recruiting an all-volunteer force.

VARIOUS FACTORS INVOLVED

But this will depend, in turn, upon a whole series of other factors—service pay and whether it is comparable to civil service and civilian pay scales, service retirement and other benefits, promotion and personnel policies, educational and training opportunities, the size of the Reserve Forces, the country's economic condition, service housing and so on.

There is not much doubt that service professionalism would be increased, and the present large personnel turnover decreased, with a resultant increase in effectiveness, if an all-volunteer force could be recruited and reenlisted. Both economy and combat effectiveness, therefore, might be promoted by replacement of the draft with an all-volunteer system.

Yet even if the military benefited from such a change, paramilitary factors should be considered before a change was made.

Proponents, for instance, contend that the draft tends to improve the social structure of the nation and that it educates in citizenship. Others point out that universal service is in no way universal, that hundreds of thousands of young men never serve at all and that the inequities of the system breed dissatisfaction and cynicism.

The economic effects of the draft should also be considered in any study of military manpower.

FULL STUDY URGED

It is unlikely, especially in view of the unanimous vote of the House committee, that any such extensive and detailed investigation of our military manpower policies can be made at this session of Congress. Certainly it could not be completed before the draft expires July 1. Indeed, such a sweeping study—for which Congress would require expert aid from beyond its walls—cannot be properly done in a single session.

Yet it is clear that within the next few years—even before 1967, when the projected 4-year extension of the draft would expire—that the country's increased population, the changing technology of the nuclear age

and a great many other factors will profoundly change and perhaps entirely invalidate the assumptions upon which the draft has been based.

Congress has made too many piecemeal investigations of the military manpower problem. It should start now to anticipate tomorrow's difficulties with a long-term, extensive and comprehensive study of the entire program.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, since a number of other Senators have expressed some interest in this problem, I ask, first, that the text of the bill be printed following my remarks and also that the bill may lie at the desk until the close of business on Friday, January 24, to enable other Senators to cosponsor it if they see fit to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, and will lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from New York.

The bill (S. 2432) to provide for a comprehensive study and investigation of the adequacy of the present system of compulsory military training under the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. KEATING (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Commission on the Administration of the Universal Military Training and Service Act."

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Commission on the Administration of the Universal Military Training and Service Act (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of fourteen members as follows:

(1) Six appointed by the President of the United States, not more than three of whom shall be selected from the Armed Forces;

(2) Four appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, not more than one of whom shall be selected from the Armed Forces; and

(3) Four appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, not more than one of whom shall be selected from the Armed Forces.

(c) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(d) The President shall designate a Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Commission.

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

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) Any member of the Commission who is a Member of Congress, or an officer or employee of the Federal Government (civilian or military) shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for his customary services as an officer or employee of the Federal Government, but shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of the duties of the Commission.

(b) Each member of the Commission from private life shall receive compensation at

the rate of \$75 per diem for each day on which he is engaged in the performance of duties of the Commission, and shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates not to exceed \$50 per diem for individuals.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission shall make a comprehensive study and investigation of all matters relating to the administration of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, devoting particular attention to whether such Act adequately serves the purposes for which it was enacted, and whether such Act is administered in a fair and equitable manner.

(b) During the course of its study and investigation the Commission may submit to the President and the Congress such reports as the Commission may consider advisable. The Commission shall submit to the President and the Congress a final report with respect to its findings and recommendations not later than two years after the date of enactment of this Act. The Commission shall cease to exist sixty days after the submission of its final report.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. (a)(1) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties, 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, memorandums, papers, and documents, as the Commission or such subcommittee may deem advisable. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the Chairman or Vice Chairman, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, or such member.

(2) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena issued under paragraph (1) of this subsection, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is being carried on or within the jurisdiction of which the person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or transacts business, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under inquiry; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed to furnish to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman, such information as the Commission deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act.

(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (a) and (b) of this section, any information which the President determines should not be made available to the Commission because of national security considerations may be withheld from the Commission by the appropriate official if the President so directs, and any information made available to the Commission that should not be made public because of national security consideration shall be appropriately safeguarded by the Commission.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

AUTHORIZATION OF CERTAIN APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, by request, for myself and the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize appropriations for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and for the research, development, test, and evaluation activities of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter of transmittal requesting introduction of the legislation and explaining its purpose be printed in the RECORD immediately following the listing of the bill.

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

The bill (S. 2433) to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1965 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and research, development, test, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. RUSSELL (for himself and Mr. SALTONSTALL), by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

The letter presented by Mr. RUSSELL is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, January 15, 1964.
Hon. CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HAYDEN: There is forwarded herewith a draft of proposed legislation, "to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1965 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and research, development, test, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes." This proposal is a part of the Department of Defense legislative program for the 88th Congress, and the Bureau of the Budget has advised that enactment of the proposal would be in accord with the program of the President.

The proposal provides authorization for appropriations for defense programs for fiscal year 1965 in two major areas. It includes authorization for appropriation for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels in form identical to previous enactments of the fund authorization required pursuant to section 412(b) of Public Law 86-149, as initially approved August 10, 1959. It also includes fund authorization for all appropriations for research, development,

test, and evaluation activities of the Department of Defense as required by the amendment to section 412(b) contained in section 610 of Public Law 88-174, approved November 7, 1963.

TITLE I—PROCUREMENT

As in the case of previous legislation, this proposal would provide for the authorization of appropriations for procurement in each of the categories of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels for each of the military departments in the amount of the new obligatory authority being requested for such purposes in the President's budget for fiscal year 1965. The amounts requested for fund authorization have been developed on the same basis as, and are comparable to, the amounts for which fund authorizations for procurement were granted in fiscal year 1964.

For ready reference, there is attached hereto, a table showing, by category, and by service: (1) the amounts authorized for fiscal year 1964; (2) amounts appropriated for fiscal year 1964; and (3) the amounts requested for fund authorization for fiscal year 1965.

TITLE II—RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, AND EVALUATION

Title II of this legislative proposal is responsive to the requirement of section 412(b) as amended, for authorization of funds to conduct research, development, test, and evaluation programs in the Department of Defense as authorized by law. Since, under the most recent amendment to section 412(b), all funds for research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces are required, after December 31, 1963, to be authorized for appropriation, the proposal would provide such fund authorization in amounts equal to the new obligatory authority included in the President's budget for fiscal year 1965 in total for each of the appropriations for the military departments and the defense agencies.

In the opinion of the Department of Defense, fund authorization in these terms will not only permit the continuation of program execution and fund administration on the current basis, but is also in accord with the expressed desires of the Congress to review and exercise its legislative responsibility over all research, development, test, and evaluation activities which may ultimately involve the fabrication of prototypes of operational systems.

REPROGRAMMING

Since the inception of the requirement for fund authorization contained in section 412(b), the Armed Services Committees have recognized the necessity for the adoption of the procedure known as reprogramming and for continuing the existing appropriation on fund flexibility available to the Department of Defense under the Defense Appropriation Act. (See in this connection H. Rept. 380, 87th Cong., May 10, 1961, p. 10; S. Rept. 253, 87th Cong., May 11, 1961, p. 3; H. Rept. 1406, 87th Cong., Mar. 7, 1962, p. 10; and S. Rept. 1315, 87th Cong., Apr. 2, 1962, p. 3.) Both committees have continued to recognize the importance of these practices and have provided for their extension in actions on the authorizing legislation enacted for fiscal year 1964, Public Law 88-28, approved May 23, 1963.

The House committee in its report (H. Rept. 62, 88th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 6, 1963) at page 20 stated:

"REPROGRAMMING

"Until recently the Congress had provided a generalized authorization on a continuing basis, for the major procurement programs and for research, development, test, and evaluation programs of the Department of Defense. Each annual appropriation act has provided funds in general terms for these programs on the basis of a detailed justifica-

tion to the committees covering in detail all of the major items. During the period in which these major defense programs are administered, it is necessary to increase or decrease amounts originally justified to the Congress for application to given line items, and to make changes in programs, in order to accommodate changes in requirements. Under the existing procedures for this reprogramming, appropriate notice to, or consultation with, the committees has been provided. This procedure for authorization and appropriation has provided urgently needed responsiveness to swiftly changing requirements resulting from both technological breakthroughs and varying threats. This practice will be extended to those portions of the research, development, test, and evaluation programs, funds for which are now required to be authorized for appropriation. The committee reiterates its previous intent that customary transfer provisions in the language of the appropriation act should not be inhibited or precluded by these authorizations."

Again, the Senate committee, in its report (S. Rept. 123, 88th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 9, 1963) at page 23 said:

"The authorization of appropriations contained in the bill is of the lump sum type. The amounts allocated to specific aircraft and missiles within the authorization are not identified. Despite the absence of a line-item type authorization, the committee considers that the Department of Defense is committed to the program justified to the committee, unless the committee is appropriately advised under the reprogramming procedures already in effect. Under these procedures the committee is notified and has an opportunity to express objection before the Department applies substantial funds in a manner different from the one presented to the committee. This reprogramming procedure will be extended to the authorization for research, development, test, and evaluation of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels.

"As in the past, the committee does not intend the authorization or the reprogramming procedure to inhibit the power of the Secretary of Defense to transfer funds that are contained in defense appropriations acts or to inhibit his application of the emergency funds provided in such acts."

In support of the legislation, the Committees on Armed Services will be furnished, as in the past, detailed information with respect to each program for which fund authorization is being requested in a form identical to that being submitted in explanation and justification of the budget requests. Additionally, the military departments will be prepared to submit any other data that the committees or their staffs may require.

It is, of course, assumed that the Armed Services Committees, as in the past, will desire that top civilian and military officials of the Department of Defense be prepared to make presentations covering the strategic objectives and plans for the ensuing year, including those necessitating development of these major defense programs and of the request for funds for their support.

Sincerely,

ROBERT S. McNAMARA.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that next Tuesday, January 21, the Committee on Foreign Relations will consider the following matters:

The nomination of Ellsworth Bunker to be Ambassador to the Organization of American States;

The nomination of Edwin M. Martin to be Ambassador to Argentina;

The nomination of C. Burke Elbrick to be Ambassador to Yugoslavia;

Implementing legislation for the Chamizal Treaty;

The protocol amending the North Pacific Fur Seal Convention;

The protocol extending the International Sugar Agreement.

Persons interested in any of these matters should communicate with the committee prior to January 21.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND DISABILITY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, I wish to announce forthcoming hearings on presidential succession and disability. The hearings are scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. on January 22 and 23, 1964, in room 2228 of the New Senate Office Building.

Because of the large number of resolutions already introduced—Senate Joint Resolutions 13, 28, 35, 138, 139, 140, and 143—we have attempted to confine witnesses to congressional representatives during these first hearings. Additional public hearings will be scheduled sometime in February.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, January 16, 1964, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1604) to amend the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, relating to the transfer of producer rice acreage allotments.

THE SITUATION IN PANAMA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD four newspaper items which deal with the situation in Panama.

The first is an article entitled "Americans Score Zone's Residents—Citizens of United States in Panama Criticize Countrymen." The article was published this morning in the New York Times, and is both excellent and penetrating. I am pleased that these American business people in Panama bring out some of the same points I mentioned in the speech on Panama which I delivered 2 days ago in the Senate.

The second article is entitled "Panama's Economy Is Shaken by Crisis; Wide Injury Feared." This article was also published today in the New York Times.

Mr. President, I think we need to take a long second look at American policies in Panama, and to proceed without further delay to make very clear to American colonists in the Panama Canal Zone that we do not propose to let them continue to jeopardize American interests in Panama; and I refer again to the suggestion that I made 2 days ago—namely, that no American in the Canal Zone, either civilian employee or military per-

sonnel, should be allowed to stay there for more than a 2-year tour.

Mr. President, just think of it: We have kept, unto the third generation, in the Canal Zone, Americans who have developed a colonial attitude similar to that of the French in Algiers. That is all we need to know about the general failure on the part of our State Department in past years to develop an enlightened program in the Panama Canal Zone. So we are reaping a harvest of inexcusable mistakes there.

The third article is entitled, "A Plan for Panama." This article, written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, and published in the Washington Post of January 15, is excellent. The writers bring out some of the very points that some of us have been making in regard to the mistakes the United States has been guilty of for many years in the Panama Canal Zone.

Fourth, I submit a very sound editorial entitled, "The Panama Lines Harden." The editorial was published in the New York Times of January 15, 1964.

I am glad the editors of the New York Times have brought to the attention of our Government the fact that a hard line in Panama is not the answer to America's problem in either Panama or in the rest of Latin America. Our Government must realize—as the British Government and the other governments have come to realize in the last 25 years—that colonialism, even American colonialism, is dead, and that we must follow a course of action based, not upon colonialism, but upon a determination to treat our friends to the south of us as neighbors and partners, not as subjects.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the four items submitted by the Senator from Oregon will be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Jan. 16, 1964]

AMERICANS SCORE ZONE'S RESIDENTS—CITIZENS OF UNITED STATES IN PANAMA CRITICIZE COUNTRYMEN

(By Richard Eder)

PANAMA, January 15.—The sympathies of the 4,000 U.S. citizens in Panama appear to have been overwhelmingly with the Panamanians and against the residents of the Canal Zone during the events of the last week.

Conversations with leading American residents here disclose a strong tendency on their part to criticize the Canal Zone authorities and the U.S. Army command for the violence that erupted.

Underlying this is some even harsher criticism of the isolated and privileged state of the 36,000 U.S. citizens in the Canal Zone. American residents in the Republic of Panama believe that the special conditions in the zone have created a community that is both ostentatiously offensive to Panamanians and at the same time dangerously indifferent to their feelings.

The Americans interviewed, who deal daily with their Panamanian employees, business colleagues, Government officials and friends, are aghast at the nature of the incident that set off the rioting.

This was the action by some students at Balboa High School in displaying the American flag there in defiance of school au-

thorities and then scuffling with a group of Panamanian students who tried to hoist their own country's flag beside it.

In the rioting that followed, besides the casualties, the offices of several American businesses were burned and sacked.

"It is horrible that all this could have happened just because some kids disobeyed the civil authority," said Edward O'Connor, who is president of the American Society, a group of local American businessmen.

What especially troubles American residents here is their conviction, widely shared by other observers, that much of the Canal Zone community approved of and apparently encouraged the attitude of their children.

Joseph Harrington, a businessman who has been here many years and who is married to a Panamanian, noted that only a week before a Canal Zone policeman had become something of a hero in the zone for raising an American flag in defiance of orders.

REASON FOR BAN

The reason for the ban was an agreement between the United States and Panama that both flags should fly together except on military installations. At those spots where only one flagpole was available, therefore, zonal authorities ordered the American flag removed.

The prevailing view of the American community here is that the U.S. Embassy in Panama has insufficient authority over what happens in the zone. "There are three bosses," one businessman said. "The Ambassador, the Governor of the zone and the commanding general."

There is a widespread feeling here that the zone Governor, Maj. Gen. Robert J. Fleming, Jr., tends to be frustrated in his policies by local zone pressures, and that Gen. Andrew P. O'Meara, head of the U.S. Southern Command, tends to be insensitive to Panamanian feelings.

Furthermore, the ambassadorship here has been vacant for the last 5 months. The previous Ambassador, Joseph Farland, whom many remember as a strong and effective representative, has not been replaced since he resigned. Some hold that if he had still been here, Mr. Farland might have managed to prevent Thursday's fighting.

"I have known Farland to bawl out a general over the telephone and tell him, 'Listen, your boss (General O'Meara) works for me,'" one American here said.

PRIVILEGES ARE NOTED

A bank officer, describing the situation of the Zonians, as they are called here, as "two generations of privilege," complained that many of them rarely came into Panama. Zonians get food, liquor and cigarettes from commissaries at low prices and pay as little as \$70 rent for a 3-bedroom house. Despite this, they get a 25-percent bonus for working abroad.

What seems most dangerous to many U.S. citizens here is the fact that the Zonians, who do not depend on Panama for employment, purchases, entertainment, security or friends, have no need to make the adjustments that residents here must make. Many believe that the Zonians have developed what one observer called a "built-in sense of irresponsibility."

Perhaps because Americans who live here do associate, more or less closely, with Panamanians, they tend to view with some sympathy this country's complaint about the Canal Treaty, especially as regards issues such as better pay and opportunities for Panamanian workers.

This contrasts with the adamant hostility of almost all Zonians to even minor concessions to Panama's demands.

American residents here are hurt at the anti-American atmosphere that has been created by Thursday's incidents. They note

bitterly the zone's isolation from this atmosphere. One American pointed out as a sign of zonal insensitivity the fact that whereas Panama's flags are all at half mast, the zone's flags are not.

Mr. O'Connor, the American Society's president, said that American residents here "will just have to accept a great many insults and dirty looks for a while."

"We will have to be bigger than this and find some way to make even stronger links with the Panamanian community."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 16, 1964]
PANAMA'S ECONOMY IS SHAKEN BY CRISIS;
WIDE INJURY FEARED

PANAMA, January 15.—The Panamanian economy has been noticeably shaken by the crisis in relations with the United States. The extent of the damage will depend on the future of these relations, most observers believe.

Both Panamanian and United States businessmen agree that if the tension over the Panama Canal results in a series of Government crises and continued anti-American outbursts, Panama's relatively bright economic prospects may be permanently damaged.

The main source of Panama's income is the Canal Zone. The income of Panamanians working in the zone and from purchases of goods by Americans in Panama totals about \$65 million a year.

The figure would be higher except that most of the zone's purchases, on items ranging from automobiles to soap, are made in the United States.

For example, a large American toothpaste manufacturer has a plant here, one mile from the zone. Yet the commissaries which sought this brand of toothpaste have it shipped from the company's factory in New Jersey.

The main items of purchase from Panama are meat, vegetables, milk, and eggs. Although the city has been peaceful since Sunday, the zone has embargoed these items. According to Army quartermasters, this is because the zone authorities have restricted the sending of food inspectors to Panama.

TOURIST TRADE HURT

The most directly affected area of the economy is the tourist trade. The hotels report extensive vacancies, and the head of one travel agency estimated that it would be a month or two before American tourists began coming again. All cruise ship entries have been canceled for the next few weeks.

The owner of a fleet of tourist cabs complained that he had had to cancel an order for five new automobiles last Monday.

Another blow felt here in the capital has been the flight into the zone of about 3,400 Americans, virtually all of whom were U.S. Government employees and their dependents. Real estate sources say that several hundred apartments were left vacant, although some of the tenants are expected to return.

On the other hand, few residents of the permanent American community here have left their homes.

Yesterday, a Panamanian builder canceled a contract to put up a \$200,000 apartment house. The local manager of a U.S. company that was to sign a contract for a \$400,000 expansion of its plant is debating this week whether to tell his home office that the project should be shelved.

The relative stability of Panamanian politics, Panama's hard dollar, her excellent communications and her strategic location have made her a center for many business activities.

Encouraged by the establishment of a free port zone at Colón, a number of international companies are using Panama as a

regional depot. Others have set up regional sales offices and factories.

Panama's policy of allowing numbered bank accounts, which protect depositor's anonymity and her lenient business and tax laws have encouraged foreign investment.

About 4,000 "paper" corporations are registered here. Their chief function is to give a haven to people who do business in other parts of the world and who do not want to pay taxes. However, about \$750,000 a year comes into Panama for registrations and lawyers fees from these operations.

It is widely agreed that a prolonged period of disorders and Government crises could end all this.

Even the most conservative Panamanian businessmen insist that if the negotiations that are to start with the United States fail to result in a new or drastically revised canal treaty, nothing can stop such a disorderly period from setting in.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1964]

A PLAN FOR PANAMA

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The only way to insure U.S. control over the Panama Canal without future violence is to strike at the real source of United States-Panamanian friction: The Panama Canal Zone and its inhabitants.

This is the opinion of many hardheaded students of the Panamanian question, both inside and outside the Government. Yet, the political power of the U.S. residents of the zone—the Zonians—is so great that it's questionable if any action against them will be taken, now or ever.

Of course, some concessions will be made to Panama. The rioting immediately resulted in additional showing of Panama's flag within the Canal Zone. In the future (some time after the 1964 election) Panama may get a bigger slice of canal tolls.

Yet, none of this will completely remove friction in Panama. What really angers rank-and-file Panamanians is the contrast between slum-infested Panama City and the well-manicured Canal Zone, which looks like one of the older Army bases (Fort Monroe, Va., for example) transplanted into the Central American jungle.

The irritation is intensified by the attitude of the Zonians who faintly resemble the French Algerian settlers. Though many are second- and third-generation residents of the zone, they hold themselves aloof from Panamanians. These are the parents of the high school students who provoked last week's disastrous flag incident.

A good illustration of the Zonian mentality is the explanation by one canal official for a series of guided tours down the canal conducted for Panamanian high school students last fall. "We want to show them just how complicated the canal is and that it never could be operated by Panamanians," the canal official told us.

But can the United States run the canal without the Zonians?

Top officials in the Department of the Army, which has responsibility for the canal, believe the Zonians are a necessary evil. But other Government officials have been toying with this three-part Panama plan:

1. Cut back drastically on the number of U.S. citizens employed by the canal. This would require a greatly intensified training program to qualify Panamanians for top-level executive jobs and even the exalted post of canal pilot.

2. The remaining canal jobs earmarked for U.S. citizens should be filled by rotating tours of duty, with Americans coming back and forth from the States. Perhaps the Army would have to take over the job. At any rate, the Zonians would be eliminated as a permanent white settler class with vested and emotional interests.

3. Reduce the present 10-mile width of the zone. Keep only the land actually needed for operation of the canal and for U.S. military installations. That means that much of the zone, now a taunt and a temptation to Panama, would become Panamanian.

It must be stressed that this is not now U.S. policy. Quite probably, it never will be. The Zonians' Washington lobby, championed in Congress by Representative DANIEL FLOOD, of Pennsylvania, is much too powerful.

As a less drastic alternative, enlightened officials within the Army Department talk about using education and evolution to coax Zonians into a more enlightened attitude toward the Panamanians.

This might happen about the same time that Southern whites voluntarily agree to racial integration. In the meantime, Castro-Communist agents will take advantage of any and every disturbance, just as they did last week.

Less obvious is the way friction over the canal plays into the hands of Panama's ruling oligarchy, which is far more interested in profitable moneylending schemes than in the welfare of Panama's masses. Jealousy toward the zone and the Zonians is exploited to divert the masses' hatred away from the oligarchs.

But the primary consideration for the United States should be the security of the canal. As this column reported from Panama last November 1, the intransigence of the Zonians may eventually imperil canal security. The warning is doubly valid today.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 15, 1964]

THE PANAMA LINES HARDEN

In Panama the mobs are off the streets, the snipers have stopped firing, calm has been restored—and nothing has been settled. This is a major crisis in American-Panamanian relations in particular, and in Latin-American affairs in general. Of course, Communists, Fidelistas, and demagogues will take advantage of it. The United States has lost a battle over the Canal Zone. The problem is not to lose the war, or, in other words, not to lose the free and absolutely safe use of the Panama Canal whatever the outcome.

A new situation has arisen and it must be met with new policies and a revised treaty. This does not mean surrender to Panamanian demagoguery. The White House statement that "the United States cannot allow the security of the Panama Canal to be imperiled" is a sound requirement in present circumstances. If, however, it means that President Johnson is going to follow the "hard line" of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations and avoid any important treaty changes, a very difficult period lies ahead.

One of the major factors in this tragic affair is the presidential election to be held in Panama on May 10. It is inherent in Panamanian politics that votes are gained by castigating the United States and making extreme demands. This state of affairs antedated the Bolshevik revolution, let alone the Cuban revolution.

Thus, any definite settlement had better be put off until after the elections. Until then Panamanian leaders are going to make maximum demands. Moreover, if the Panamanians insist on a genuine diplomatic break with the United States it will not be possible to hold direct discussions with them as the White House suggests. Negotiations would have to be held awkwardly and slowly through the organizations of American States.

President Johnson and his advisers need, and should be given, time to think this problem out and decide what policies to follow. Meanwhile they are right to insist on not being pressured into treaty revisions by violence. But they are wrong if they believe

that no treaty revision will, in the long run, be necessary.

If this explosion has done nothing else it has shown Washington how serious the Panamanian situation is, how bitterly feelings run, and how necessary it is to meet the crisis with understanding. A hard line will get nowhere.

TRIBUTES TO SENATORS FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF EDUCATION LEGISLATION

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, it is with pleasure that I noted a special section of the New York Times devoted to the subject of education. It is with pride that I invite the attention of Senators to the picture which decorates its opening page. To have two of my colleagues taking such an active part in important education legislation is a great tribute to their ability. Mrs. EDITH GREEN, at least, is recognized as a leader in the House on this important subject of education legislation which President Johnson has signed. My senior colleague, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], has been recognized by the late President Kennedy, by President Johnson, as well as by our majority leader and other Senators, for his part in bringing about what President Johnson called the most important legislative landmark in this field in many a year.

MONTANA FINALIST IN NATIONAL TEACHER OF THE YEAR AWARDS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am very pleased to announce that one of Montana's teachers has again been selected as one of the 10 finalists for the National Teacher of the Year Award. This year we honor Miss Madalen Sauber, a very talented instructor of educable mentally-retarded children.

Last year, Daniel Radokovich, of Glasgow, was selected in the 10 finalists. Mr. Radokovich is a secondary teacher of American government.

Madalen Sauber reflects the fine teachers that we produce in the Treasure State and is a credit to the outstanding school system in Montana. Miss Sauber's talents in the field of aiding retarded children are especially important at a time when more and more attention is being given to the special student.

I wish to add my personal good wishes and congratulations to the many tributes another of Montana's teachers is receiving for her outstanding contributions in the field of education.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the January 12, 1964, edition of the Montana Standard-Post.

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

[From the Montana Standard-Post, Jan. 12, 1964]

TEACHERS PLEASED OVER HONOR GIVEN ANACONDAN

Anacondans, particularly members of the teaching profession, are beaming proudly over the signal honor accorded Miss Madalen

Sauber, a Smelter City teacher. Butte as well as the rest of the State share reflected honor.

She has been selected as one of the 10 finalists in the National Teacher of the Year Awards program. This is the second year a Montana teacher has been so recognized, speaking well for our teaching profession. Last year Daniel Radokovich of Glasgow was selected in the top 10.

Miss Sauber, who is in our estimation a dedicated teacher, has those special attributes which make her an outstanding instructor of educable mentally retarded children. She is very active in this field, serving in such organizations as the American Association on Mental Deficiency, Council for Exceptional Children and the Deer Lodge Valley Association for Retarded Children.

Determined to improve her abilities and contributions in her chosen work, she has spent her vacations in special study or travel. Her attractive, pleasing and bright personality accounts in part for her success in teaching.

She is a fine product of and a distinct credit to Montana schools. We agree with State Superintendent of Public Instruction Harriet Miller when she says the designation of Montana teachers as finalists in this program for 2 consecutive years is a tribute to both the quality of instruction found in our schools and the importance of the curriculum areas in which these finalists are making valuable contributions. Radokovich is a secondary teacher of American government.

The purpose of the awards is laudatory. It is to encourage all teachers to aspire to greater achievement in the profession and to help interest more young people in pursuing teaching careers.

Too much recognition cannot be given this profession for its important contributions to society. Also, too much encouragement cannot be given men and women to enter it.

More and more attention is being given education and its importance in this changing world. But, ironically, in pace with American built-in complacency, the progress is slow, sometimes disappointingly so.

THE KENNEDY CENTER

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, last week the Senate concurred in the House version of the joint resolution establishing the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and authorized Federal funds to match private contributions up to \$15.5 million and a loan authority for an underground garage. That is what the Government plans to do to help build this memorial to our late President in the Washington area.

But this memorial to be truly a memorial to our late President wants the support of the citizens of our country and what they give to the Kennedy Center makes it the memorial that we all want it to be. The Washington Star in its editorial last Saturday pointed this out, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial appear in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

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

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 11, 1964]

KENNEDY CENTER

With final congressional approval, the primary hurdle facing the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts has been crossed.

President Johnson's signature on the bill, authorizing Federal participation in financ-

ing the memorial, now will be automatic. The next step must be a vigorous pursuit of dollars from individual citizens across the Nation—dollars needed to match the Federal contribution. In more than one sense, this public fundraising drive will be the most meaningful part of the entire memorial project.

The first order of business, however, was enactment of the Federal legislation, designating the Cultural Center as the official national monument to the slain President, and spelling out the terms of the Government's participation. A host of Senate and House Members contributed to its early passage. Particular credit, however, is due Representative ROBERT JONES of Alabama, who played the major role not only in drafting the bill but in defending it so ably against attack in the House.

FACTS ABOUT NEW HAMPSHIRE AGRICULTURE

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, the New Hampshire State Department of Agriculture has performed a most notable service in publishing "Forty Interesting Facts About New Hampshire Agriculture." Today is the 50th anniversary of the New Hampshire Department of Agriculture, whose commissioner and staff are devoted servants of the best interests of the poultrymen, dairymen, and other farmers of the entire State. I therefore ask, in tribute to them and their fine record of achievement, that the following statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

Forty Interesting Facts About New Hampshire Agriculture

1. The New Hampshire Department of Agriculture's 50th anniversary will be on January 16, 1964. Although established by an act of the New Hampshire Legislature on May 21, 1913, the department was not permanently organized until January 16, 1914. Prior to the 1913 act, the agriculture of the Granite State was supervised by the board of agriculture, which was established at the annual meeting of the legislature in June 1821.

2. New Hampshire has had three commissioners of agriculture since the establishment of the department of agriculture in 1913. Andrew L. Felker, Meredith, 1913-46; Perley I. Fitts, Durham, 1947-62; and the present commissioner, Frank T. Buckley, 1962-. In the interim following Commissioner Felker's death in 1946 until the appointment of Commissioner Fitts in 1947, Dr. Robinson W. Smith, State veterinarian, acted as commissioner.

3. New Hampshire stands fifth among the New England States in cash receipts from farm marketings with total annual income in 1962 of \$55,063,000.

4. Dairying leads New Hampshire agricultural segments with the annual income in 1962 of \$21,879,000 from milk and milk products, and an additional \$3,046,000 from the sale of calves and cows.

5. Poultry production in New Hampshire, once leading the world, although drastically reduced, still returned \$12,671,000 from the sale of market eggs and another \$8,613,000 from chickens and broilers in 1962.

6. The Granite State had about 13,000 farms in 1949, but with the increasing size required for modern farm units small operators were forced into other occupations and the number of farms has reduced to about 5,500 in 1962.

7. The size of farms in New Hampshire has almost tripled in size, both in land usage and in animal or operational units in the period of the past 20 years.

8. There are 1,541 dairy farms having 10 or more milking animals in New Hampshire at present. These farms maintain a total of 64,000 milking cows. There are 50 farms having over 100 cows; 6 farms with over 150 cows; 1 with over 200; and 1 with over 350 milking cows. The average size of the New Hampshire dairy herd is about 42 animals.

9. The New Hampshire apple harvest, reduced by lack of rainfall in 1963, still produced about 1,200,000 bushels; 50 orchardists produced about 75 percent of this crop while another 50 growers harvested the remaining 25 percent. There are about 100,000 trees in the State.

10. Storage facilities for the apple crops and some vegetable crops total about 500,000 square feet of cold storage and 270,000 square feet of controlled atmosphere storage for fruit.

11. From 351 acres planted for canning sweet corn 1,622 tons of corn were harvested for processing and canned in New Hampshire in 1963. Again lack of rainfall greatly reduced the crop and caused about 120 acres less to be harvested for canning.

12. The New Hampshire Farm Bureau Federation, a family-type membership organization, had 4,119 members in 1962 with strong activity in all 10 counties. The Farm Bureau Young Peoples Association, ages 17 to 30, has been well organized in six counties and plans for the remaining four to join in shortly.

13. New Hampshire has shown a 4.1 percent gain in the sale of livestock products in the past year and 6.3 percent gain in the sale of crops. This compares most favorably with 4.1 percent gain for New England and only 2.4 percent for the Nation.

14. The 1962 Tax Commission figures show that Grafton County had the largest valuation of livestock and poultry with \$1,182,412 followed by Hillsboro County with \$815,466.

15. Approximately 10,000 people, representing farmer operators, family members working over 15 hours, and regular hired help, are directly involved in New Hampshire farming.

16. A rural community serving an area of 100 farmers generates the same level of economic activity as one industry with 300 to 500 employees.

17. Between 1950 and 1960, the output of the average farmworker increased 6.5 percent a year—three times as fast as the productivity of the man in the factory.

18. The American farmer gets only 39 cents of every \$1 spent for food at the grocery store.

19. Four out of ten jobs in private business today are related in some way to agriculture. For instance, farmers use four times as much mechanical horsepower as all U.S. factories combined, use more petroleum products than any other industry, and put most cities to shame in consumption of electricity.

20. Despite the reduction to one-half the number of farms as in 1949, New Hampshire farmers realized a greater total production in 1962 over the 1949 total.

21. Although farming population in New Hampshire has fallen off to about 1.6 percent of the State's total, farm capital investment and production is higher than ever. This is particularly true in dairying.

22. New Hampshire has a very active maple-producer's association with over 200 members who produce about 50,000 gallons of quality syrup—sixth ranking production in the United States.

23. With the building boom in nearby industrial centers, greenhouses and nurserymen throughout the State are showing large gains in annual income through the sale of

plants, ornamentals, and landscaping aids—1962 figures show \$2,445,000 total income.

24. Draft horses as shown by taxation figures, have dropped drastically in number, but actually the horse population has greatly increased due to many maintaining riding animals which are not shown on tax reports.

25. New Hampshire once had 300,000 sheep to boast about back in 1880, but the westward movement to expansive range has taken most of them. Today there are about 8,000 sheep kept in the State with many of them under the ownership of 4-H boys and girls.

26. Vegetable growing is well recognized in the State with some 3,000 acres harvested annually in Hillsboro County alone. Another 3,000 acres is found elsewhere in the State. Best known products include sweet corn, cabbage, and squash. Two-thirds of the produce grown is sold out of State to processors or direct to store chains with the balance being sold to roadside stands and stores within New Hampshire.

27. There are 240 subordinate granges in New Hampshire and 26 Pomona Granges. Membership in the Granite State segment of this national organization is about 20,000 folks.

28. The U.S. Cooperative Extension Service has over 80 employees in New Hampshire. Staffed offices in each of the 10 counties provide specialists in all agricultural areas.

29. Four hundred and sixty-five 4-H Clubs in New Hampshire have about 8,000 boys and girls as members. These clubs are supervised by 800 junior leaders and 1,450 adult leaders, all on a volunteer basis.

30. The average value of New Hampshire farms, land and buildings, is about \$22,731 with the average cost of these items per farm at almost \$100 per acre.

31. The average size of New Hampshire farms has been constantly increasing annually due to the necessity for larger units and increased volume—236.8 acres was the average size of farms as reported in the 1959 census with even larger figures estimated for 1963.

32. Total farmland in New Hampshire is about 809,628 acres, and forest land in the State totals about 4,961,340 acres.

33. Harvested farm cropland totals 346,140 acres with an additional 115,380 acres being used for pasture areas. Although there is a great reduction in the number of farms, land usage remains much the same.

34. Approximately 250,000 turkey poult are hatched annually with most of them being sold and shipped to other sections of the country. About 40,000 are raised in the State for local New England markets. An estimated figure of 5,000 turkeys are kept for breeding flocks.

35. The swine population of New Hampshire numbers about 13,000 with most of the larger units being raised because of garbage contracts in nearby cities.

36. Information relative to agricultural enterprises may be obtained upon request to the State Department of Agriculture, State House Annex, Concord, and the Cooperative Extension Service, University of New Hampshire, Durham, or the county agricultural agents located in the cooperative extension offices in the respective counties.

37. New Hampshire's total gross farm income in 1962 was \$63.5 million and the production expenses of the New Hampshire farm operators was \$53.3 million which, with the net change in farm inventories, left \$9.6 million as a total net farm income.

38. Grafton County leads in the number of dairy herds and in milk production.

39. New Hampshire farmers contributed \$4.3 million in taxes in 1962 while realizing a depreciation of their farm properties of \$7.3 million.

40. Average milk production per cow in New Hampshire has been increased from 4,940 pounds in 1940 to 8,000 pounds in 1962.

Although the number of milk cows has reduced almost 20,000 animals since 1940, the cash receipts from milk marketing have jumped from \$8,672,000 in 1940 to \$21,879,000 in 1962.

THE DISCRIMINATORY IMMIGRATION QUOTA SYSTEM

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on December 15, 1963, I had the pleasure of speaking at a rally in Chicago, sponsored by the American Committee on Italian Migration. Approximately 7,500 Americans of Italian ancestry gathered at McCormick Place to protest the present, discriminatory immigration quota system and to encourage passage of the administration bill, S. 1932. Our present Immigration Act allots a quota of 5,666 to Italy each year. Last year 266,184 qualified Italian immigrants were left waiting for visas after the meager quota was exhausted. The national origins quota system discriminates against Italians, as it does against all southern and central Europeans and Asians. S. 1932 would abolish this system and replace it with a far more equitable one in which quota numbers would be allocated on the basis of an applicant's potential service to the country and on family needs.

The rally at McCormick Place was a strong showing of public support for this legislation. I ask unanimous consent to have the eloquent resolution presented at the rally inserted in the RECORD.

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

Whereas a vast assembly of 7,500 Americans of Italian ancestry, have gathered this Sunday afternoon, December 15, 1963, at McCormick Place, on Chicago's lake front; and

Whereas there are present representatives of 40 major organizations of Italian-Americans, from Illinois and the neighboring States; and

Whereas the assembled loyal and patriotic American citizens are fully aware, and proud, of the contribution made by those of Italian origin to the building and development, and to the culture, of this, their cherished country of adoption, or birth; and

Whereas they have unstintingly given their sons, and spilled their blood, in every war fought by this country to defend and uphold the principles upon which it was founded, including, indeed, the War of Independence itself; and

Whereas notwithstanding the foregoing, Americans, of Italian descent, have suffered discrimination, degradation and humiliation, and, in many cases, forced separation from loved ones, under the existing iniquitous, unjust and restrictive immigration law; and

Whereas those assembled here, fully confident of complete accord, with the thoughts and feelings of the 25 million Americans of Italian extraction, are gathered for the purpose of protesting the unmerited indignity, and discrimination, and to plan all necessary action to bring about prompt correction of this patent injustice; and

Whereas we are certain that every friend of Americans of Italian ancestry regardless of origin or office, will support this meritorious endeavor: Be it therefore

Resolved by unanimous approval of this assembly, That President Lyndon B. Johnson, and the Members of the Congress of the United States of America, be respectfully

and earnestly urged to give approval and support, in the spirit and thinking of our late departed and mourned Chief Executive, John F. Kennedy, to Senate bill 1932 (Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan), and H.R. 7700 (Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York), to the end that these bills will be enacted into the new immigration law of the land, permitting, once more, the newcomers from the land of our ancestors, to enrich America; and, by removal of the present stigma, restore citizens of Italian origin to first-class American citizenship; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President, and U.S. Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS and U.S. Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, and the Members of Congress; to Gov. Otto Kerner, of Illinois, to Mayor Richard J. Daley, of Chicago; and to all other officials, persons and agencies, deemed to be in a position to help effectuate the purpose set forth herein.

FRANK ANNUNZIO,
Chairman.
JOSEPH DE SERTO,
Secretary.

MARYLAND'S EXPANDING ECONOMY

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, fundamental to our future security and prosperity is continued economic growth. If we are to continue to hold our rightful place as the leading nation in the world, we must continue to expand our industry, raise our standard of living, lower our rate of unemployment, increase our consumer demand and capital investment, reduce taxation, combat inflation, cut costs, and increase competition at the same time that we increase revenue to provide the public services demanded by a modern society.

If these aims are to be accomplished, each of the 50 States must make its significant effort and contribution. I am proud to report that my State of Maryland has in 1963 demonstrated what can be done when dedication and imagination are expertly directed through agencies similar to our own department of economic development.

On December 27, Department Chairman George W. Hubely, Jr., issued a year-end review of Maryland's past progress and future promise. This was an encouraging and impressive report. All Maryland can take pride in it.

I ask unanimous consent that the summary of this report published in the December 27 issue of the Baltimore Sun be included in the Record at this point. I also ask unanimous consent that an outstanding article by John Maffre, devoted to the recent expansion of science-oriented industry in Maryland, and published in the January 5 issue of the Washington Post, be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun, Dec. 27, 1963]

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH: STATE'S ECONOMY IMPROVES—HOLDS NEW YEAR PROMISE

ANNAPOLIS, December 27.—Maryland's economy improved in virtually all departments during 1963, and the promise for 1964 is for still greater gains with industrial

growth setting the pace and supplying a solid and permanent foundation for future employment and per capita income gains.

George W. Hubley, Jr., director of the Maryland Department of Economic Development, made the report here today in a Maryland year-end review and new year's forecast.

Total State income and product for 1963 is estimated at close to \$11,200 million, compared with \$10,400 million in 1962.

PERSONAL INCOME RISE

Maryland's economic vigor is probably reflected most dramatically in a 6.4 percent increase in total personal income during the first 9 months of 1963 over the corresponding period of 1962.

The 1962 rate of increase was 5.3 percent during the first three quarters. Available data indicate a total personal income of just under \$6,790 million during the first three quarters of 1963. The average weekly earnings in industry was \$100.85 in September 1963, compared with \$95.51 in September 1962.

Employment figures for 1963 were consistently encouraging and September broke all records with 1,200,100 Marylanders gainfully employed. An analysis of labor force and employment statistics shows that Maryland had 41,000 more jobholders in September 1963 than in September 1962. This figure exceeds the 1961-62 increase by 12,000 jobs.

LABOR FORCE INCREASE

"The employment figures become even more meaningful when we look at the other side of the coin," Mr. Hubley said. "Latest data show that our rate of unemployment as of October 1963 was 3.4 percent compared to the national rate of 4.7 percent.

"When we take into account that our labor force is continually increasing in size, as is our population, it is obvious that Maryland business and industry is doing an excellent job of meeting the challenge of more jobs for more people. The State's population increased from 3,258,900 in September 1962 to 3,334,600 in September 1963."

"In fact," Mr. Hubley continued, "the Maryland rate of unemployment has been consistently lower than the national percentage for the past 18 months, or since April of 1962."

Construction figures support the optimistic appraisal for 1962 with nonresidential construction up 35.8 percent and residential construction up 16.2 percent. Despite a sharp decline of 57.8 percent in public works and utility construction, total construction contracts reached \$874 million or only 1.3 percent under 1962.

OTHER GAINS

Gains registered in other departments of the State's economy during the first three quarters of 1963 are:

Industrial output, 6 percent.

Wholesale trade, 5 percent.

Commerce and public utilities, 9 percent.

Consumer and industrial service industries, 7 percent.

Real estate, 7 percent.

Finance and insurance, 8 percent.

Retail sales (10 months), 6 percent.

Maryland's industrial promotion campaign, launched in 1960, is still gaining momentum. During the first 11 months of 1963, the Maryland Department of Economic Development processed 90 plant-location inquiries from out-of-State firms, an increase of more than 20 percent over the corresponding period in 1962. The department acted as host to 54 high-level management representatives who toured Maryland to inspect and study plant sites.

TECHNICAL CENTER

Fairchild Stratos Corp. late in 1963 installed in the National Capital Research

Park, Rockville, a technical center for engineering groups working on missile and space programs and announced plans to establish a \$10 million campus-type technical center on a 106-acre site near Germantown, Montgomery County.

The ultimate payroll of the latter facility will be about \$36 million annually under a 10-year development plan leading to the employment of 3,000 persons by 1973. The headquarters building, to be completed within 2 years, will house from 200 to 300 administrative and technical professionals. Two years later employment at Germantown should reach between 800 and 1,000.

The Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. completed a multimillion-dollar glass plant in Cumberland in 1963. It is the firm's second plant in Cumberland. It employs 100 workers.

Allegany County's second multi-million-dollar industrial expansion project during the old year was a \$55 million expansion of the West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co.'s papermill at Luke.

CAMBRIDGE PLANT

The \$1,500,000 container plant of Connally Containers, Inc., in Cambridge went into operation late in 1963.

Chun King Corp., manufacturers of American-oriental and other national foods, completed a \$700,000 addition to its facilities in Cambridge late this year and plans to augment its payroll in 1964.

Cambridge's new deep port will be formally dedicated early next spring. Deepening of the Choptank River to a depth of 25 feet from the Chesapeake Bay to Port Cambridge will open the port and its industries to ocean-going ships.

The Maryland Port Authority and the Federal Area Redevelopment Administration financed the \$1 million improvement. An immediate economic and transport benefit will be larger shipments to the Cambridge plant of the Maryland Tuna Corp., permitting operation of the plant at full capacity.

EXPANSION PROSPECTS BRIGHT

Industrial expansion prospects for 1964 are bright. It is predicted that the new year during the early months will maintain the late 1963 average approaching one new project every other working day and that an even greater growth rate will be reached by mid-year.

The following new plants and additional capacity are scheduled to go into production in 1964:

Sher-Wood Products, Inc., Oakland, bowling pins, \$350,000.

Cumberland Charcoal Co., Luke, charcoal, \$750,000.

Chesapeake Clam Chip Corp., Cambridge, seafood processing plant, \$330,000.

Lehigh Portland Cement Co., Woodsboro, multi-million-dollar mill for making lightweight aggregate.

Armco Steel Corp., Baltimore, vacuum-arc steel furnace.

Continental Oil Co., Baltimore, refining plant for processing raw materials for detergents, \$3,500,000.

Negotiations are in progress to open two coal mines in Garrett County to supply fuel for a new electric generating station.

PLANT SITE NEGOTIATIONS

Delmarva Soya Processors, Inc., recently purchased a \$75,000 site on the Nanticoke River at Vienna.

Plant site negotiations are going forward for the following: wood-products factory, boatyard, three plants for processing earthy materials, a plant using poultry byproducts for pet food, a papermill, two paper-products factories, a printing firm, two metal fabricating firms, a rubber products manufacturer and plants for manufacturing building supplies and wearing apparel.

Trends of the tourist, resort and recreation business in the State throughout 1963 indicate another important gain in economic value, and further improvement in 1964 is assured by many additions to travel, resort and recreation facilities.

Five years ago a State-appointed committee on travel and publicity estimated that tourists spent \$225 million in Maryland in 1958. This produced for the State treasury upward of \$10 million in sales and gasoline taxes.

Principal tourist expenditures are for lodging, food, transportation, merchandise, entertainment, and services, which distributes the tourist dollar throughout the community. The study found that 24 tourists a day benefit a community to the same extent as a new industry with an annual payroll of \$100,000.

Maryland's tourist business is worth far more today than the 1958 evaluation because the volume of this traffic is now far greater than it was 5 years ago. A visitor count at Deep Creek Lake in Garrett County during 1963 showed a 100-percent increase in 2 years. More than 110,000 tourists registered at the historic State House in Annapolis in 1962 compared with only 15,000 in 1953.

The value of this business to the State's economy can also be measured by a 400-percent increase in the assessed value of real estate in Ocean City, Maryland's most popular seashore resort, in 10 years. Beachfront property which sold for \$25,000 for a half block 20 years ago now brings from \$80,000 to \$165,000.

FARM INCOME

The Department of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Extension Service, University of Maryland, predicts final tabulation of net farm income in Maryland will show a slight increase in 1963 over the alltime record figure for 1962 and further gains in 1964.

Maryland's rise as a research and development center has been meteoric, Mr. Hubley said. Science-oriented industries are joining the State's family of new enterprises in increasing numbers, with projects in many fields of research.

Some representatives of this industrial growth are the West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., which has purchased a Howard County site for a research center to study paper manufacture, and the Hydrasearch Co., a division of Dixon Valve & Coupling Co., which acquired an Anne Arundel County site for a laboratory for the design, development and evaluation of special machine tools and materials-processing equipment.

A laboratory was built by Smith Kline & French Laboratories and Truslow Farms, Inc., Queen Anne's County, for research in poultry feed and feeding.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 5, 1964]

MARYLAND EXPANDS IN SCIENCE INDUSTRIES

(By John Maffre)

Just a week before Christmas, the huge pharmaceutical firm of Smith Kline & French opened a facility to do poultry feed research in Kingston, across the Chesapeake Bay in Queen Anne's County.

Of course, this laboratory won't employ as many people as the Douglas aircraft plant outside Los Angeles, but it has a significance in Maryland's determined quest for industries that are science oriented.

Officials of the State's department of economic development, totting up the figures for a 1963 progress report, noted that this gave the Free State the 105th branch of that elite roster of 500 blue-chip industrial corporations listed in a *Fortune* magazine survey.

"On the average, a new industry has located in Maryland every other working day

in 1963," a Department officer said. "And for the past 18 months the State's unemployment rate has been considerably lower than the national average. In October, for instance, it was 3.5 percent. The national rate was 4.7 percent."

By the end of September, there were 1,166,600 people gainfully employed in Maryland, more than a third of the State's population, the highest working figure on record.

On the credit side of Maryland's ledger, these are some of its recent gains:

Payrolls increased faster in the last 2 years than the national rate; total per capita income (\$2,664 million in 1962) has jumped faster than the boom 1951-60 rate; cash values added by manufacturing were up 14.2 percent over a 3-year period.

There are a few notable entries in red, however.

Agriculture, particularly the tobacco crop, was badly hit by the prolonged drought this year. Tobacco crops are 60 to 70 percent below those of other years, and the Federal Government has ruled the agricultural districts of St. Marys, Anne Arundel, Carroll, Talbot, Calvert, and Charles Counties to be disaster areas.

This year's drought has been a bitter blow to the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland, where there is little industry apart from harvesting seafood or agriculture.

The same condition applies to Maryland's "panhandle," the three western counties of Garrett, Allegany and Washington. In addition to a poor crop year, a slowdown of activity still dogs the mining, quarrying and lumbering enterprises there.

These bleak spots point up the dislocation that so often follows when a State evolves from an agricultural to an industrial economy, as Maryland has done with a vengeance in the years since World War II.

Much of Maryland's hand-over-fist expansion is taking place from the Baltimore region along that corridor that connects to Washington. Names like International Business Machines, Westinghouse, Bendix, Hoover, Black & Decker and others are sprinkled around the area. They are newcomers among such old standbys as the Glenn L. Martin aviation empire and the labyrinthine port of Baltimore, with its 46 miles of waterfront second only to New York City in the volume of foreign trade handled.

Gov. J. Millard Tawes uses every platform he can to extol the potential in this region for research industries. There is already a hatful of high-powered Federal agencies, beginning with the Atomic Energy Commission, which attract a growing population of professional people from all over the Nation.

Not long ago Leon Henderson, consulting economist and onetime head of the Office of Price Administration, came up with a glowing forecast of Maryland's future. Population would be 3,838,000 in 1970 and 4,641,000 in 1980; the labor force would increase 54 percent in that period; unemployment would be at 5.5 percent of the labor force, compared with a 6-percent average.

But it added the somber note that automation, the higher requirements of industry, the seemingly constant number of school dropouts who become unemployable—all were adding up to a hard core of unemployment. It was something that went far beyond dips in business activity, because it was happening in boom times.

"The plain truth to be faced is that there is no convincing evidence at hand that high unemployment is not here to stay," the report said. "Indeed, the information at hand points to its continuance."

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

GERMANENESS OF DEBATE UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 89) providing for germaneness of debate under certain conditions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, in the nature of a substitute, proposed by the Senators from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK and Mr. SCOTT], for the language of Senate Resolution 89.

COMMUNITY WORK AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I regret that the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] is not in the Chamber. I notified his office that I intended to address myself to his speech of last night in the city of New York; and again, about a half hour ago, I notified his office that at about this time I would be speaking with respect to that speech.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I should like to have the RECORD show that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] would like to be present, but that circumstances make it impossible for him to do so.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I understand. I merely wished to extend to the Senator the courtesy of informing him that I intended to speak on this subject.

Mr. CURTIS. Very well.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, this morning's newspapers carry some very heartening news concerning the future of welfare programs in this country. The headlines report that the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] has a suggestion for able-bodied men who receive relief payments: he wants to put them to work.

I am pleased to welcome the Senator to this cause. Two years ago Congress recognized the importance of giving able-bodied men on relief a chance to learn a skill and work at a job, instead of remaining on the dole. Congress passed the public welfare reform amendments of 1962, and included for the first time Federal participation in community work and training programs.

I was proud to have had a part in developing this program as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. I thought it was important, as Senator GOLDWATER does now, to make public welfare something more than a system of cash handouts. I felt, and Congress agreed, that we needed to give those on relief the opportunity to get off relief, to return to decent, constructive, useful lives in their communities.

Now there is only one problem with Senator GOLDWATER's stirring call to arms in what the press has called his own private war on poverty. His own State of Arizona has not shared the foresight which Congress displayed 2 years

ago and which the Senator displayed last night.

Senator GOLDWATER says men on relief could be put to work if only the States were left alone to do this. Well, Arizona is free to do this, but it is not doing so. There are no work-training projects in Arizona for those on relief. Even after Congress in 1962 told the States they would be eligible for generous Federal matching funds to put able-bodied men to work, Arizona did nothing about this problem.

So I welcome the fact that a leader of the States rights forces has brought his legions into the war against poverty. I only wish he would use his considerable influence and prestige in his own State for the benefit of those on relief.

I, too, want to see the States assume as much of this responsibility as possible. I am proud to say that my own State of Connecticut is doing an outstanding job in this field. We have work-training programs that use only State and local funds. We have also taken advantage of the 1962 law to add to these programs.

In Connecticut, we are not just talking about putting able-bodied men to work. We are putting them to work. And we are glad to have some Federal financial assistance to make these programs a success.

The unemployment rate in Connecticut and Arizona is the same—4.6 percent. I wish Arizona were taking its State responsibilities as seriously as Connecticut is.

Other States, too, are getting on with the job. Among those with successful programs already in operation are Illinois, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, and West Virginia. Work-training programs for persons on relief are soon to start in California, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, and Ohio.

There is even more we can and should do in this field. The existing Federal law provides Federal matching for work training only in connection with existing categorical grant programs. I believe we should help the States to set up pilot project programs for any able-bodied person on relief. Last year I introduced S. 1803, to provide funds to enable States and local communities to get Federal assistance for pilot work-relief projects. The cosponsors of this bill are Senators MANSFIELD, DIRKSEN, HUMPHREY, MORTON, LONG of Missouri, and KEATING.

That bill would make it possible to enable many communities to experiment with work training, just as the State of Kentucky is doing under a project announced this week. In five low-income counties of that State, the Federal Government has provided a million dollars to provide work training for thousands of able-bodied men who are unemployed and without the bare necessities of life.

Senator GOLDWATER has my complete agreement when he calls for putting able-bodied men to work. I hope I will have his agreement that his own State of Arizona should start practicing what he is preaching. I hope, too, that he will join with the distinguished Senators

from his side of the aisle, Senators DIRKSEN, MORTON, and KEATING, to help us enact S. 1803. We do not want to set up any new Federal program. We want to help the States and communities set up these programs, see the benefits that can flow from them, and then encourage them to carry them on with their own resources.

Let me say, too, that while I share the Senator's view on putting able-bodied men to work, I cannot share the impression he leaves in his speech of last night that if only the unemployed would have the gumption to go to work, all our welfare problems would be solved.

Seven million people are on relief in this country, and the overwhelming majority of them—some 6 million—cannot possibly go to work. They are old, or they are sick, or they are disabled, or they are mothers caring for children, or they are children.

Society has an obligation to these people. It is an obligation that is properly shared by both the States and the Federal Government. It is in the finest American tradition of humanitarianism that we do share this responsibility. This is not being a Santa Claus. I believe the Senator from Arizona recognizes this. I hope we can move ahead on these problems, recognizing what the States must do and recognizing the legitimate responsibilities of the Federal Government.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. First, I commend the Senator from Connecticut for his forthright statement concerning the problems of welfare and assistance to our needy. The statement comes from one who has had a distinguished record of public service as Governor of his State and later as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. So the Senator from Connecticut speaks with experience as his guide and from a rich background in the field of social welfare programs.

I do not think anyone would accuse the Senator from Connecticut of trying to play Santa Claus, so to speak, with the public funds. He has always been recognized as a frugal, prudent, able, and effective administrator, both in his role as Governor of the great State of Connecticut and in his role as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I was very much impressed by the statement made by the Senator from Arizona and by the contrasts expressed in the course of his remarks. Not long ago, the Senate passed the Youth Employment Act, which provides for some sharing with the States of the costs of programs to provide employment to unemployed young people. The rate of unemployment among those in the upper bracket of the 'teenage group is a shocking and disturbing social phenomena.

Mr. RIBICOFF. It represents approximately 22 percent of that age group. Some 750,000 teenagers are out of work. It is indeed a tragedy to have that happen so early in their lives. I agree with the Senator from Minnesota

about his Youth Employment Act and the importance of helping these youngsters find work, not only to take them off the streets and away from juvenile delinquency, but also to help them obtain training and establish work habits and work patterns which will enable them to earn a living rather than depend upon relief checks.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator from Connecticut. That was the purpose of that legislation, which ultimately passed. The Youth Employment Opportunities Act is based upon both Federal, State, and local experience; and if that bill is passed by the other body and is enacted into law, it will be very helpful in connection with the employment situation for young people who need work experience.

I agree with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] that able-bodied men and women who want work should be able to obtain it. It is the duty of our society to provide them with work opportunities. If the Senator from Arizona was saying that everyone who wants work and is capable of working and is willing to work is entitled to a job, and that a job shall be made available by the State or any other political or private instrumentality, I fully agree with him. That job, however, must provide a living wage and must be worthy of the community and of the individual.

So, much of what we are really talking about is methodology, a means of getting the job done. Many of the States do not have the financial means that are necessary in order to provide suitable work programs. The Senator made that point quite clear. Many other States cannot, under their constitutions or laws, make available such work projects. So what is needed is a program which will provide work opportunities; but I did not find that it was called for in the speech of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Connecticut yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. To which speech of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] is the distinguished Senator from Connecticut referring?

Mr. RIBICOFF. The speech the distinguished Senator from Arizona made last night before the Economic Club of New York, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, as reported in the press this morning.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the distinguished Senator from Connecticut read the speech?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I am sure he will agree that there are many fine things in it.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Yes; there are some excellent things in that speech. I was pleased to find in it a suggestion for an educational tax credit. I hope to have the Senator from Arizona on my side when we deal with this question; just as I hope to have the distinguished Senator from Nebraska on my side.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. RIBICOFF. There are many points in the speech of the distinguished Senator from Arizona that are proper

and fine. However, certainly the correct perspective is most important. I think the distinguished Senator gave the country the impression that the idea which he favors is a new one. However, I point out that Congress accepted and approved it in 1962; and, if my memory serves me correctly, the distinguished Senator from Nebraska was in the forefront of those in favor of the welfare reforms that I proposed to the Finance Committee.

Mr. CURTIS. I think a total reading of the speech of the Senator from Arizona should raise the hope of every American—in particular every young person and every unemployed person. The Senator from Arizona has shown his clear thinking, his big heart, and his desire to have all our people have the opportunities they need.

On the other hand, the Senator from Arizona does disagree with the philosophy that has prevailed; namely, that the Government can create the needed employment. He pointed out at length that the policies advocated today by the President go back to the policies of the thirties, when the Government said it was going to create jobs. However, the fact is that the number of our people who were unemployed when World War II started was greater than the number who were unemployed the day Franklin Roosevelt was sworn in as President. It cannot be denied that the WPA, the PWA, and so on, helped individuals; but likewise, it also cannot be denied that those programs failed to solve the unemployment problem. Similarly, youth work programs or any other work programs created by the Government will not solve the problem.

I appreciate the very great patience of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut in yielding to me.

The Senator from Arizona spoke at length about the program of the administration. He said:

America, for most of its years, has waged a war on poverty. And wherever it has waged that war in factories, in laboratories, in shops, over counters, and under the enterprise system, it has won that war. It has won it, is winning it more surely than any nation on earth.

That is true.

Then the Senator from Arizona said:

And I say that this war on poverty can only be won that way. I say that when we work our way to wealth, we win that war. I say that when Government tries to spend its way to wealth, we lose that war.

I do not know what the politicians think, but I think the vast majority of people in America believe that.

Then he said:

Santa Claus dreams or rolled-up sleeves. We have to make a choice.

He also said—and I think this is quite significant:

I strongly believe that all people are entitled to an opportunity—let me stress that—to an opportunity to get an education and to earn a living in keeping with the value of their work.

I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society. I believe that those in trouble through their own fault should always have an opportunity to work themselves out of it.

There is nothing wrong with that philosophy. The error is among the few reporters who have no desire to report Senator GOLDWATER's remarks accurately—the hatchet men. I do not know what newspapers have been read, but I do know that this morning a number of persons told me what they heard about what someone else said about 'he speech made by the Senator from Arizona.

I wish to read on; and I apologize to the Senator from Connecticut for taking so much of his time.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to have this colloquy. I hope the colloquy continues because of what I read. This morning, I happened to be in New York and took the 8 o'clock plane to return to Washington. On the way down I read the New York Herald Tribune as well as the New York Times. If my memory serves me correctly, not only were the stories given rather full coverage on the front page, but the New York Times excerpted practically the entire speech of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] on the inside pages. I read that, and I also read a full copy of the Senator's speech when I arrived in Washington.

I believe the great problem we have is whether we will be content with generalities, which are so easy to put forth in a speech, or whether we will pursue the hard realities of putting programs into action. Our distinguished late President, John F. Kennedy, was deeply concerned with these programs; he made a blueprint and offered a set of programs for the consideration of Congress. Our distinguished President Lyndon Johnson is doing the same thing.

I do not believe that any President has all the answers. I believe that Senators have further obligations to look into many of these programs.

The difference that I have with the distinguished Senator from Arizona is while these words sound fair and are given in ringing tones, he does not outline a program to take care of the great problem—not of the loafer, not of the person who will not work—but concerning the person who wants to work but cannot find a job. I believe this is the problem to which America must address itself.

America is a changing society. Today, 70 percent of its people live in urban areas; 36 million Americans receive an annual income of less than \$3,000 for a family of four. Against this, studies have been made by the Department of Labor in 20 cities to show that a family of four can only live, by halfway decent standards, on a basis of at least \$6,000.

One of the greatest problems is in the area represented by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. A great change is taking place in rural America. Today the problem of slums is not merely a problem for the cities, but also a problem due to poverty on the farms in the rural areas of America. Of the 36 million people to which I have just referred, 8 million live in rural areas such as those represented by the dis-

tinguished Senator from Nebraska. One of the great problems being compounded today is that of elderly farmers who have devoted the best years of their lives to the farm but are no longer able to support themselves on the farm. Therefore, they move into urban areas such as Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit. Those farmers come in with tragedy surrounding them. They are over 50 years old. They are not trained in technical skills. They are not trained for the life of the city, and as a result they find themselves living in the worst slums of America, bereft, not knowing where to turn.

One of the great problems in the United States is, How can we solve the problem of American citizens who, through no fault of their own, can no longer make a living?

The day is over, as the Senator knows, when a farmer and his family could make a living on 40 acres of land and a mule. Today, it requires at least 325 acres, substantial credit in the bank, and a great deal of farm machinery. Yet, these are people who have been forced off their farms in Nebraska, Iowa, and Arizona. Are they bums? What are we to do with them?

Mr. CURTIS. No one has said they are bums, and I object to the implication that the Senator from Arizona said in his speech that they are bums.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I do not suggest he said that. These people are not loafers; they are people who want to work. What are we to do with 8 million people leaving rural America who drift into the cities of America? How are we to take care of them. How is private industry going to make jobs available? Automation has been putting many thousands of people out of work every week. How are we to take care of 8 million people who have left the farms?

Mr. CURTIS. There is no apparent disagreement in objective. Every American worthy of his name wants every other American to earn everything he can. We want everyone to have the best possible life and the best possible income. The question is, Can Government-made work, under centralized authority in Washington, solve the problem better than any other method?

Let us discuss this question for a moment. Such a policy was tried during the New Deal years. It was saved from collapse by a war, because we ended with more unemployment than we started with. Something better should be offered to the youth of America than the opportunity to enlist in a Youth Conservation Corps; and that is the program which the other philosophy offers.

Some of these problems cannot be solved in Washington. Congress enacted an area redevelopment bill. Tears were shed for many areas. I am concerned about the area that faces a chronic, difficult situation; but the solution applied in Washington is no solution of it.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield further?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. RIBICOFF. It must be said time and time again, because of general lack of understanding, that work relief programs, like other welfare programs, are not programs of the Federal Government. The brilliant, distinguished Senator from Nebraska is well-versed in this field. He knows that these are local and State programs and that the Federal Government gives matching funds to support the programs initiated by the States. The work relief programs we are discussing, are State programs. The distinguished minority leader is a co-sponsor of a bill designed to enlarge them.

We should say to the States of Illinois, Nebraska, Arizona, and Connecticut, "Come forward with pilot projects for work relief and training programs. Furnish the answer to the problem of taking people off relief and giving them useful work." Instead of giving them a welfare check, which is decried by the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona, give them community work programs, and Federal funds will be channeled into the States. Every State and local community will choose its projects. The Federal Government will not go to Nebraska, Connecticut, or Arizona and tell the State what type of programs to have. They would be local programs.

What bothers me about the speech of the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona is the indication that we should leave these programs to the States, and that the Federal Government should not have anything to do with the programs. The Federal Government is not conducting these programs. We say to the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona, "If you believe in this policy, go back to your own great State of Arizona and let it initiate a program to take some 24,000 unemployed, and those on relief, and put them to work, as has been done in Connecticut, and other States of the Union."

Basically, what I object to in the speech of the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona is that he talks about preventing the Federal Government from conducting this program. The Federal Government has never advocated, and does not advocate, that these programs be Federal programs.

What President Johnson is saying, what President Kennedy said, and what we are saying, is that the programs should be local programs. The Federal Government will come in and assist. I believe it is wrong to give the American people the idea that the Federal Government is trying to operate these programs. They are State based and State operated, with financial assistance going to the States on a matching basis.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not so sure that they are not controlled from Washington. I started to use the illustration of the area redevelopment bill. One morning, we woke up in Nebraska to find a published list of counties that were considered depressed areas. One of the counties on that list was Dawson County, Nebr.

Dawson County, Nebr., is one of the finest counties in our State. It is in the Platte Valley, where great feeding operations are conducted on a great deal of irrigated land. If we took into consideration the entire area of Dawson County, and included the paved streets and highways, the buildings, and lots, and all its parks, and divided up the agricultural economy, we would find that the income of the entire county was \$84 an acre. The people did not know that they were in a depressed area until Washington told them so.

That is not all. In less than one month's time, the Department of Agriculture published a list of the most prosperous counties in America. There are 2,000 counties in the United States. Lo and behold, Dawson County was in the fifties from the top.

Congress passed a bill to assist commercial fishermen. Much to my surprise, I found that the bill included Nebraska, and that Nebraska was eligible for \$25,000 to start a new program to assist commercial fishing. When I made that discovery, I also learned that the bill included Arizona. So I asked the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], "How do you promote commercial fishing in a desert?"

I did not imply that the whole State is a desert.

He did not think that the bill included Arizona. We looked up the question, and the definition was so written so as to include any State producing minnows for fishing, which would put that State in the commercial fishing business.

Why? To get votes in 50 States. The bill was not intended to help the areas that have had problems with commercial fishing. It was not confined to areas in which one can stand on the shore and see Russian fishing fleets with the naked eye. Those problems are real.

When we inject a political answer into everything, it not only becomes ridiculous, but also it fails to solve the problem.

In my opinion, if the speech of the distinguished Senator from Arizona is read in its entirety, it will be seen to show a greater ray of hope for the unemployed—for the young people, for the old people, and everyone—than the philosophy of having the Government do it. Even if the program requires Federal-State participation, made work, though it may provide some temporary relief, does not solve the problem of unemployment.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to make a comment at that point?

Mr. CURTIS. Certainly.

Mr. RIBICOFF. The Senator from Nebraska has stated that the speech of the Senator from Arizona lays down a method of solving the problems of unemployment. Will the Senator from Nebraska kindly point out in the speech the point at which a specific program is set out by the distinguished Senator, showing how he would solve the problem of unemployment? Would the Senator state one specific, concrete example contained in that speech?

Mr. CURTIS. I shall ask to have the entire speech printed in the RECORD. Naturally, it is not a Government program.

Mr. RIBICOFF. What private program is involved which would permit private industry to solve the problem?

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator will find, if he reads the speech, that it discusses the basic problem and the general approach. It does not involve the introduction of another proposed legislative program. Of course, it refers to money.

I do not wish to ask that the speech be included in the RECORD during the colloquy in which we are now engaged, but at its conclusion I shall ask unanimous consent to have the entire speech printed in the RECORD.

I have the highest regard for my distinguished friend the Senator from Connecticut. I know that he is fair and intends to be fair in every statement that he makes. I know that when he and the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] are in agreement, he is one of the first to say so.

Many years ago, as I recall, the Senator from Arizona stood at his desk and proposed a tax credit in connection with tuition and fees for students attending college. I favor that approach, and I should like to state why I do.

If we were to follow the program of the administration, which involves grants to schools, it would soon, as do all and every other program which the Federal Government has, develop into a plan under which every school must apply for the grant because others are receiving it. The program would cost a great deal of money.

We would not continue to appropriate the necessary money without Federal guidelines. Guidelines soon become restrictions.

Also, in the light of the ruling of the Supreme Court, some of us are worried about the church-related school. We wish to send our boys and girls to colleges that perhaps require every student to attend chapel. We wish to continue to send our boys and girls—at least some of us do—to colleges that require every student in the college, before he graduates, to take two semesters in Scripture. If such schools are to be supported by the Government, we are headed for trouble.

The Goldwater program and the program supported by my distinguished friend the Senator from Connecticut—and I commend him for it—provides that anyone who spends money in order to send a young man or woman to school shall receive a tax benefit, not for the expense of board and room, but the expenses of the school itself. The Senator may correct me if I am wrong in that statement. Such a program would maintain private education in America. Private citizens would make the decisions. First, the college would continue to decide whom it would admit. It can keep its high standards. The college can decide whether it will teach religion or not teach religion.

Who else makes the decision? The young person who is sufficiently motivated decides that he wants to go to college. Another private citizen, the payer of the bill, makes the decision that he will pay the expense.

Under such a program private education would be maintained in America. The system of free education in America would be maintained.

When aid is administered through grants to all in the field of education, in spite of our good intentions, we start down the road of Federal guidelines. Guidelines become restrictions, and restrictions become control. Then we would not have Federal aid to education, but Federal education. That approach represents a difference in philosophy.

I respect the intellectual honesty of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut. I have never known him to misrepresent what anyone has said. I am speaking of others. I am speaking of certain news media. I regret to do so because, by and large, they have been better to me than I deserve. But a "hatchet job" is going on by the left-wing press against anyone who raises his voice against centralized Government, against the trend toward socialism, and against the trend toward big Government.

More than 2 years ago, long before I knew that the Senator from Arizona would consent to let his name be presented for the office of President of the United States, I was watching a nationwide television program. An individual on the program said, "Senator GOLDWATER advocates the repeal of the Social Security Act."

I exchanged several letters with that distinguished commentator, asking him to give me the citation. He never did so. He did not have any. He made it up. He deceived the people.

The people are smarter than we think. The people are concerned about abuses in Federal programs. The people are concerned about a government having an annual budget of \$100 billion. They know that regardless of how people try, there will be waste and mismanagement. Some will take advantage, and some worthy people will be missed.

Again I thank the distinguished Senator from Connecticut. At the time he wishes to yield the floor, I shall ask to insert the full speech of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] in the RECORD.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I appreciate the kind personal references made by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska. From my experience and association with him in the other body and in this one, while we often disagree, I know him to be a man of great integrity and ability, with deep knowledge of the problems and programs which we are now discussing.

I should like to close with a few comments. First, I feel that John Hay Whitney, of the *Herald Tribune*, would be very much interested to know that he was a part of the "leftwing press" doing a "hatchet job." I always had

the impression that this distinguished newspaper, which I read every day, was the voice of the Republican Party.

Second, as was pointed out by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, I expect, within the next month, to be shoulder to shoulder with him, and I hope the distinguished Senator from Arizona will join in our tax credit bill, because I think we shall be opposed to the leadership.

When the Senator from Arizona and I are on the same side of an issue, I acknowledge it. I acknowledge the fact that he has long been an advocate of tax credits for college education. But I point out that what we are now discussing involves the question of what to do about people out of work, who cannot find jobs.

Since the distinguished Senator from Arizona and I are together on the tax credit proposal, and since the Senator from Arizona has indicated he is for relief work instead of welfare checks, I hope he will find it proper, within his judgment, to join Senators DIRKSEN, MANSFIELD, HUMPHREY, KEATING, LONG of Missouri, MORTON, and myself in support of Senate bill 1803.

It is my feeling that the Congress will have an opportunity to vote on this measure. It is my understanding that the budget which the President will send to the Congress will contain provision for funds for the purposes of S. 1803. S. 1803 is a practical way of reaching the objective discussed in the Economic Club speech by the distinguished Senator from Arizona.

We must do more than merely make speeches, because people cannot eat words. They cannot be warmed by words. They cannot be housed or clothed by words. People must have jobs if they are to earn enough money to feed, house, and clothe themselves.

It is our objective to move people off the relief rolls and give them jobs. Measures like S. 1803 are aimed in this direction. That bill will come before the committee of which the distinguished Senator from Nebraska and I are members. There will be an opportunity to discuss the measure. I hope, as a result of this colloquy, that the distinguished Senator from Nebraska and the distinguished Senator from Arizona will join the other cosponsors in seeing that a measure such as this is passed, giving the States and localities an opportunity to initiate work programs of their own to give people jobs, instead of handing them relief checks.

Again, I thank the distinguished Senator from Nebraska for his usual courtesy. As always, I consider it an honor and pleasure to enter into a colloquy of any nature with the distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I begin by complimenting my most gracious friend the distinguished Senator from Connecticut for the very fine way he has drawn the attention of the Senate to this point. It is not my purpose to prolong the colloquy. I agree that words do not solve problems. I also suggest that the following of sound principles does

solve problems; and that principles must be discussed. It is much more important that we think about great principles, discuss them, and determine the direction in which we are headed, than to delude ourselves with the idea that we can arrive at a solution merely by the enactment of legislation that will do magic.

Our great economy is not perfect, but the poorest people in America are better off than are millions of people in other countries of the world, even if the people in some of those countries may fare better.

There is such a thing as following basic principles or diverging from them. I yield to every man not only his right but his opportunity to be active in deciding what are right principles.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona has attracted the attention of millions of people because he has had the courage to talk about great principles, because he has raised questions as to the direction in which we are headed in America. He has had the courage to point out that not everything that glitters is gold. In his speech, while he has shown a great concern for every American, he has said that there is no such thing as a free lunch. Everyone knows that. Someone must work for everything that others enjoy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire speech delivered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] in the city of New York, on January 15, 1964, be printed in the RECORD at this point. I commend its reading to the entire Nation. I yield the floor.

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

SPEECH BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN, OF ARIZONA, BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK, JANUARY 15, 1964, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

Every one of you has a big stake in the future of this Nation and its fiscal dependency. Some of you feel a lot better about that future—if recent press clippings are to be believed.

Some of you may feel better because there are promises of new cuts in Government spending; because there are promises, or at least hints, of a new sympathy toward private enterprise in the White House.

Some signs of relief can be heard from Wall Street to Market Street.

It is my uncomfortable chore to ask you, and to ask any of the American people who feel that way to look very closely before leaping to such conclusions.

It is my chore to ask you to consider the toughest proposition ever faced by believers in the free enterprise system: the need for a frontal attack against Santa Claus—not the Santa Claus of the holiday season, of course, but the Santa Claus of the free lunch, the Government handout, the Santa Claus of something for nothing and something for everyone.

In short, the Santa Claus promises of the state of the Union message to which we recently have listened.

If this sounds like I am against good works and good goals, let me ask your patience while I explain. I am not against good works or even against all form of Government activity. I am certainly not against restraint in Government spending or a true

understanding of what really makes our economy tick and how it can enrich the lives of everyone in this Nation.

I am not against those things. I am against the doubletalk that speaks of economy while acting to spend; the gestures to free enterprise while planning new controls; the direction of a Government establishment that is prepared to nationalize society while paying for it with the fruits of private industry; the direction of a Government establishment that is prepared to spend and spend so that it may elect and elect; the direction of a Government establishment prepared to sacrifice the liberties of the many to cater to the demands of a few; the direction of a Government establishment that confuses local need with national necessity, trying to buy off today's problems with tomorrow's bankruptcy; the direction of a nation being led to believe that relief programs can end poverty rather than only institutionalize poverty; the direction of a nation that has built the greatest prosperity ever known, by individual initiative, but which now is tempted to forsake that initiative for the illusory comforts of Government guardianship.

You have a choice to make. This Nation has a choice to make. It is a choice on which history, not just election year rhetoric, will hinge and turn. If that choice can be bought by promises, by pie in the sky, by smiles at business meetings, then the future of the American enterprise system is bleak indeed.

The choice is not one of detail or trimmings, but of basic direction.

The present administration, as have the Democrat administrations that most immediately preceded it, say that the bureaucracy in Washington can solve all our problems, end poverty, and create prosperity.

The Republican alternative is that men and women working and investing in thousands of industries, freed from bureaucratic interference, can build the wealth that best fights poverty.

The Republican alternative is that men and women in their own homes, communities, and States can best solve their own problems and need pass along to the Federal Government only those problems which, national or international in nature, clearly call for a single national answer.

Diversity, of which we hear so much, but see so little in the actions of the present administration, can best be achieved by choosing the best tool of diversity—the individual initiative and creativity of individual Americans.

Certainly there is no evidence that this is in any way, shape, or form the choice of the present administration—no matter how much gum mileage they get out of it, or lipservice they give to it.

Is this administration really economy-minded?

I have been deeply concerned by the number of my friends—economists, businessmen, bankers—who have been taken in by the appearance of economy, by the talk and the publicity. The facts are far different.

President Johnson says that he is cutting new obligational authority requests by \$4 billion. Sure, he is cutting "requests" by that much. But he is asking that the Congress raise new obligational authority by more than \$2 billion over what Congress actually authorized for the current fiscal year.

The same fast shuffle of figures is apparent in his requests for spending in the next fiscal year.

He says that he is seeking a half-billion dollars less than was requested last year. But he is asking for \$2 billion more than Congress actually authorized for spending in the current fiscal year.

His is not a message of economy.

It is a message of deliberate confusion of facts and figures.

His is not an administration of economy. It is an administration of deliberate deception, of neon and tinsel razzle-dazzle.

And still, some of our most hardheaded businessmen repeat that this man is a conservative. That's what they think. Or they have a hunch. Or they've heard someone say it.

But what does the new leader of the older dealers say?

Just last month he was quoted in the Evans and Novak column as having said that "no matter what you may think, I'm a Roosevelt New Dealer."

In an interview with the New York Herald Tribune Columnist Robert Spivak, he put it this way: "You say I'm not a liberal. Let me tell you I am more liberal than Eleanor Roosevelt and I will prove it to you. Franklin D. Roosevelt was my hero. He gave me my start."

Well, I say that Franklin Roosevelt also gave him his programs, his political philosophy, his political compass.

This administration is a child of depression-born theories and its current family chieftain is a captive of them right down the line or, rather, right down the breadline.

The facts are there for anyone to see. This administration is aiming a double-barreled shotgun of Federal spending at our heads.

We ignore it at the peril of everything we have, hope to have, or believe in.

The first barrel: Substantially higher levels of spending and new spending authority than are in effect for the current fiscal year.

The second barrel: Commitment of the Nation to a bumper crop of new spending programs whose costs would only start to sprout prior to next November's election day. They would come to full weedlike bloom in later years.

Essentially this is the kind of public spending that has made the Federal Government a senior partner in our economy. All governmental expenditures in the United States, in 1962, were equal to almost a full one-third—actually 31.8 percent—of the net value of the output of all goods and services produced by the Nation's economy.

Now, answer these questions; you must answer these questions: has Federal spending of this sort really created jobs upon which working men and women can depend; has it created a rise in the standard of living; has it modernized our industrial plant to make it more competitive with oversea producers; has it? Can it?

Can Government spending do any of those things?

Or must they be done in the market place, by working men and women, by investors willing to risk and with the capital to do it, by scientists and engineers building the new tools, techniques, and products? You cannot be on both sides of the question or the answers. The current administration cannot either.

Take its attitude toward the public debt. Is that a sign of its conservatism, of the sort of regard for fiscal responsibility upon which you can count and plan? A reduction in the amount of next year's operating deficit, as promised by the President's budget figures, does not alter the fact that a continuation of at least \$4 to \$5 billion worth of irresponsible deficit financing is being advocated—and during a time of high prosperity when the truly frugal would be trying to pay off their debts, not incur new ones.

This circumstance itself is a direct contradiction of logic in the President's assertion that "the new budget clearly allows" the passage of the tax reduction bill now pending. The budget does not clearly allow any

such thing. The Congress may allow it, to try to retrieve at least something from the shambles of the administration's fiscal policy. But the budget doesn't allow it. The President's attitude doesn't allow it.

Let me make this clear: I have no disagreement with the statement that our economy demands a tax reduction. It most surely does.

My point is that this needed tax reduction should be earned by the kind of real economizing in Federal spending that would be possible if the effort were sincere.

I believe in tax relief—but not in tax relief paid for by borrowed funds. And that is just what this administration, this supposedly frugal administration is proposing.

Where are the economies possible? First of all and most importantly of all, they are possible by simply not jamming through new Federal spending programs, by not seeking to buy, with tax money, control over the affairs of the American people.

Many of the new programs with which we are to be faced, however, are said to be part of a war on poverty. And who can be against that?

America, for most of its years, has waged a war on poverty. And wherever it has waged that war in factories, in laboratories, in shops, over counters, and under the enterprise system, it has won that war. It has won it, is winning it, more surely than any nation on earth.

And I say that this war on poverty can only be won that way. I say that when we work our way to wealth, we win that war. I say that when Government tries to spend its way to wealth, we lose that war. Santa Claus dreams or rolled-up sleeves; we have to make a choice.

Not so many years ago one of the Democrat Party's principal trouble shooters (sic), John Galbraith, wrote a book, "The Affluent Society," to prove that consumers were wallowing in luxury while government was being starved. The individual, he said, should be taxed more heavily to support government in a style to which he wanted it accustomed.

He found that there were basically only two types of private poverty left in the United States: insular poverty, areas whose economic base had been eroded; case poverty, families or individuals who, because of personal deficiencies are unable to earn an income which permits a contemporary American standard of living.

At about the same time another gentleman, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote in the New York Times that one explanation for the Democrat loss of the 1952 election was that "we ran out of poor people." His solution was that the liberal spending urge must be channeled instead into foreign aid. And so it was.

We have been supporting some 100 or so foreign governments. Some we have helped to stand on their own feet but others we have helped to new palaces, limousines, private jets, yachts, and golden beds.

The public has finally had enough. This year's congressional debate made it clear that foreign aid spending will be cut from here on out.

Hopefully, of course, this also means that our entire view of developing the underdeveloped nations will shift—shift toward sound loans and technical assistance that will pump life into the private energies which alone can truly develop the underdeveloped.

Also, it has become apparent that just as we cannot defend the world alone, we cannot support the world alone. Multinational efforts are needed on both counts.

We must, at the same time, accept the necessity of helping some of the less developed nations. Proper ways to accomplish this are available, as through the International Development Association. But this way requires constant sharing of the burden,

lest any of the well developed economies, our own in particular, be crippled by an excessive load. Other nations are able to and should contribute substantially to this course of action.

But this leaves the liberal little new choice for the spending urge. He has to express it again in the domestic poverty issue. And so, we have come full circle.

The first question, of course, is how many Americans are poor? Franklin Roosevelt said that a third of the Nation was impoverished and you can still hear the same figure cited, although the certified, pasteurized, homogenized, officialized figure is now one-fifth.

Also, a few years ago, some called a family poor if its income was below \$1,500. Now it is \$3,000. Others say that any family is poor if it cannot afford what the Department of Labor computes to be the standard of living of the average urban worker.

In a country as wealthy as ours, it is implied, everyone should be above the average. An interesting statistical exercise.

The fact is, of course, that these income levels are regarded as true wealth in the rest of the world. Workers in many other countries cannot earn as much as our welfare clients receive.

As our production and income levels have moved up over a 100 years, our concepts of what is poor have moved up also—and they always will. It is like greyhounds chasing a mechanical hare. You can never catch up. There will always be a lowest one-third or one-fifth.

The truth beyond that is that the income of our lowest one-fifth of households, as expressed in dollars of constant purchasing power, has more than doubled over the past quarter century while that of the highest one-fifth of families has risen only 87 percent. This upward trend has been consistent.

It will continue so long as we are people of enterprise, of energy, or risk taking.

It will grind to a halt if we become a people of relief check stagnation, and government regimentation.

Our overall economic growth already has slowed because of movement in that direction. Under the governmental policies of the big government party over the past three decades we have reduced rewards for good work and also reduced the penalties for laziness or waste.

We have been draining the fuel that fires the engines of progress.

We have been quenching the fire and then wondering why the engines don't run faster.

If somebody set out deliberately to slow down economic growth he could not do better than to reduce the incentives for enterprise and abolish the consequences of inertia.

And that is what the New Deal started in the 1930's.

It is what the Fair Deal continued in the 1940's.

It is what the "Fast Deal" is now proposing to do in the 1960's.

I strongly believe that all people are entitled to an opportunity—let me stress that—to an opportunity to get an education and to earn a living in keeping with the value of their work.

I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society. I believe that those in trouble through their own fault should always have an opportunity to work themselves out of it. But I do not believe that the mere fact of having little money entitles everybody, regardless of circumstance, to be permanently maintained by the taxpayers at an average or comfortable standard of living.

But, the largest program of public assistance to persons who are so poor that they are unable to take care of their needs, besides the old age program, is aid to families

with dependent children. The number has doubled, from 2 to 4 million, since the mid-fifties.

Fraud is rampant in this area. In the District of Columbia, where we have had the only probe of the situation not conducted by welfare agency employees, it was found that half the recipients were actually ineligible, and were on the lists by fraud or by negligence in the welfare department.

It is apparent, I believe, that this situation has developed mainly because of Federal rules under which this program is conducted throughout the Nation. States and communities could turn it into an honest program if left alone to do it.

But the administration's proposals do not take that direction. No. They seek still more Federal redtape.

They propose, also, that minimum wage coverage be extended. We all want to see wages rise. But industrious Americans want to see them rise by merit and not by fiat. And these Americans also will face honestly the fact that extensions of minimum wage laws do not always have the desired effect. They can hurt as well as help.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, when he was an economics professor at the University of Chicago, spelled it out clearly: "Labor under the capitalistic system *** tends in the long run to lose appreciably more through diminished employment when it raises its wages above marginal productivity than it gains from the higher rate per hour enjoyed by those who are employed."

The Senator's party, however, seems to have forgotten the lesson. I grew up in the retail business, however. I could never afford to forget economic truths.

Anyone in business knows that if you can't sell an item it's usually priced too high, and you can move it only by marking it down.

The fact, nationally, is that if we push up wage levels, by law or by contract, to a level which is higher than the productive capacity of large numbers of people, then those people will not only lose their jobs but will be unable to find others. Such actions may raise the demand for higher skills but they do little to help those at the bottom of the skill scale.

Many unskilled jobs have disappeared simply because the wages that have to be paid for them exceed the value of the work. Relief has not helped solve this but has compounded it. Can we expect unskilled people to work at wages equivalent to their skills when they can get as much—or more—from relief, by doing nothing?

This, it seems to me, raises the question of an essential safeguard we should place on public welfare programs: those who are physically able to work should be put to work to earn their benefits at a specified rate per hour. There are community projects aplenty that could be powered this way, getting jobs done which otherwise would not be done, and getting them done without gaudy new Federal programs.

We are told, however, that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. That's like saying that people have big feet because they wear big shoes. The fact is that most people who have no skill, have had no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition.

One study in Chicago showed that almost all welfare clients had attended school for at least 8 years but half of them could not read or write at the fifth grade level.

Our schools can adjust to these facts of life by getting away from the uniformity of their curriculums, by differentiating more between the needs of the highly and the lowly motivated, and between the more and less intelligent. But that must be done at the State and local levels. Federal interference always has moved the other way.

We have talked of many details in this overall problem. But we are not talking about many principles. Only two, basically, are involved. Enterprise versus regimentation, a society fluid in its opportunity, or a society hardened into a government mold.

Specifically, in a society where the vast majority of people live on a standard that is envied by all other nations, it must be appropriate to inquire whether the attitude or the action of the small group not participating in the general prosperity has anything to do with the situation. The aim of such an investigation should not be to condemn anybody but to help and to help effectively. To do that we must know what is wrong and not assume that big government knows the answer and has the answer.

I would, to further this, call a conference with participation from all of the States to study this problem of poverty and jobs, to pin down the figures, to survey all the solutions and not seek to impose the Federal one.

I would, also, seek to find for the Federal Government more of a role in removing restrictions than in imposing new ones—at every level of the economy.

Making our industry more competitive with foreign industry should have a high priority in that study. I suggest that the Federal Government can find more ways to improve that competitive situation by getting out of industry's hair than by getting into it. And in this I would include even the Federal role in raising tariffs. That solution is not a real one, it is just a temporary one.

Rising productivity, not rising tariffs, gives the best promise by far.

In higher education, I have already offered, in the Senate, an example of what I consider to be the proper Federal role. I have proposed, and have been pleased to see even some outstanding Democrat legislators similarly propose, that the Federal Government permit certain tax credits to those who pay tuitions and fees for their children or others at colleges and universities. Here again we would have the Federal Government permitting freedom of choice and bettering education by removing itself from an activity, not intruding itself further.

No matter the detail, I stand on the side of such principles. I stand on the side of individual responsibility and individual choice and creativity. I stand against the gray sameness of growing Government, against the conformity of collectivism—no matter the excuses it uses.

There is, as one of your colleagues so neatly puts it, no such thing as a free lunch. Not even Santa Claus can whip one up.

Industrious Americans have made this the wealthiest nation on earth. Concerned Americans have kept it a free nation.

Most of our parents came to this land with little or nothing but honest energy and honest ideals. Most came from poverty and to poverty. But they built a great nation. They worked hard at it. They extended helping hands where needed and deserved.

They were the greatest builders of history. And we, their descendants, still have that energy, still have that heart.

We have only to make the choice: Will we use the energy and revitalize the heart, or will we abandon both for false securities?

In this choice we will either build tomorrow or write our epitaph.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 750, Senate bill 385, to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years, be taken up at this time.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator repeat his request?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I ask unanimous consent that S. 385 be taken up at this time.

Mr. CURTIS. I wonder if the Senator would mind if there were a quorum call or some Senator spoke for about 5 minutes. Certain Senators wish to be present when this proposal is considered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am not sure I will take all of that 5 minutes, but I will start on it. I have a matter or two to submit for the record, if the Senator wishes to make some telephone calls.

Mr. CURTIS. I am sure the Senator can speak for 5 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I can speak for 5 minutes. The Senator and I are veterans of the House. He will recall that we were limited to 5 minutes. The Senator has made powerful speeches in 5 minutes. I am sure he recalls some of them.

Mr. CURTIS. I am most grateful to the Senator.

There is something to be said for brevity.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I agree with the Senator; but I also believe that subjects which are under consideration ought to be discussed thoroughly. Sometimes a subject cannot be discussed thoroughly with brevity in mind.

TAX REDUCTION LEGISLATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in the Washington Evening Star of December 30, 1963, there appeared a column written by one of the most able economists and economic writers I know, one whose articles I read consistently and always find interesting. I do not say that I agree with this columnist in everything she says. However, by and large I have a great deal of respect for her opinions. I refer to Miss Sylvia Porter, who is one of the finest and clearest writers on economic matters that I know. The title of her article is "Tax Cuts Boost British Economy."

In this column Miss Porter compares the situation in Britain with that which is sought in this country in connection with a tax reduction. It is a very worthwhile, clear, and thought-provoking column. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

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

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: TAX CUTS BOOST BRITISH ECONOMY
(By Sylvia Porter)

The passage of a tax reduction bill next year almost certainly will raise this question: Will the anticipated spending really stimulate the economy?

For vital clues to what we can expect, I submit the experience of England—which this year put through a tax cut roughly equivalent to what we're planning and un-

der economic-financial circumstances strikingly similar to ours.

The United Kingdom budget of April 1963, reduced taxes in England by about \$1.7 billion on a full-year basis, equal to an \$11.7 billion tax cut here. This is almost the total of our annual tax cut when the reductions become fully effective in 1965. Both individual and corporation income taxes were cut to increase consumer spending and to give businessmen incentives to invest more in plants and equipment. This is what we are going to do. Some of the cuts went into effect July 1, others became effective still later. This step-by-step approach is ours, too.

COMPARISON OFFERED

At the same time, the United Kingdom budget increased spending for its fiscal year 1964 by 7½ percent. The increase in Federal Government spending here will be much smaller but the trend is the same.

Britain's budget deficit for its fiscal year 1964 is estimated at about \$1.9 billion, which is almost \$14 billion in U.S. terms. Our budget deficit will be nowhere near this but we're also in the red.

Finally, Britain cut taxes in spite that it was spending far more abroad than it was earning abroad—in short, running a balance-of-payments deficit just as we are running a deficit in our balance of payments.

The parallel is close indeed—and this goes for the size and the type of the tax reductions, the conditions under which the move was made, and the objectives.

What, then, has happened in England since April? The economy has been gaining strength almost from the day the tax cuts were announced.

Industrial production has climbed. Output of steel is 11 percent above a year ago. The index of industrial production (1958 equals 100) is up to 121.5 against an index sticking at 115 during all of 1962.

Industrial plants are now operating at about 81 percent of capacity, up from 70 percent a year ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on January 5, 1964, Miss Porter had another column published in the Washington Evening Star pertaining to the proposed tax reduction. It is entitled "Tax Cut Would Lift Spending."

She gives figures and facts, and makes some statements, which tend to show the beneficial effects on the American economy of a tax reduction. It would be interesting and helpful for every Member of the Senate to read this fine article by Miss Porter. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that her article may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

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

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: TAX CUT WOULD LIFT SPENDING

(By Sylvia Porter)

Of every extra \$1 we keep in the proposed 1964 tax cut, we will spend about 93 cents on goods and services, save about 7 cents—give or take a fraction of a cent either way. This has been our spending-saving pattern since the start of the 1950's and there's no sign that we'll change it drastically this year.

Let's say that the amount of the tax cut going to us, as individuals, during the first stage of the two-stage tax reduction in 1964, turns out to be \$6 billion. Our spending pattern suggests this will directly add approximately \$5.6 billion to our economy this year.

PATTERN OUTLINED

As each \$1 flows into the business stream, it will become at least \$2. When you spend \$1 at the clothing store, the clothing store owner in turn spends \$1 at the grocery store, the grocery store owner in turn spends \$1 at the hardware stores, etc., etc. (This is an exceedingly conservative interpretation of the so-called multiplier effect, incidentally. Many economists would increase that \$2 substantially.)

This means an addition of at least \$11 billion to the economy in 1964.

As wages and salaries increase in 1964 we'll follow the same spending-saving pattern of 93 cents against 7 cents, give or take a bit either way. Wages and salaries will rise in 1964.

As businessmen feel the stimulant of higher spending, they'll increase their spending to stock their shelves with goods and raise their investment in new plants and equipment to produce more efficiently. This doesn't take into account the direct tax incentives businessmen also are to receive to spur them to increase spending on plants and machines.

Then will come the second stage of the tax cut in 1965 and the full impact on spending. The economy, when the full tax cut is in effect, will be at least \$30 billion bigger than it would be without the tax cut.

Since these are permanent tax reductions, the acceleration they provide will not be temporary. In the words of Walter W. Heller, the President's chief economic adviser, the tax cuts are "not simply a shot in the arm. They are a sustained diet of red meat for the economy."

Of course, plenty of people—and respected economists too—are skeptical that this is the way it will turn out. But the evidence is highly persuasive that it will.

The skeptics' first fear is that we have become saturated with goods through the recent years of record production and buying. The saturation story is a myth.

NO GLUT OF GOODS

We are not glutted with goods. On the contrary, we're buying more hungrily than at any time since the mid-fifties. We're indicating this through purchases of autos and the latest survey by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center reveals that almost one-fifth of America's families plan to buy a new or used car in the next 12 months. We're indicating this through our rising purchases of appliances either for the first time or to replace those worn out. We indicated this through our huge pre-Christmas buying, particularly of higher priced, quality products, and by our persistent tendency to upgrade our purchases.

The skeptics' second fear is that we'll save much more of our extra dollars this year than the pattern of the past suggests. Yet, as this record underlines, our spending-saving pattern has been remarkably consistent year after year in booms and recessions.

[In billions]

| | Personal consumption spending | Percent after tax dollar spent |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1951 | \$243 | 92.3 |
| 1953 | 262 | 92.1 |
| 1955 | 285 | 93.6 |
| 1957 | 302 | 92.4 |
| 1959 | 322 | 93.1 |
| 1961 | 339 | 92.9 |
| 1962 | 355 | 92.9 |
| 1963 | 371 | 92.8 |

¹ Average of 1st 3 quarters.

The economy has entered 1964 strong. The proposed tax cuts will keep it strong.

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

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his request for a moment? I should like to make an insertion in the RECORD.

Mr. JAVITS. I withhold my suggestion.

CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION AND REFORM

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, again I call the attention of my colleagues to the need for prompt congressional reorganization. I ask unanimous consent that an interesting article entitled "A Critique of Congress," written by the distinguished columnist Walter Lippmann, and published in this week's issue of *Newsweek*, be printed in full in the RECORD, at this point in my remarks.

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

A CRITIQUE OF CONGRESS (By Walter Lippmann)

There is a greater business before us than the tax bill or even than a civil rights bill, and that is to think seriously about the problem of making the American system of government work in the kind of world we live in. During 1963 American political institutions have gone through a serious ordeal.

The assassination of President Kennedy put them to the fundamental test, which is whether a government can survive a terrible blow and can continue and can carry on. The test was met with resounding success. Thanks above everything to Mr. Kennedy's choice of his running mate in 1960, the country is carrying on smoothly. But the grim truth is that we are now left quite unprepared were another calamity to befall us. After Mr. Johnson there remains no satisfactory or qualified line of succession. For the next 12 months, at home and abroad, the highest interests of the Nation depend upon a prayer being answered—that the President will be invulnerable to the ills that mortal men are heir to.

This dangerous situation would not exist were it not that the Congress of the United States has neglected to do its duty. Under the Constitution it is the duty of the Congress to provide against a vacancy in the Presidential office, whether the vacancy occurs because the President dies or because he is disabled. How a vacancy shall be filled ought not to be left to chance, and to private arrangements by the doctor, the family, and officials, as it was when Garfield and Wilson and Eisenhower were ill. The duty of dealing with a vacancy is confided to Congress by article II of the Constitution.

In the case of the death of a President and of the Vice President, the Congress has, to be sure, provided a line of succession through the Speaker of the House. But this has placed in the line a politician who has never considered himself, and has never been considered by anyone else, a possible President of the United States. Yet unsatisfactory as this is, the case of a disabled President is even worse. There is no provision made by the Congress as to who is to decide when a President is disabled permanently, as was Garfield, or partially, as were Wilson and Eisenhower. This failure of Congress is a dereliction of duty which could cost the country dearly.

The last year of the Kennedy administration was clouded by the deadlock between the Congress and the Presidency. Before

President Kennedy's death, Congress had developed a habit of smothering and strangling measures it did not like before they could come to a vote. I have seen this defended on the ground that so many of the Kennedy measures were in advance of their time. I have also heard it praised on the ground that the Kennedy measures were undesirable and should not have been passed. It has also been said that since there has been so little public outcry, the Congress was in its fashion expressing the will of the people.

But to my mind the process of smothering measures in committees is a subversion of the principles of representative government. It is a subversion in that it prevents public debate. Yet debate is the great educator of democratic peoples. It is subversion in that it prevents a decision by a vote, which is the sovereign principle of democracy.

I do not say any of this as a believer in the rule of simple majorities. On the contrary, I have long been a firm believer in the various provisions of the Constitution which, for example in the case of treaties or amendments to the Constitution, require the approval of substantially more than 51 percent of those voting. Moreover, on the whole, I have defended the right to filibuster in the Senate, a right subject to a vote of cloture, and not to be exercised in time of undisputed national emergency. It has seemed to me that on the whole the basic liberties of our people are safer if they cannot be swept away by small majorities in a storm raised by rabble-rousers. In matters deeply affecting its institutions and customs, a great heterogeneous continental democracy like ours must move as far as possible by consensus rather than by paper-thin majorities.

But what was done in the 88th Congress and its more recent predecessors is something quite different from, something quite alien to, the spirit and principle of consensus. The filibuster, that is to say, the right of protracted debate, differs radically from the procedure of the Rules Committee of the House and of some of the standing committees of the Senate. In a filibuster there is a debate, and the measure has been brought to the floor and can be put to a vote by a sufficient majority. The current system, which is far more objectionable than the filibuster, is operated by a coalition of senior Republicans and senior southern Democrats. It nullifies the basic principles of representative democracy—the right to debate and the right to vote.

This does not mean that all the proposals made by a President can be regarded as equally important and should be dealt with immediately by the Congress. There are measures, for example, medical care for the aged, which can wait for a searching examination in the committees before they are put to a vote. But there are other measures, in this Congress the tax bill and civil rights, which should get speedy consideration by the Congress, since the President is the best judge of whether or not the general prosperity or the general tranquillity of the Nation is urgently involved.

It is no easy matter to make a system of coordinate branches work, and it requires a strong will in Congress and in the administration alike to make the system work. While there is no doubt that Congress controls the appropriation of money and therefore has the ultimate power to bring the Government to a standstill, it is also true that where the national interest is concerned, the Executive is on the whole likely to be better informed and better equipped to judge. Members of Congress are best informed about their districts and their regions. But the President, who receives information from every corner of the country and from every country on the globe, should

be in a better position than the chairman of a committee to judge the national interest abroad and the national economy at home.

To make our system work, it is essential that the initiative of the President be respected by Congress, and when he says a measure is of great national importance, his proposals should be accorded enough priority to bring them to a vote and a decision within a reasonable time—say 3 months. Three months is plenty of time to hear all the arguments of all the experts and all the interested people pro and con and to bring the issues before the Congress for a decision.

The true function of the Congress is to grant money, to maintain the framework of laws under which we live, to authorize administrative actions under the Constitution, to investigate the conduct of the Government, and to hold the Executive accountable. It is not the function of the Congress to administer the Government, to go behind the President and the heads of departments and agencies, and to set out, as Joseph McCarthy did, to hire and fire, to manage and meddle with the individuals who work for the Government.

Yet there is a theory being bandied about that since Congress appropriates the money to run the Government, it has the right to run the Government. These theorists, who happen to admire the 88th Congress because it is dominated by a conservative coalition, overlook the truth that in order to operate a coordinate system like ours there must be a very large supply of commonsense. Congress does indeed appropriate money to pay the salaries of our ambassadors. But Congress cannot write the instructions to an ambassador as to what he is to say to the Foreign Minister of the country to which he is accredited.

If Congress tried to write the instructions of the Ambassadors or to censor the speeches of the Secretary of State, the result would be chaos. Yet a fallacy is in the air around Congress, the simple-minded fallacy that because Congress appropriates the money it can and should run the Government. Thus in the course of devising the authorizations and the appropriations for foreign aid, various Members of Congress, sometimes successfully and sometimes not, have been trying to legislate foreign policy. They have tried to lay down a policy for dealing with the whole Communist world and a policy for dealing with the uncommitted world. By various legislative injunctions and prohibitions they have attempted to take away from the President, who under the Constitution has the duty of conducting foreign relations, the right to determine and, if it seems expedient, to discriminate among all the growing variations, as, for example, between Yugoslavia and China, of the Communist world.

The critique which can now be made of Congress is, I submit, first that it has been derelict in its duty to provide satisfactorily for a vacancy in the Presidency, and that this has put the stability and the continuity of government in jeopardy.

It is, second, that Congress is using a procedure of smothering and strangling, rather than of debating and voting, which violates the basic principles of representative government.

It is, third, that Congress is trespassing upon the constitutional prerogatives of the President in attempting to determine foreign policy by legislative injunctions and prohibitions.

These criticisms deal with matters that are more fundamental than any piece of legislation or than the whole program of legislation. These criticisms are concerned with the question of whether we understand the inwardness of our own unique system of government well enough to make it work.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Lippmann's article is a scholarly and clear presentation of the problems which confront us in the Senate and also on the other side of Capitol Hill. Mr. Lippmann concludes that we have been derelict in our duty in a number of respects. I note that one of his criticisms—and I believe it to be unfounded, although I agree with the rest of the article—is that we have been derelict in our duty to provide satisfactorily for a vacancy in the Presidency. The present occupant of the chair, the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], is hard at work on hearings on a variety of bills to provide satisfactorily for a vacancy in the Presidency and, indeed, in the Vice Presidency as well.

It is a subject which I believe quite properly requires a good deal of time and careful consideration. I commend my friend from Indiana for his activity in this regard. I am confident that with somewhat more than deliberate speed there will be forthcoming from the subcommittee and from the full committee some proposed legislation, perhaps a proposed constitutional amendment, which will deal with this subject.

However, I completely agree with Mr. Lippmann in his second criticism, that Congress is guilty of smothering and strangling rather than debating and voting, and that this policy violates basic principles of representative government.

It is because of this part of Mr. Lippmann's critique that I call the attention of my colleagues in the Senate to the article which I have offered to be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, the pending business, as I understand, is the Senate resolution of which the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] is in charge. It would create and provide a rule of germaneness for 3 hours every day. The pending question is on the amendment to the resolution sponsored by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] and myself, which would create a flexible rather than an inflexible rule of germaneness.

I call the attention of Senators to the somewhat embarrassing position in which we would find ourselves at this moment if the resolution which my friend from Rhode Island is sponsoring were in effect. That resolution calls for a period of 3 hours every legislative day, beginning at the end of the morning hour, during which debate would have to be germane.

Inasmuch as the leadership has decided, owing to the illness of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], not to attempt to adopt the resolution in his absence—and I am completely in accord with that procedure as a matter of senatorial courtesy—we find ourselves at the moment in the rather odd situation of engaging in nongermane debate on a resolution dealing with germaneness in order quite properly to mark time until the Senator in charge of the resolution is able to return to the floor.

If his form of germaneness resolution were in effect, we would be in the embarrassing situation of seeking to lift that

provision, because no Senator would want germane debate, but we would be operating under an inflexible resolution, a mandatory resolution providing for germaneness for 3 hours, which would have started when the morning hour terminated a few minutes ago.

That dilemma would not confront us under the Scott-Clark substitute, because that rule of germaneness would not go into effect until the Senator in charge of the resolution requested it, and the operation of which rule could be suspended at any time at his request, subject always to a vote, without debate, if the Senate, or a substantial number of Members of the Senate wished such a vote to determine whether the wishes of the Senator in charge of the resolution should be indulged.

Therefore I hope some of our friends in the Senate will read my comment in the RECORD tomorrow, so that when we come to consider and, we hope, adopt some form of germaneness resolution, consideration will be given to the fact that it is far wiser to have a flexible rule, which will meet a particular situation from time to time as it arises, instead of an inflexible rule, which requires a fixed period of germaneness every day whether it is needed or not.

Mr. President, Mr. Lippmann's principal recommendation to enable Congress better to perform its duties is that we should adopt appropriate procedures by which all the major recommendations of the President would automatically be brought to a vote on their merits in the House and the Senate within a reasonable time after the President has submitted his legislative recommendations to Congress.

One year ago yesterday, on January 15, 1963, I submitted to the Senate a sense-of-the-Senate resolution to that effect. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Nothing has happened to it since then. It still festers there. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senate Resolution 42, as submitted by me, may be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that each standing committee of the Senate shall consider any legislative proposal of the executive branch of the Government referred to it within a reasonable time prior to July 4 of any year and report its recommendations for or against enactment to the Senate, so that the Senate as a whole will have an opportunity to consider the proposal and the recommendations of the committee prior to the adjournment of the session at which the recommendation was made.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the form of the resolution which has just been printed in the RECORD is not necessarily the last word on this subject. I have no doubt that it could be improved both in substance and in draftsmanship. Nevertheless, it gives an indication of how we could go about making the much-needed reform in our procedures that Mr. Lippmann has called to our attention.

AWARDS BY JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES TO OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN OF 1963

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I hope the ears of the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], who is now presiding, are not burning too readily, because I intended to speak briefly about the action of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States in announcing its selection of the 10 outstanding young men of 1963. High on that list is the able junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], who certainly is highly worthy of that honor. I congratulate him on his well-deserved award.

It so happens that another one of the young men who have been awarded this distinguished honor is the most recent appointee to the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Hon. A. Leon Higginbottom, Jr., described in the award as a lawyer, but who is now a judge. A Negro, he is one of the most outstanding young men at the Philadelphia bar. At the age of 35, he has been nominated for the bench in an interim appointment. At present he is serving in that capacity in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Higginbottom spent a year as a member of the Federal Trade Commission, where he rendered outstanding service. He is a graduate of Antioch College and of Yale Law School. He was an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia County and also had a wide and successful private practice.

I call the attention of Senators to the honor which has been awarded to him and to nine other fine young men who are making their mark in the country today, including our colleague from Indiana [Mr. BAYH].

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I desire to commend the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for calling the attention of the Senate to the honor that has been won by the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], who is now presiding over the Senate. I associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania. I am sure he speaks the sentiment of the entire membership of this body concerning one who has been so successful as to have won this award, and who is highly deserving of the consideration for the honor which has been shown him by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States. I join in congratulating the junior Senator from Indiana upon receiving this award.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join in the expressions made by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] in extending congratulations to the present occupant of the chair upon the high honor that has come his way. It is a distinct honor to be recognized by the Jaycees, as young men have been recognized over the years. I extend my congratulations to

the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] upon this award.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH in the chair). The Chair wishes to thank his colleagues for their remarks.

As Presiding Officer, the Chair is precluded from further expressing his gratitude.

EXTENSION OF CERTAIN VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION GUARANTEED OR INSURED HOME LOANS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 750, S. 385.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 385) to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

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

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the bill would extend the maximum maturity on Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans from 30 to 35 years on a newly constructed dwelling or the construction of a dwelling, when such maturities are agreed upon between private lenders and borrowers. There is no requirement that guaranteed or insured home loans have a maturity date of 35 years.

Enactment of this bill would make it possible for some veterans in lower income groups to qualify for GI home loans, who could not otherwise qualify. The difference in the amount of the monthly payment on an average loan in the amount of \$14,900, at 5 1/4 percent per annum for 30 years and for 35 years, is about \$4.70 per month. A reduction of this size would be a favorable factor in determining whether the veteran has the ability to meet the payments on the proposed loan, which in turn determines whether he obtains the housing he needs.

A tabulation submitted by the Veterans' Administration shows the estimated income distribution of veterans acquiring guaranteed home loans in 1962, on a prior approval basis. The tabulation shows that about one-third of such home loans guaranteed in 1962 were made to veterans having a monthly take-home income ranging from \$400 to \$499. Only about 3.5 percent were made to veterans having monthly take-home income of less than \$300. The average family income in America for those families where the head of the family had not gone beyond the eighth grade in school is \$3,300. This, I think, shows the real need for this bill.

The distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the outstanding Senate authority on housing, in testifying in favor of S. 385 before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, put the

matter in correct perspective when he said:

In 1961, the Congress adopted legislation which is designated to "phase out" the VA home mortgage programs for both veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict. Such phasing out would be accomplished by a formula written into the 1961 law, that is Public Law 87-84. Under the law July 25, 1967, was established as the last date upon which veterans of World War II could exercise their eligibility to obtain housing under the veteran housing programs, and January 31, 1975, as the last date for Korean conflict veterans. Under the formula some World War II veterans lost their entitlement on July 25, 1962, and since, almost on a daily basis, other World War II veterans are losing entitlement.

It has now been some 17 years since the cessation of hostilities in World War II and the major portion of veterans serving in that war have reached their lifetime economic strata. In many cases their financial positions are not sufficient to qualify them to obtain needed housing under a 30-year mortgage term and yet, many of them could qualify if the term of the mortgage were extended to 35 years. In many respects the same situation holds true for Korean conflict veterans. By extending the VA mortgage term to 35 years we would, in effect, be giving many worthy veterans a last chance to qualify for sorely needed housing before their eligibility terminates.

It is recognized that there will be an increase in total interest payable on a 35-year basis. For some veteran this might be a deterrent to making a 35-year loan. But, since this increase would be spread over a long period of time, others would consider the advantage of lower monthly payments to be the more important factor. In any event, the greater maturity is an optional matter for decision between the veteran and the lender inasmuch as there is no mandatory aspect about the extended maturity.

The Veterans' Administration, the Bureau of the Budget and the minority views of the two Senators in the report, all seem to stress the fact that FHA borrowers pay a one-half percent mortgage insurance premium, which makes the FHA average monthly payment about \$1 more than comparable 30-year GI loan monthly payments. Why should not a GI loan be more favorable? That was the idea when this program was started—to give our veterans who could not qualify under other housing programs a chance to have decent housing. This bill continues that original principle. The VA representative himself testified that the one-half percent mortgage insurance premium was not required of the veteran because it was felt that this should be one of the benefits he was entitled to.

The overall repayment record of veterans who have taken advantage of the housing benefits has been excellent. As of December 31, 1962, about 34 percent of the total home loans made or guaranteed by the VA had been paid in full.

Since 1944, when the program was started, approximately 6 million loans have been guaranteed or insured by the VA. Through July 1963, the VA had paid about 118,000 defaulted claims on that total number of loans, which amounts to approximately 1.9 percent. When you consider the total money lost

in default, the record is even more spectacular. Total money lost in defaults as compared to the total money outlay for the approximately 6 million loans amounting to about \$55.5 billion, is about two one-hundredths of 1 percent.

While there has been a slight upward trend in the past few years in the number of defaults on guaranteed or insured home loans, this has been due largely to a stabilized housing market and unfavorable economic conditions in certain areas of our country. According to VA testimony, 80 percent of these defaults and foreclosures on GI loans are concentrated in 16 VA regional office areas, which involve about 12 States. In many of those areas the economic condition generally has been improving.

Some veterans encountering financial difficulties in the early years of their loans have found it more difficult to sell their homes readily for an amount at least equal to the loan balance plus selling expenses. The question has been raised whether the making of 35-year loans might not aggravate this problem and tend to produce more defaults by veterans whose equity would accumulate more slowly because a greater portion of the monthly payment would go to interest. This is purely speculative. The committee could not find any concrete evidence that such a slight extension of the permissible maximum loan period as contemplated by this bill would have any such effect. Moreover, available evidence strongly suggests that the advantages are sufficient to offset such speculative adverse effects.

The VA reported that the need for this legislation was questionable, while the Bureau of the Budget gave an adverse report.

The National Association of Home Builders, the American Veterans' Committee, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars testified in favor of this bill.

The VA reported that enactment of this bill would not cause any immediate increase in costs to the Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am a cosponsor of the measure, S. 385, which is presently pending before the Senate. Under normal and usual circumstances bills pertaining to the VA direct loan program are under the jurisdiction of the Banking and Currency Committee, while bills pertaining to the VA guaranteed loan program are under the jurisdiction of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Early in the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the senior Senator from Texas and I discussed extending the term of the mortgage for both the VA guaranteed and direct home loan program from 30 to 35 years. We agreed at that time, since the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs had held hearings and reported a similar measure during the 2d session of the 87th Congress, to introduce one bill which would be referred to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee to accomplish this change. S. 385, the pending measure, is that bill.

Am I correct, Senator YARBOROUGH, that the pending measure would extend the mortgage term for both the VA guaranteed and direct home loan programs, insofar as they pertain to new construction, from 30 to 35 years?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The Senator is absolutely correct.

In the past, as the Senator has mentioned, there have generally been two bills. I have sponsored one from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which the Senator from Alabama was a cosponsor. He has been the most knowledgeable man that I know of in the field of housing and mortgage finance, and so forth, with respect to all of the various Federal programs sponsoring homeownership and better housing for America. The distinguished junior Senator from Alabama has sponsored VA direct home loan bills.

As the Senator has mentioned, that was because of jurisdictional convenience in the Senate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, the measure would have no application to the mortgage terms on existing housing upon which a VA guaranteed or direct home loan mortgage exists.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I should state that there was a split in jurisdiction; and as the Senator knows this comes about because of the Omnibus Housing Act of 1950, which contained, under my sponsorship, the direct home loan program for veterans. The 1950 Housing Act was under the Banking and Currency Committee and therefore we have retained jurisdiction of the direct loan program, since that time.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I commend the distinguished junior Senator from Alabama for what he has done for veterans housing over the years and for what he has done for all housing programs, and for his leadership in that field.

I also wish to commend him on the original GI bill of 1944, which calls to mind the fact that the second measure pending on the calendar is No. 319, Senate bill 5, the cold war GI bill. The distinguished Senator from Alabama also is a cosponsor of that bill, and has been one of its leaders. I am hopeful that in the not too distant future the Senate may consider Calendar No. 319, Senate bill 5, and also pass that badly needed legislation.

I honor the Senator from Alabama for being one of the sponsors of the original GI bill of 1944, under which 7,800,000 veterans of World War II, were able to obtain a measure of education. Some of them completed their education all the way from high school to obtaining their Ph. D.'s.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It was called the GI bill of rights. It was formally known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. In addition to housing, the Senator from Alabama has done so much not only for the veterans, but for the economy of the country.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I appreciate what the Senator has said.

Mr. President, this is the second time that legislation has been introduced which would affect the term of VA mortgages. During the 2d session of the 87th Congress a subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee considered and favorably reported a similar measure, that is S. 3024. Subsequently, that bill was passed by the Senate but no action was taken by the House of Representatives. I supported the provisions of S. 3024. Likewise, I support the pending measure and I hope that Members of the Senate will again give favorable consideration to this bill.

There are, I believe, two principal reasons why the VA home mortgage term for new construction should be extended.

The first is to do equity and justice for our worthy veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict, and the second is to give many of these veterans a so-to-speak, last chance to obtain safe, decent, and adequate housing under the GI bill of rights.

With respect to my first point, I am sure Members of the Senate know that the Housing Act of 1961, that is Public Law 87-70, contained a provision which extended the term of the FHA section 203 regular sales housing mortgage from 30 to 35 years. Section 203 of the National Housing Act is the program most used by individual families of this Nation to procure housing commensurate with their needs. This section is also the program in the FHA operation which is most analogous to the VA home mortgage programs.

In short, the bill now pending before the Senate would make the VA program parallel to the FHA program and, indeed, would equalize the individual veteran's position versus that of the non-veteran who can now obtain a 35-year FHA-insured mortgage. I believe, and

hope all Senators agree, that it is only reasonable and just that veterans are given a similar advantage when purchasing their homes as are nonveterans.

With respect to my second point, in 1961, the Congress adopted legislation which is designed to "phase out" the VA home mortgage programs for both veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict. Such "phasing out" would be accomplished by a formula written into the 1961 law, that is, Public Law 87-84. Under that law July 25, 1967, was established as the last date upon which veterans of World War II could exercise their eligibility to obtain housing under the veteran housing programs, and January 31, 1975, as the last date for Korean conflict veterans. Under the formula some World War II veterans lost their entitlement on July 25, 1962, and since, almost on a daily basis, other World War II veterans are losing entitlement.

It has now been some 17 years since the cessation of hostilities in World War II and the major portion of veterans serving in that war have reached their lifetime economic strata. In many cases their financial position is not sufficient to qualify them to obtain needed housing under a 30-year mortgage term and yet, many of them could qualify if the term of the mortgage were extended to 35 years. In many respects the same situation holds true for Korean conflict veterans. By extending the VA mortgage term to 35 years we would, in effect, be giving many worthy veterans a last chance to qualify for sorely needed housing before their eligibility terminates.

Under the circumstances described, I believe that the extension of the mortgage terms as is provided in S. 385 would be most beneficial and would serve as just one further way by which a grateful Nation can show its appreciation to its worthy veterans.

Before closing, I would like to add that the VA direct home loan program has been one of the most successful housing programs ever passed by the Congress and I am indeed proud to say that I sponsored the legislation establishing this program in 1950.

Since 1950 through September 1963, the VA has made a total of some 232,000 direct home loans aggregating in excess of \$2 billion. Out of the total loans made, the VA has foreclosed or otherwise terminated 3,497 loans or approximately 1.4 percent of the loans originated. In addition, after absorbing liquidation losses and various other costs, such as costs of foreclosure, approximately \$120 million in retained earnings or net profit has been realized by the Veterans' Administration.

Equally, the guaranteed loan program has been successful. Since inception of the program the VA has guaranteed in excess of \$56 billion of veteran mortgage indebtedness. Losses under the guaranteed program have amounted to some \$18½ million, or less than three one-hundredths of 1 percent.

Thus, if one takes both programs into account as a whole, and the net profits of the direct loan program are applied against the losses under the guaranteed program, which I understand the Veterans' Administration has done, there would still remain a net profit of better than \$100 million to the Federal Government from the operation of these programs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD several tables concerning the fiscal status of these two VA home loan programs. These will bear out my statement.

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

FISCAL STATUS OF VA GUARANTEED AND DIRECT LOAN PROGRAMS

DIRECT LOAN PROGRAM

Comparative statement of income and expenses and changes to net worth

| | Years cumulative through June 30, 1963 | July 1, 1963, through September 1963 | Cumulative | | Years cumulative through June 30, 1963 | July 1, 1963, through September 1963 | Cumulative |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Income: | | | | | | | |
| Interest income on mortgage loans and advances..... | \$349,546,875.55 | \$15,016,522.88 | \$364,563,398.43 | Expenses and losses—Continued | | | |
| Interest income on vendee accounts and advances..... | 1,995,663.67 | 210,408.65 | 2,206,072.32 | Expenses and losses, etc.—Con- | | | |
| Interest income on veterans liability accounts..... | 5,034.18 | 350.85 | 5,385.03 | Uninsured losses on ac- | | | |
| Rental income, property owned..... | 116,591.90 | 11,943.02 | 128,534.92 | quired property..... | \$304.20 | 0 | \$304.20 |
| Gross profits on sale of property..... | 430,823.17 | (142,968.22) | 296,854.95 | Writeoffs: | | | |
| Gross gain on sale of mortgages..... | 2,461.47 | 799.15 | 3,260.62 | Application fees..... | 268,879.15 | \$16,492.97 | 285,372.12 |
| Premium on vendee accounts sales and repurchases..... | 373.19 | 0 | 373.19 | Direct mortgage loans..... | 661,812.06 | 62,526.13 | 724,338.19 |
| Miscellaneous income..... | 6,386,573.16 | 224,233.40 | 6,610,806.56 | Veterans liability..... | 129,016.80 | 18,150.12 | 147,166.92 |
| Total income..... | 358,403,396.29 | 15,321,289.73 | 373,814,686.02 | Acquired properties..... | 966.04 | 1,817.98 | 2,784.02 |
| Expenses and losses: | | | | Vendee accounts..... | 4,827.87 | 1,362.76 | 6,190.62 |
| Interest on U.S. Treasury loan | 233,362,889.41 | 11,770,126.34 | 245,133,015.75 | Uncollectible receivables..... | 538,431.81 | 86,620.44 | 625,052.25 |
| Property expense, operation of property..... | 1,015,297.43 | 136,317.14 | 1,151,614.57 | Collection after writeoff..... | (22,199.48) | (1,764.04) | (23,963.52) |
| Sales expenses, loan program..... | 807,003.33 | 107,414.56 | 914,417.89 | Receivables adjustments—computer balances..... | 12,270.80 | (273.58) | 11,997.22 |
| General and special funds deposited..... | 28.46 | 0 | 28.46 | Total expenses and losses..... | 240,896,314.71 | 12,215,777.25 | 253,112,091.96 |
| Expenses and losses, general: | | | | Net worth: | | | |
| Loan closers' fees..... | 3,873,267.07 | 1,116.25 | 3,874,383.32 | Balance beginning of year..... | | 16,444,103.58 | |
| Liquidation expenses..... | 170,680.68 | 10,689.53 | 181,370.21 | Net income for current period..... | | 3,105,512.48 | |
| Miscellaneous expenses..... | 72,839.09 | 5,180.65 | 78,019.74 | Balance prior to transfers..... | 117,597,081.58 | | 120,702,594.06 |
| | | | | Less transfer to loan guarantee revolving fund..... | 101,152,978.00 | | 101,152,978.00 |
| | | | | Balance at end of period..... | 16,444,103.58 | 19,549,616.06 | 19,549,616.06 |

Source: Veterans' Administration.

LOAN GUARANTEE PROGRAM

Statement of accountability of funds disbursed and collections received cumulative through Sept. 30, 1963.

TOTAL FUNDS DISBURSED AND RECEIPTS RETURNED TO TREASURY AND DEPOSITED TO
LOAN GUARANTEE REVOLVING FUND

Total funds expended (exclusive of 4-percent gratuities):

| | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. For payment of claims..... | \$618,809,621.85 |
| 2. For acquisition of property (additional cost)..... | 573,445,521.20 |
| 3. For acquisition of loans, property management and sale, and all other expenditures..... | 171,626,143.04 |

Total funds expended:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Disbursements, deposit fund..... | 730,150,446.03 |
| Accrued expenditures, revolving fund..... | 633,730,840.06 |

Receipts from operations:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Deposits to general fund, Treasury..... | 208,815,350.01 |
| 2. Deposits to loan guarantee revolving fund..... | 489,283,524.89 |

Net expenditures to be accounted for.....

698,098,874.90

665,782,411.19

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR NET EXPENDITURES

Assets on hand:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Advances to VA employees for bidding at public sales..... | 54,644.74 |
| 2. Property owned: | |
| (a) Property owned in absolute title..... | \$216,020,833.58 |

(b) Property in process of acquisition.....

(c) Personal property owned.....

40,766,843.17

0

256,787,676.75

3. Loans receivable:

(a) Acquired loans.....

(b) Vendee accounts on property sold.....

(c) Mortgage loans in process of liquidation.....

4,618,815.62

354,338,922.91

116,840.29

359,074,578.82

4. Accounts receivable:

(a) Veterans liability accounts, gross.....

(b) Due from others, gross.....

\$49,435,473.30

1,070,610.14

50,506,083.44

Total accounts receivable, gross.....

50,506,083.44

¹ Represents balance of charges and repayments and receivables transferred to other stations which were not recorded by receiving stations at close of accounting period.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, with the enactment of the VA guaranteed and direct loan programs, the Congress placed a confidence in our Nation's veterans. Certainly this confidence has been proven over and again by the splendid record which has been achieved in these programs.

The bill being considered today would extend this confidence to many more veterans who thus far have not been able to exercise their eligibility to obtain a decent home under the GI bill of rights, simply because their economic position precludes them from doing so. I have confidence in these veterans and if they are given the chance I believe the record they make will be just as good as the record thus far achieved in the VA guaranteed and direct loan programs.

It is my sincere hope that the Senate will act favorably upon this bill.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, assuming the FHA 35-year limit at the present time, is that not an exceptionally long limit for the construction of a \$15,000 house? Would such a house have any life left at the end of 35 years? What about its electricity and plumbing? Would it not be more difficult to induce a veteran to live in such a house and carry such a loan, even assuming that the house may have a life of 35 years?

I have always supported the principle of FHA loans, but it seems to me that we would be hurting rather than helping the veteran by extending the time limit.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That has not been the experience with FHA loans. There has been no noticeable increase in losses because of the 35-year maximum allowable limit. In other words, we would not expect that a veteran would be less diligent than a nonveteran in paying his loan. There is nothing to suggest that veterans are less reliable than nonveterans. So I think the same guarantee should be extended to a veteran as is extended by the FHA to a nonveteran for an optional loan.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think for a long time there has been some fallacious reasoning with respect to the useful life of a house. Thirty-seven years ago, I built a house that then cost only about \$3,500; I do not know what it would cost today.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. But today it is worth more than \$3,500.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. Its condition today is practically the same as when I built it. So a house does not deteriorate as rapidly as some may think.

Next, this is to be the maximum life of the mortgage, rather than the usual length. However, the experience in the mortgage field—and I think this applies both to FHA mortgages, VA mortgages, and investment mortgages—is that a mortgage, regardless of how long it is taken out for, has, on the average, a life of about 11 years.

Let us assume that veteran A has, after making a certain number of payments on his house, an equity in it of \$3,000, \$4,000 or \$5,000—in other words, approximately one-third of the value of a \$15,000 house; and let us assume that he wants to sell it, because he must move to another locality. Will he not be handicapped, as compared to veteran B, who can buy a newly constructed house on this very long term mortgage, and can put very little money into the house?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. That has been the experience in this country since 1940, on the rising market we have now had for some quarter of a century. I have neighbors who found that the repairs cost more than the original cost of their house. Judging by the experience in this country, future construction costs and prices of new houses will be greater than those today, and so will the monthly payments on mortgages.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. This is a permissive bill, is it not?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Yes; it is permissive, only.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. What is the average length, today, of VA or FHA mortgages?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The maximum length is 30 years under the VA and 35 years under the FHA.

The distinguished Senator from Alabama has just said they pay out, on the average, in 11 years.

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR NET EXPENDITURES—continued

4. Accounts receivable—Continued

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| (c) Less reserve on liability accounts..... | \$20,188,885.81 |
| Less reserve on other accounts..... | 607,484.10 |

Total reserve..... \$20,796,369.91

Net veterans liability and other accounts receivable.....

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| (d) Accrued income and rent..... | \$29,709,713.53 |
| 1,525,556.39 | |

Total assets on hand..... 647,152,170.23

Estimated net loss..... 18,630,240.96

RESULTS OF LIQUIDATION OF ASSETS AND OPERATIONS, SEPT. 30, 1963

1. Income:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (a) Gross profit on sales: | |
| Selling price of property..... | \$952,935,472.00 |
| Book value of property..... | 896,393,075.64 |

56,542,396.36

16,298,891.95

(b) Rental and miscellaneous income.....

(c) Interest income:

(d) Premium on vendee accounts sales and repurchases.....

114,655,352.44

3,574,708.59

191,071,349.34

Total income.....

2. Expenses and losses:

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| (a) Property expense: | |
| Management expense..... | \$74,185,316.32 |
| Selling expense..... | 45,848,563.85 |

120,033,880.17

1,511,473.88

85,757,404.71

1,449,760.29

921,082.07

(b) General expense.....

(c) Provisions for reserves.....

(d) Acquired security and collateral.....

(e) Discounts, vendee accounts sales and repurchases.....

209,673,601.12

18,602,251.78

27,989.18

Net expenditures accounted for.....

Source: Veterans' Administration.

18,630,240.96

What the average maturity is, I do not know; I have not seen the figures.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think I am correct in saying it is between 23 and 25 years.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. So this a permissive bill; presumably it will not be greatly used?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would not say that it would be greatly used, but the basis for qualification for the loan is the amount the veteran can pay monthly toward liquidating the mortgage. For a 25-year mortgage, let us say, he might not have sufficient monthly income to be able to make the required payments. If the term were extended to 28 years, let us say, the veteran might be able to "get over the hump." In such cases a 35-year term would be used.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. But the point is that it will be permissive.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct; that is to be the maximum.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator. I ask these questions because it seems to me, from my own limited experience, that the repairs over a period of 35 years will be quite costly. I understood the Senator from Alabama to say that he has had his house 27 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The one I built is 37 years old. The one I live in is probably 100 years old, although I have not had it that long. I wonder how old the Senator's house is.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The one I lived in for a great many years is nearly 100 years old; the other one is nearly 200 years old. I know a good deal of money has been spent to keep them in good repair.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I built my house about 23 years ago. Last fall—for the first time since then—I had it reroofed, painted, papered, and sanded. It was not rebuilt; but those improvements cost more than the original construction cost.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator from Texas does not have to contend with the snow and ice storms that the Senator from Massachusetts and I do.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The contractor said, "A new house would be less expensive, and would have more room." But I was not interested in that.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I am sure the Senator from Texas is a good mechanic and keeps his house in good condition.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. My father still lives in the frame house I was born in some 60 years ago; it is in the eastern part of Texas. There is considerable rainfall there, and the house is built of pine timbers; but it is still in good condition, and probably will outlast my lifetime. So unless a house is burned, probably those built 25 years ago will outlast the newer ones.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I think so, too.

I raise these questions because it seems to me that foreclosures on the older houses would become more numerous than those on the newer ones, and thus we really would not be helping the veterans we want to help.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I am sure the Senator from Massachusetts realizes

that if this country ever encountered a depression similar to the one in the thirties, there would be foreclosures on mortgages of all kinds, private, FHA, and VA. However, I believe our social security program, pensions, and other programs would tend to prevent a depression. So I think it most unlikely that another depression of that severity would occur. Certainly I hope none will.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield further?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Perhaps one of the finest recovery programs in the depth of that depression was one which I know caused many persons to lift their eyebrows when they heard of it. That was the program under the Home Owners Loan Corporation. Under it, insurance companies, banks, and mortgage companies were able to collect the payments on their mortgages by means of Government underwriting.

I believe that the HOLC contributed more to the economic recovery of this country than any other single agency. A great deal of the present housing legislation is an outgrowth of that program; and in spite of all the risks taken, the Government ended with a profit from the HOLC.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Texas.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the communication of October 15, 1963, from the National Association of Home Builders endorsing this legislation, and also the communication of the American Veterans Committee also endorsing the legislation.

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

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
HOME BUILDERS,
NATIONAL HOUSING CENTER,
Washington, D.C., October 15, 1963.
Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: The National Association of Home Builders, representing over 40,000 members of the homebuilding industry in the 50 States and Puerto Rico, is vitally interested in your bill, S. 385. This legislation would extend the maximum maturity of certain VA guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

The NAHB board of directors has endorsed this proposal through convention approval (1961) of a resolution which stated that "the maximum permissible terms on VA mortgages should be the same as permitted under FHA." This policy was made part of our 1962 national policy statement, and remains effective to date.

We know that every effort will be made to have S. 385 enacted by the Congress, and if we can materially assist you in any manner, please let us know.

Sincerely,

W. EVANS BUCHANAN, President.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN
VETERANS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the American Veterans Committee (AVC) is pleased to submit its views for the record, on S. 1959, S. 2064, S. 385, and H.R. 5691.

The motto of AVC is "citizens first, veterans second," and the position of AVC throughout its history has been to distinguish between those disabled or killed in service on one hand, and those who have returned from service enriched in experience. AVC has favored adequate benefits for the former, but advocates readjustment assistance only for the latter.

Measured by this yardstick, the views of AVC on each of the legislative proposals now before the committee are as follows:

S. 1959, to amend 38 United States Code 1701(a)(1), to add 38 United States Code 1701(a)(10), to amend 38 United States Code 1701(d), 38 United States Code 1712(a)(3) and 38 United States Code 1762(a) to extend educational assistance to children of veterans who are totally disabled due to service-connected disability, in addition to those who have died due to the same causes.

AVC takes no position on this bill.

S. 2064, to amend 38 United States Code 1823(b) relative to interest payments on funds transferred between certain accounts.

AVC approves of this bill; the transfer of funds involved is essentially a bookkeeping transaction, and payment of interest thereon is essentially meaningless.

S. 385 to amend 38 United States Code 1803(d)(1) to extend the maximum period of Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured loans.

AVC approves of this bill. The period to which this bill would extend the authority of the Administrator to guarantee or insure loans is the same as that provided under other legislation for the FHA. Bringing VA authority into line with that of the FHA is desirable.

H.R. 5691 to amend 38 United States Code 4110 to permit the delegation of certain disciplinary powers over VA medical, dental, and nursing personnel to the Chief Medical Director.

AVC approves of this bill. The amendment will initially put disciplinary matters into the hands of the Chief Medical Director, a member of one of the same professions as those involved in the disciplinary proceedings. The rights of those subjected to the discipline are preserved by permitting a further appeal to the Administrator.

AVC appreciates the opportunity to present its views. Thank you.

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Comptroller General has just issued another report calling attention to a situation wherein the Government has again incurred unnecessary costs, estimated at \$18,700,000.

Today's example is another typical daily report of gross mismanagement. In this instance the Air Force bought spare parts costing about \$50 million under contracts for related equipment when at the same time the identical parts could have been procured under separate spare parts contracts for about \$32 million. In many instances the Government was simultaneously buying certain parts under two different contracts and under one of them the cost was many times in excess of the other.

I would cite the following examples as outlined in the Comptroller General's report:

The first example shows how on October 26, 1961, the Middletown air materiel area purchased a certain item for \$330.03 each; however, in another

area they were buying the same item under another contract for \$206.31.

In the second instance the Ogden air materiel area ordered 56 mounts as initial spares under an equipment contract. They paid \$78.53 each. Shortly before placing this order, the Mobile air materiel area bought 30 of the same units for \$26.68. In this instance the contracts were awarded just 3 days apart.

In the third instance, on February 8, 1961, Mobile ordered 15 receiver-transmitters at a unit price of \$7,622 each. The record shows that about a month prior to the Mobile order the Aeronautical Systems Division of the Air Force System Command bought 314 of the identical units at a price of \$3,250 each.

In the fourth example Warner Robins air materiel area ordered 398 potentiometers as initial spares under an equipment contract. These potentiometers were priced at \$487.08 each. Just 2 months prior to placing the order the Dayton Depot had purchased 250 potentiometers direct from the manufacturer at \$240 each. Subsequently they bought 260 additional potentiometers at a unit cost of only \$217. In this instance under one contract they were paying far more at one base than they were at another.

In the fifth example the Government ordered 2,220 electron tubes, type 5687WA, under an equipment contract at a price of \$25.53 each. Again, the record shows that about a month prior to placing this order the Government at the Dayton Depot was buying 21,000 identical tubes at a unit price of only \$1.49 each.

The sixth example points out that on January 19, 1961, the Government at the Ogden base ordered 700 electron tubes, type 5702WA. These tubes were priced at \$58.32 each. At the time of the Ogden order a parts contract was in effect under which the Dayton Depot in February 1961, 1 month later, ordered 7,400 of such tubes at a unit price of \$3.95.

In the seventh example, from January 1956 to May 1961, Mobile air materiel area ordered a total of 135 support assemblies under six different equipment contracts with the same contractor. Prices paid ranged from \$527 to \$626 each. At the same time the identical equipment was being procured at unit prices of only \$260 each.

In the eighth example, between May 1957 and July 1960, 4 depots ordered 1,760 relays on 8 equipment contracts from 5 different contractors. Unit prices for these 1,760 relays ranged from \$10.88 to \$22.79. At the Daytona Depot in 1961 under a different contract they purchased 60 units of the identical item at a unit price of only \$8.60.

The Government has a program under which they give an efficiency award known as the "E" Award to those companies who in the course of furnishing material render outstanding services, both from the standpoint of price and from the standpoint of delivery.

I am suggesting that in order to promote a greater degree of efficiency in our procurement division, the Government start a "D" Award—the Dunce

Award—to be given to those procurement officers who so recklessly squander the taxpayers' money as in such examples as outlined in this report.

At this point I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD that part of the Comptroller General's report in which he outlined the specific examples referred to above.

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

ERCTION MECHANISM (FSN 1280-323-0658)

On October 26, 1960, Middletown Air Materiel Area, which was responsible for management of the end items of equipment and therefore responsible for issuing orders for initial spares to support the items, ordered 1,020 units of this mechanism, as initial spares, under an equipment contract. The mechanisms were priced at \$330.03 each, a total price of \$336,631 for the 1,020 units. However, Warner Robins Air Materiel Area, which had management responsibility for the mechanism itself, had several times previously obtained the item under replenishment procurements. For example, 8 months earlier, in February 1961, Warner Robins had procured 630 mechanisms, at a unit price of \$206.31, direct from the manufacturer who supplied the above quantity to the equipment contractor for delivery to the Air Force. Had the 1,020 units ordered by Middletown been bought direct from a manufacturer at the \$206.31 price, their total price would have been reduced by \$126,194. Warner Robins could offer no reasonable explanation for not having deleted the item during its screening of the Middletown order prior to its issue.

MOUNT (FSN 5340-647-0194)

On October 31, 1960, Ogden Air Materiel Area ordered 56 mounts as initial spares under an equipment contract. The mounts were priced at \$78.53 each, a total price of \$4,398 for the 56 mounts. About 2 months prior to the placing of the order, Mobile Air Materiel Area, which had management responsibility for the mount itself, initiated a replenishment procurement for 30 units. The contract, citing a unit price of \$26.68, was awarded 3 days after the Ogden order. Had the 56 mounts bought as initial spares been included in the Mobile contract, their total price would have been reduced by \$2,904. Mobile could offer no reasonable explanation for not having deleted the item during its screening of the Ogden order.

RECEIVER-TRANSMITTER (FSN 5895-539-7179A)

On February 8, 1961, Mobile ordered 15 receiver-transmitters as initial spares under an equipment contract. The receiver-transmitters were priced at \$7,622 each, a total price of \$114,330 for the 15 receiver-transmitters. About a month prior to the Mobile order, the Aeronautical Systems Division (ASD) of the Air Force Systems Command procured 314 units of this item at a unit price of \$3,250. The 15 units ordered by Mobile were procured by the equipment contractor from the same manufacturer who furnished the 314 units to ASD. Had the 15 units been included in the ASD contract, they could have been purchased for \$65,580 less. We understand that Dayton Air Force Depot, which had management responsibility for the receiver-transmitter, was not given an opportunity to screen the equipment contractor's list of recommended spares prior to Mobile's issuance of the order. When Dayton Depot learned of the order, it contacted Mobile and attempted to terminate the order. However, the depot learned that all units had been shipped.

POTENTIOMETER (FSN 5905-681-4790)

On August 29, 1960, Warner Robins ordered 398 potentiometers as initial spares under an

equipment contract. The potentiometers were priced at \$487.08 each, a total price of \$193,858 for the 398 potentiometers. The equipment contractor purchased this item from another source. About 2 months prior to the order, Dayton Depot purchased 250 potentiometers direct from a manufacturer under a parts contract at a unit price of \$240 and, subsequent to the Warner Robins order, purchased 260 additional potentiometers at a unit price of \$217. Had the 398 potentiometers been purchased under a parts contract at the \$217 price, their total price would have been reduced by \$107,492.

ELECTRON TUBE, TYPE 5687WA (FSN 5960-577-3078)

On August 29, 1960, Warner Robins ordered 2,220 electron tubes, type 5687WA, under an equipment contract. The tubes were priced at \$25.53 each, a total price of \$56,677 for the 2,220 tubes. The equipment contractor procured the tubes from another source. About a month prior to the placing of the Warner Robins order, Dayton Depot, which had management responsibility for the tube, ordered about 21,000 tubes from a manufacturer under an existing parts contract at a unit price of \$1.49. Procurement of the 2,220 tubes at the \$1.49 price would have reduced their cost by about \$53,000.

ELECTRON TUBE, TYPE 5702WA (FSN 5960-262-0195)

On January 19, 1961, Ogden ordered 700 electron tubes, type 5702WA, under an equipment contract. The tubes were priced at \$58.32 each, a total price of \$40,824 for the 700 tubes. Although this type of tube was already in the system, the 700 tubes were procured from the equipment contractor on the assumption that the contractor's test and inspection were necessary to assure reliable performance of the related equipment. At our request an engineering evaluation of the testing and inspection specifications prescribed by the equipment contractor was made by technicians at Dayton Depot. It was their opinion that the tests and inspections prescribed by the contractor were no more demanding or restrictive than those contained in military specifications which are imposed on manufacturers furnishing the basic tube direct to the Air Force. On the basis of this opinion, depot officials decided that it was not necessary to procure the tubes from the equipment manufacturer. At the time of the Ogden order, a parts contract was in effect under which Dayton Depot in February 1961 ordered 7,400 of such tubes at a unit price of \$3.95. Procurement of the 700 tubes at the \$3.95 price would have reduced their cost by about \$38,000.

In addition, we identified 118 other orders for 115,617 tubes, involving 38 basic tube types, that were, also unnecessarily, bought from equipment contractors for the same reasons. These orders were priced at \$731,800. We found that the basic tube types had been purchased on parts contracts before and after the orders in question. Had the tubes priced at \$731,800 been procured under the parts contracts, their cost would have been reduced by about \$480,000. In each of these instances it was subsequently determined by Dayton Depot technicians that the tests and inspections prescribed by the equipment contractors were unnecessary.

PARTS PROCURED REPETITIVELY UNDER EQUIPMENT CONTRACTS COULD HAVE BEEN PROCURED UNDER PARTS CONTRACTS AT A SAVINGS OF ABOUT \$12,300,000

Orders issued under 132 equipment contracts selected by us for review included about 6,200 types of parts, at a total cost of about \$33,400,000, which were identical to parts procured under one or more earlier equipment contracts. Over 60 percent of these parts were procured under three or more equipment contracts. We believe that,

once an item is introduced into the supply system, additional requirements should be met through procurement under parts contracts. If the procurement of these parts on equipment contracts increased their cost to the same extent that the cost of the parts discussed on page 7 was increased, a savings of about 37 percent, or \$12,300,000, would have resulted from their procurement under parts contracts.

The following examples illustrate the repetitive ordering of parts as initial spares under equipment contracts. Additional examples are summarized in exhibit B.

SUPPORT ASSEMBLY (FSN 1730-623-6578)

From January 1956 to May 1961, Mobile Air Materiel Area ordered a total of 135 support assemblies under 6 different equipment contracts with the same contractor. Orders for these 135 assemblies were incorporated into the equipment contracts at unit prices ranging from \$527 to \$626, a total price of \$77,029 for the 135 assemblies. The assembly was not purchased under a parts contract until August 1961. At that time eight assemblies were procured at a unit price of only \$260.

RELAY (FSN 5945-556-4405)

From May 1957 to July 1960, 4 different depots ordered 1,760 relays on 8 equipment contracts from 5 different prime equipment contractors. Unit prices for the 1,760 relays ranged from \$10.88 to \$22.79, and the total price of the relays was \$21,370. Dayton Depot, which had management responsibility for the relay, did not purchase the item under a parts contract until May 1961. At that time 60 units were purchased at a unit price of only \$8.60.

LIGHT ASSEMBLY (FSN 6220-557-3011A)

From March 1958 to July 1961, Warner Robins and Mobile ordered 777 light assemblies on 7 equipment contracts from 2 contractors. Unit prices under these 7 contracts ranged from \$16 to \$21, a total price of about \$15,000 for the 777 assemblies. San Antonio, which had management responsibility for the assembly, had at the time of our review never procured the item under a parts contract, even though the item is manufactured by a source other than the two contractors from which it was obtained.

EXTENSION OF GI GUARANTEED OR INSURED HOME LOANS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 385) to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McINTYRE in the chair). The bill is open to amendment.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I withdraw my request, since the minority leader is now present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, we are presented with what I believe is a very intriguing situation in relation to the bill. The bill would extend the maturity period on veterans' mortgages up to a period of 35 years. I am quite sensible of the fact that the mortgage would not necessarily have to be a 35-year mortgage, but at least such a term would be permissible. The action is proposed largely, I believe, on the ground that it would bring the maturity period pretty well in line with the 25-year period of maturity that pertains so far as FHA mortgages are concerned.

However, there is a difference, and that is in the insurance premium.

But I should like to state an essential fact. The Administrator of the Veterans' Administration has said very specifically:

Because of the foregoing considerations, we believe that the need for the enactment of S. 385 at this time is questionable.

We are dealing with mortgages on new construction for veterans. An administrator of the Government who is charged with veterans' affairs, including VA loans, has uttered formally to the committee his doubts that the action ought to be taken. He has said that at this time it "is questionable."

He has pointed out, among other things, that on the basis of 35-year loans, the interest that the veteran would pay over that time on a structure costing originally \$14,900 would be \$2,967.89 more than for a 30-year loan. That is quite an item, and no one appreciates it better than I, because at a very young age I was a member of a building and loan board in my hometown. I still serve on such a board in one of the largest institutions in the United States; namely, the First Federal Savings & Loan Association in Chicago. I have been living with building and loan and home building activities for almost a lifetime. I try to see the problems realistically.

But that is not all. From the Executive Office of the President; namely, the Bureau of the Budget, over the signature of Mr. Hughes, the Assistant Director for Legislative Reference, comes their letter to the chairman of the committee. The Budget Bureau has said:

In light of the observations above, we would not favor enactment of S. 385.

Two responsible agencies of Government that must deal with the subject have made statements. One expresses its opposition and the other expresses its doubts about the advisability of the kind of action proposed.

It should be pointed out that between the FHA and the Veterans' Administration the Federal Government today owns the fee in many thousands of properties.

The table that is printed in the committee report indicates a total of 24,000 absolute titles, so far as the Veterans' Administration is concerned. The latest figure that I saw in the Federal Housing Administration may conceivably be twice that number. So now we are about to undertake the task and the responsibility of setting up a maintenance division in both the FHA and in the Veterans' Administration also for the purpose of renting those units, if it can be done; and we are going in for repairs and all that depreciating property requires in order to preserve the value and the investment that the Federal Government has in it.

The Budget Bureau has also expressed some doubt that adding to the length of time for the maturity would improve the ownership or the foreclosure situation. I quite agree. Under those circumstances, I do not wish to see the bill rushed through. We forget that when the Government acts in the manner proposed, its action has an impact upon

maturities in all the private institutions in the country. If we give the proposal enough of a shove, those institutions will have to come along. I do not know quite how we shall be able to measure the damage we would do to the entire home financing structure outside of Government as well as in it.

The Republican members on the committee have signed minority views. So in addition to the minority views, we have a record of the Veterans' Administration questioning the advisability of the action. We have the President's Budget Bureau in opposition to it. In the face of those statements, I believe it is about time for the Senate to go on record; so I shall suggest the absence of a quorum for the purpose of asking for a yeo-and-nay vote on the bill.

Mr. President, first, I ask to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter which the Veterans' Administrator addressed to the chairman of the committee on the 7th of October 1963. In addition, following that letter, I ask unanimous consent to have printed the letter from the Budget Bureau dated August 22, 1963.

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

**VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1963.**

**Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.**

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The following comments are submitted in response to your request for a report by the Veterans' Administration on S. 385, 88th Congress.

The purpose of the bill is to extend the maximum maturity of VA guaranteed or insured home loans from 30 to 35 years in those cases where the loan is for the purchase of a newly constructed dwelling or for construction of a dwelling.

While the stated purpose of the bill is to extend the maximum maturity of certain guaranteed or insured home loans, the effect of the bill would be that the maximum maturity of direct loans would also be extended in the case of new construction.

We are aware that there is some precedent for extending the maximum maturity of home loans to 35 years since the Congress in the Housing Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-70) provided that FHA-insured loans made under section 203 could have a maximum maturity of 35 years where the mortgage is approved for insurance prior to construction. The 30-year maximum continues to apply to FHA-insured mortgages covering existing housing.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act originally specified a limit of 20 years on home loans. By amendments of 1945 and 1950 this was extended to 25 and 30 years, respectively.

When consideration was being given to extending the term of home loans in 1945 and 1950 there was necessarily involved the question as to the soundness of loans to be made at the increased maturity. There were also involved questions as to the additional interest costs to the veteran-borrower, the reduction in the supply of mortgage funds caused by the slower recapture of principal, and the likely additional cost to the Government. We do, of course, consider that the maximum maturity of a home loan should not be in excess of the economic life of the property being acquired. We have provided by regulation that every guaranteed or insured loan must be repayable within the

estimated economic life of the property being acquired and our appraisal process is designed to give assurance that this is observed.

Overall, the repayment record of veterans has been excellent. The number of claims paid in relation to the total home loans guaranteed is approximately 1.9 percent. There is no question that more veterans have been able to buy homes with GI financing because of the longer possible terms. Whether the repayment record would have been more favorable had loans been limited to a shorter maximum term is debatable.

There has been an increase in the defaults and foreclosures on VA guaranteed home loans in the last few years. One reason for the increase is that the housing market has become relatively stabilized in recent years. Earlier there had been a rising housing market and a veteran in financial difficulties in the early years in the life of the loan was able to sell his home readily for an amount at least equal to the loan balance plus selling expenses. This has become more difficult in the last few years. If there is a continuation of a relatively stable real estate market, the making of 35-year loans would aggravate this problem since the veteran's equity would accumulate at a slower rate than on a 30-year basis because of the greater portion of his monthly payment which is allocable to interest.

To the extent that lenders are willing to make 35-year loans some veterans would be able to qualify from a credit standpoint who could not otherwise qualify. As an example of the effect on monthly payments, the difference in the amount of the monthly payment on a loan of \$14,900 at 5 1/4 percent per annum for 30 years and for 35 years is \$4.70 per month. While this difference may seem rather inconsequential, a reduction of this size would be a favorable factor in determining whether the veteran has the ability to meet the payments on the proposed loan.

In contrast to the advantages of decreased monthly payments resultant from a 35-year maturity, there must be considered the sizable difference in total interest payable over the life of a 35- and a 30-year loan. The total interest payable over the entire life of a loan for \$14,900 at 5 1/4 percent for 30 years is \$14,720.21, while the total interest payable on a like loan for 35 years is \$17,688.10—a difference of \$2,967.89. It could well be argued that the sizable increase in total interest payable on a 35-year basis outweighs the advantage of the small decrease in monthly payments.

It is possible that extension of the maximum maturity to 35 years would enable lower income groups to obtain more GI loans to acquire homes than they have in the past. Our records indicate that only about 3.5 percent of all guaranteed home loans made in 1962 were made to veterans having monthly take-home incomes of less than \$300. Over one-third of all home loans guaranteed in 1962 were made to veterans having monthly take-home incomes ranging from \$400 to \$499.

It should be noted that under the FHA program a borrower has to pay a one-half percent mortgage insurance premium. Thus, on an FHA loan of \$14,900 having an interest rate of 5 1/4 percent, plus the FHA insurance premium of one-half percent, the monthly payment on a 35-year loan would be \$83.81 per month. Since the FHA mortgage insurance premium is based on the outstanding principal balance, the amount of the borrower's monthly payment would be reduced slightly each year. On a GI 30-year loan for the same amount and made at the 5 1/4 percent interest rate, the monthly payment would be \$82.40. Consequently, at an interest rate of 5 1/4 percent per annum, a veteran obtaining a 30-year GI loan for a given amount pays slightly less per month

than his counterpart obtaining a 35-year FHA loan for the same amount.

If S. 385 were enacted there would be no immediate increase in costs. We have no way of forecasting the possible increase in costs in future years since we have no way of forecasting how many 35-year loans would be made.

Because of the foregoing consideration, we believe that the need for enactment of S. 385 at this time is questionable.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to your committee and that the Bureau recommends against enactment of the bill.

Sincerely,

J. H. GLEASON, Jr.,
Administrator.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
WASHINGTON, D.C., August 22, 1963.

Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge your letter of January 23, 1963, requesting the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 385, a bill to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

The proposed legislation would, in effect, permit VA home loans to be made which would carry lower monthly payments than under current terms. Thus the proposal might, in certain cases, permit loans to veterans who might otherwise not qualify because of the amount of monthly payment required.

In our report of March 28, 1962, to your committee on a similar measure, S. 3024, 87th Congress, the Bureau of the Budget stated that it questioned the need for such legislation at that time. Events of the past 17 months have not altered our concern as to the desirability of the measure.

First, there is doubt whether the veterans' loan program needs this stimulation. The conditions under which loans may be made or guaranteed under the veterans programs are already so favorable that a veteran with a VA 30-year loan may make smaller monthly payments than he would under an FHA 35-year loan. For the most part, the opportunities of the remaining eligible veterans, so many years past their discharges, are not significantly different from other home buyers so as to warrant further liberalization of terms than are now available through VA or FHA. The number of veterans eligible for VA guaranteed loans is gradually declining in accordance with the statutory formula governing entitlement. By 1967 the program will no longer be available to World War II veterans; by 1975 it will be entirely terminated except for special cases, and even now the majority of veterans are already past entitlement and would not be reached under the proposed liberalization.

Secondly, while we recognize that the FHA maturity period was extended to 35 years in 1961, we are concerned that a similar extension of the maturity period on VA loans carries greater potential risk. While FHA-insured loans require that the borrower pay one-half percent mortgage insurance premium to cover the risk of default, losses under the loan guarantee program are not so insured. Extension of the maturity period would slow the rate of equity accumulation, adversely affecting the veteran who might have a loan balance larger than he could recover if he had to liquidate his loan in its early years. While a stable real estate market, the veteran would have to hold his property for longer than he would under a 30-year loan in order to recover enough

equity to cover the expenses of sale; where this is not possible he would suffer a greater loss or he would have to allow foreclosure to proceed with its resulting adverse effect on the individual as well as its costs to the Government. This problem has become increasingly significant because of the higher foreclosure rates experienced in recent years with longer term loans.

Finally, experience has shown that such benefits, originally intended to assist those who could not otherwise qualify, are soon used by all eligible applicants. In the most recent years, for example, only one-third of the veteran borrowers had monthly incomes of \$400 or less after taxes, yet 96 percent of the borrowers took out the maximum 30-year loans and according to an FHA study, the foreclosure rate on 30-year loans is several times greater than those on 25-year loans. We believe that were the legislation enacted, new VA loan characteristics would become increasingly longer term and higher risk.

In light of the observations above, we would not favor enactment of S. 385.

Sincerely yours,

PHILLIP S. HUGHES,
Assistant Director
for Legislative Reference.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I point out that the report to which the distinguished Senator from Illinois has referred is the report of the full committee; the minority views are those of only two of the Republican members of the committee. A majority of the Republican members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare did not sign the minority views. There was support in the committee by members of the minority party for the proposed legislation. It was not a strict party-line vote in the committee.

I should like also to point out that in the testimony on the bill, at page 10, Mr. Dervan, who is Acting Administrator of the Veterans' Administration in the absence of Mr. Gleason, and Director of the Loan Guarantee Service, testified that under the veterans' loans there had been a loss to the Government in the amount of \$13,200,000. In the direct veterans' loan program the Government had made a profit of \$117 million, leaving the Government a net profit of \$104 million on its veterans' loan program during the period that the program has been in effect.

That is due to the fact that the Veterans' Administration charges more than 5 percent, and the Government borrowing rate is 4 percent. The testimony shows that the Government has made a net profit of more than \$100 million on veterans' loans during the existence of the program.

Also, as shown on page 11, Mr. Dervan testified that the record shows that 98 percent of the veterans have repaid or are repaying their obligations in accordance with their contracts. That means that not many are in default.

One sentence in the letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs states that there will be no increased cost to the Veterans' Administration because of the administration of this law.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be suspended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, with respect to the bill that is pending before the Senate, it appears that the two interested agencies of Government which are most intimately connected with this program feel that the bill should not be passed. The arguments that are set forth are in the two letters written to the chairman of the committee. These letters were written respectively by Phillip S. Hughes, Assistant Director for Legislative Reference of the Executive Office of the President, and by the Veterans' Administration.

In these letters it is pointed out that the extension from 30 to 35 years of the tenure on which payments are to be made on a mortgage is not sound economically. It is indicated in these letters that no good reason has been shown why the period of payment should be raised to 35 years.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point the two letters, one from the Veterans' Administration and one from the Bureau of the Budget.

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

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1963.

Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The following comments are submitted in response to your request for a report by the Veterans' Administration on S. 385, 88th Congress.

The purpose of the bill is to extend the maximum maturity of VA guaranteed or insured home loans from 30 to 35 years in those cases where the loan is for the purchase of a newly constructed dwelling or for construction of a dwelling.

While the stated purpose of the bill is to extend the maximum maturity of certain guaranteed or insured home loans, the effect of the bill would be that the maximum maturity of direct loans would also be extended in the case of new construction.

We are aware that there is some precedent for extending the maximum maturity of home loans to 35 years since the Congress in the Housing Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-70) provided that FHA-insured loans made under section 203 could have a maximum maturity of 35 years where the mortgage is approved for insurance prior to construction. The 30-year maximum continues to apply to FHA-insured mortgages covering existing housing.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act originally specified a limit of 20 years on home loans. By amendments of 1945 and 1950 this was extended to 25 and 30 years, respectively.

When consideration was being given to extending the term of home loans in 1945 and 1950 there was necessarily involved the question as to the soundness of loans to be made at the increased maturity. There were also involved questions as to the additional interest costs to the veteran-borrower, the reduction in the supply of mortgage funds caused by the slower recapture of principal, and the likely additional cost to the Government. We do, of course, consider that the maximum maturity of a home loan should not be in excess of the economic

life of the property being acquired. We have provided by regulation that every guaranteed or insured loan must be repayable within the estimated economic life of the property being acquired and our appraisal process is designed to give assurance that this is observed.

Overall, the repayment record of veterans has been excellent. The number of claims paid in relation to the total home loans guaranteed is approximately 1.9 percent. There is no question that more veterans have been able to buy homes with GI financing because of the longer possible terms. Whether the repayment record would have been more favorable had loans been limited to a shorter maximum term is debatable.

There has been an increase in the defaults and foreclosures on VA-guaranteed home loans in the last few years. One reason for the increase is that the housing market has become relatively stabilized in recent years. Earlier there had been a rising housing market and a veteran in financial difficulties in the early years in the life of the loan was able to sell his home readily for an amount at least equal to the loan balance plus selling expenses. This has become more difficult in the last few years. If there is a continuation of a relatively stable real estate market, the making of 35-year loans would aggravate this problem since the veteran's equity would accumulate at a slower rate than on a 30-year basis because of the greater portion of his monthly payment which is allocable to interest.

To the extent that lenders are willing to make 35-year loans some veterans would be able to qualify from a credit standpoint who could not otherwise qualify. As an example of the effect on monthly payments, the difference in the amount of the monthly payment on a loan of \$14,900 at 5 1/4 percent per annum for 30 years and for 35 years is \$4.70 per month. While this difference may seem rather inconsequential, a reduction of this size would be a favorable factor in determining whether the veteran has the ability to meet the payments on the proposed loan.

In contrast to the advantages of decreased monthly payments resultant from a 35-year maturity, there must be considered the sizable difference in total interest payable over the life of a 35- and a 30-year loan. The total interest payable over the entire life of a loan for \$14,900 at 5 1/4 percent for 30 years is \$14,720.21, while the total interest payable on a like loan for 35 years is \$17,688.10—a difference of \$2,967.89. It could well be argued that the sizable increase in total interest payable on a 35-year basis outweighs the advantage of the small decrease in monthly payments.

It is possible that extension of the maximum maturity to 35 years would enable lower income groups to obtain more GI loans to acquire homes than they have in the past. Our records indicate that only about 3.5 percent of all guaranteed home loans made in 1962 were made to veterans having monthly take-home incomes of less than \$300. Over one-third of all home loans guaranteed in 1962 were made to veterans having monthly take-home incomes ranging from \$400 to \$499.

It should be noted that under the FHA program a borrower has to pay a one-half percent mortgage insurance premium. Thus, on an FHA loan of \$14,900 having an interest rate of 5 1/4 percent, plus the FHA insurance premium of one-half of 1 percent, the monthly payment on a 35-year loan would be \$83.81 per month. Since the FHA mortgage insurance premium is based on the outstanding principal balance, the amount of the borrower's monthly payment would be reduced slightly each year. On a GI 30-year loan for the same amount and made at the 5 1/4 percent interest rate, the monthly payment would be \$82.40. Consequently, at an inter-

est rate of 5 1/4 percent per annum, a veteran obtaining a 30-year GI loan for a given amount pays slightly less per month than his counterpart obtaining a 35-year FHA loan for the same amount.

If S. 385 were enacted there would be no immediate increase in costs. We have no way of forecasting the possible increase in costs in future years since we have no way of forecasting how many 35-year loans would be made.

Because of the foregoing considerations, we believe that the need for enactment of S. 385 at this time is questionable.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the submission of this report to your committee and that the Bureau recommends against enactment of the bill.

Sincerely,

J. H. GLEASON, JR.,
Administrator.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., August 22, 1963.

Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge your letter of January 23, 1963, requesting the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 385, a bill to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

The proposed legislation would, in effect, permit VA home loans to be made which would carry lower monthly payments than under current terms. Thus the proposal might, in certain cases, permit loans to veterans who might otherwise not qualify because of the amount of monthly payment required.

In our report of March 28, 1962, to your committee on a similar measure, S. 3024, 87th Congress, the Bureau of the Budget stated that it questioned the need for such legislation at that time. Events of the past 17 months have not altered our concern as to the desirability of the measure.

First, there is doubt whether the veterans' loan program needs this stimulation. The conditions under which loans may be made or guaranteed under the veterans' programs are already so favorable that a veteran with a VA 30-year loan may make smaller monthly payments than he would under an FHA 35-year loan. For the most part, the opportunities of the remaining eligible veterans, so many years past their discharges, are not significantly different from other home buyers so as to warrant further liberalization of terms than are now available through VA or FHA. The number of veterans eligible for VA guaranteed loans is gradually declining in accordance with the statutory formula governing entitlement. By 1967 the program will no longer be available to World War II veterans; by 1975 it will be entirely terminated except for special cases, and even now the majority of veterans are already past entitlement and would not be reached under the proposed liberalization.

Secondly, while we recognize that the FHA maturity period was extended to 35 years in 1961, we are concerned that a similar extension of the maturity period on VA loans carries greater potential risk. While FHA-insured loans require that the borrower pay one-half of 1 percent mortgage insurance premium to cover the risk of default, losses under the loan guarantee program are not so insured. Extension of the maturity period would slow the rate of equity accumulation, adversely affecting the veteran who might have a loan balance larger than he could recover if he had to liquidate his loan in its early years. While a stable real estate market, the veteran would have to hold his

property for longer than he would under a 30-year loan in order to recover enough equity to cover the expenses of sale; where this is not possible he would suffer a greater loss or he would have to allow foreclosure to proceed with its resulting adverse effect on the individual as well as its costs to the Government. This problem has become increasingly significant because of the higher foreclosure rates experienced in recent years with longer term loans.

Finally, experience has shown that such benefits, originally intended to assist those who could not otherwise qualify, are soon used by all eligible applicants. In the most recent years, for example, only one-third of the veteran borrowers had monthly incomes of \$400 or less after taxes, yet 96 percent of the borrowers took out the maximum 30-year loans and according to an FHA study, the foreclosure rate on 30-year loans is several times greater than those on 25-year loans. We believe that were the legislation enacted, new VA loan characteristics would become increasingly longer term and higher risk.

In light of the observations above, we would not favor enactment of S. 385.

Sincerely yours,

PHILLIPS HUGHES,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, emphasis is given to the fact that, when the period of payment is increased from 30 to 35 years, a situation is created in which the borrower seldom develops an adequate equity in the property to induce him to become concerned about it. What we should try to do is create a situation in which the borrower develops an equity inducing him to husband the property, instead of merely living in it and frequently determining, after its use has been made, that the property will be given up.

In one of these letters is contained the statement that when the basic law was passed, the period of payment was 20 years. I read from the letter that came from the Veterans' Administration:

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act originally specified a limit of 20 years on home loans. By amendments of 1945 and 1950 this was extended to 25 and 30 years, respectively.

I think the question, "When should the extension of the period of payment be stopped?" is justified. If the period is extended to 35 years now, what will happen 2 years from now, when there is another election? Is the period of payment then to be extended to 40 years?

I think the Senate cannot disregard the advice given by the Veterans' Administration; nor can it disregard the advice given by the Executive Office of the President. Each of these letters argues against the bill.

In one of the letters the statement is made that no one is pressing for the passage of the bill. The advice given by the two agencies of Government most intimately connected with the problem is that they do not favor the bill. In my judgment, passage of the bill would be a disservice to the borrowers. It would not be in the interest of the country. It would not be in the interest of the taxpayers. I urge that the bill be defeated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If no amendment is to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the bill pass? [Putting the question.]

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask for a restatement of the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 385) was passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (d)(1) of section 1803 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by inserting after "thirty years," the following: "or, if such loan is for the purchase of a newly constructed dwelling or the construction of a dwelling, thirty-five years".

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY NEXT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, there will be no other legislative action taken today. Our colleagues in the Senate will therefore know what the program for the remainder of the day will be.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] is still ill and will not be able to be present to continue the debate on the resolution providing for germaneness of debate under certain conditions.

Mr. President, it is my understanding that on Monday the Senate will proceed with the consideration of S. 2214, dealing with the International Development Association Act. I make this statement for the information of all Senators. A unanimous consent agreement limiting debate is in effect with respect to that bill. Therefore, consideration of S. 2214 should be concluded on Monday.

FARM POLICY COMMISSION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in recent weeks I have indicated my intention to submit a joint resolution providing for the establishment of a blue ribbon Commission to examine the entire agricultural policy of the United States. It is fundamental that the elected representatives of the American people take a careful look at the accumulated legislation for the last 30 years—in many cases contradictory legislation.

Out of the report of such a commission it would be expected that much would be learned. Out of the report of such a commission we could intelligent-

ly plot the course for the Nation's future. We must retain what is good and discard those creatures of the past which do not provide us with a unified constructive force in our dynamic society. I fear that in our agricultural policy we are suffering in some areas from the obsolete ideas of a vanished age. I fear that the American people have not fully understood the great contribution which the American farmer has made to the well-being of this Nation. I feel this way because there has been constant reiteration in the public information media of only those difficulties resulting from the costly acquisition and storage of a few commodities. I fear that too often the entire question of agricultural policy has received political consideration, rather than economic consideration oriented toward actual solution of problems. I fear that all too often we have been meeting our responsibilities by halfway, temporary measures.

It is against this background that I now propose the establishment of what might be called a blue ribbon Commission to consider our agricultural policies and to make recommendations to the President. The basic question to which this Commission should address itself is how best to deal with the revolutionary production force called technology.

I believe that such a commission, comparable in many ways to the Hoover Commission, should take note of the contribution which the American farmer has made and is making, not only to the well-being of this Nation, but to the rest of the world. We need to study and know better the contributions of agriculture to the growth of our economy. We need to study and know just how we can improve the lot of this numerically and proportionately shrinking group in a constructive bipartisan spirit. We need to do these things as a simple matter of justice. We need to do these things because there are many others primarily dependent on the production of this great basic force in our society. We are in the midst of a technological revolution in agriculture that not only is irreversible—except for temporary adverse weather effects—but is rapidly accelerating.

It appears to me that the fundamental problem of our age in agriculture is how to convert the blessing of abundance—which makes possible our high level of living in the United States—as a benefit also to the farmers who make this possible.

In a recent speech to the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, and I quote:

The abundance of food and fiber that you produce is a powerful element in our national strength. It is a powerful asset in the defense of our national interests and national life, and in promoting peace and freedom throughout the world.

The miracle of American agriculture has not merely produced more and more food for a still-hungry world. It has turned men's hopes toward science and technology and their appetites away from plunder and conquest. It has opened the historical possibility of meeting by peaceful means the elementary daily needs of the whole human race.

Our 1963 level of agricultural production again has achieved a new record. We can look forward to another year of supplies of food and fiber more than adequate to meet our domestic consumption and exports. Premier Khrushchev, lacking the incentives fundamental to our family farm system, is waging a production war on his own soil. There is no question that the U.S. farmer will continue to outproduce his Soviet counterpart year after year after year. It is worthy of note that the Soviet farm failures are forcing a realignment of resources from armaments to fertilizer. Soviet agricultural failures are forcing some degree of disarmament.

Mr. President, from my long experience in agricultural affairs I have come to several basic conclusions, the most important one of which is that our American farmers will continue to produce in abundance, and that this is fundamentally good. It is a fact. It is a significant fact. Once we have recognized this basic consideration, we must start thinking how to use this God-given abundance as a fountainhead of opportunity. This American agricultural productivity is one of the greatest assets in the free world. If we are competitive in both price and quality, and if we bargain effectively, we will find that our farm products are needed in commercial markets all over the world and in special export programs. In many areas of the world American technicians can be moved to help win the battle in other countries, especially the developing nations, for economic growth and freedom.

Sometimes we in the United States leave the impression that the fruits of our farmers' labors are so great that they are liabilities. To even imply remotely that we are getting rid of liabilities in our export market is to downgrade the commodity in the eyes of possible buyers. We have arrived at a stage where we can tell the world that our supplies of commodities, while available for sale, will be liquidated only to a certain level, and that such liquidation will be orderly. Farmers and all the rest of us need a sane reserve policy, based on facts, not on prejudice.

Earlier, in the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I introduced proposed legislation which would require Congress and the Department of Agriculture to establish national food and fiber reserves. Such reserves would be declared essential for our national security and safety and for the public health. It seems to me that such a policy is long overdue. Until we have clearly identified what we mean by adequate reserves of food and fiber, there will be difficult and precarious market conditions affecting the prices of agricultural products.

We are in a period of potentially great changes in world trading patterns. Witness the following facts:

First. The continuing great dependence of the Chinese Communists on the free world for cereals;

Second. The sudden and continuing dependence of the Soviet Union on the free world for supplies of feed grains and wheat;

Third. The European Economic Community's strenuous efforts to develop a cohesive agricultural policy;

Fourth. The potential changes in policy related to agricultural imports in the European Free Trade Association, especially in the United Kingdom; and

Fifth. The expanding population in South America and Asia.

Each of these factors has an implication on our agricultural and commercial policy.

While what is happening in every country of the world has implications on our farmers and farm policy, we cannot overlook the fact that agriculture is this Nation's biggest business, with a gross income in 1963 of close to \$41 billion.

Although only 8 percent of our population is needed to produce the abundance that feeds and clothes us so well, enables us to export some \$5 billion worth of products a year, and still have enough left over to show up as CCC inventory, that is not the whole picture.

The fact is that, in addition to farmers, there are another 40 million people who make up our rural population, a large number of them engaged in small-town businesses that service and supply the farmer. In addition, some 10 million people have jobs storing, transporting, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture. Another 6 million or so have jobs providing the supplies farmers use. Add them all up—the farmers, the small-town shopkeepers and bankers, the truckers, processors, wholesalers, and retailers—and we are talking about close to 40 percent of our population.

It is not hard to see why the condition of agriculture has such a strong effect on our whole national economy—and the reason for my strong concern with this portion of our economy.

On Tuesday I had the privilege of discussing this subject with the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], who delivered to the Senate a fine address on agricultural policy.

Once again, while I agree with the President and with many of our colleagues about the importance of the tax reduction bill, I wish to make it crystal-clear that the effect of the tax reduction bill will be vitiated and, for all practical purposes, will be dissipated if there is a substantial drop in agricultural income. We cannot, on the one hand, pump money back into the economy by a tax reduction and, on the other hand, lose the same money through a drop in agricultural income, and have anything else but trouble in the American economy.

That is why, late last year, in the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I introduced a bill to provide for a new wheat policy. Wheat is one of the large agricultural commodities. That is, it is large in volume and is, of course, a product that generates considerable income. But the Nation faces the prospect, within a few months, of seeing the price of wheat in the domestic market and in world markets, as well, take a sudden drop. When that happens it will not only hurt the farm producers in the Wheat Belt of the United States, but it

will also take its toll in every area of the American economy.

I do not speak of wheat because Minnesota is a large wheat-producing State. To the contrary, it produces little for export or commercial sale. What little wheat Minnesota produces is for feed. Our agricultural economy consists primarily of feed grains, soybeans, cattle, pork, turkeys and other poultry, some perishable commodities, including vegetables, and, of course, a substantial amount of corn, which can be classified as a feed grain.

Nevertheless, the Ninth Federal Reserve District, which services the financial needs of the great Midwestern area of the United States, will be in shambles if the price of wheat drops to \$1.30 or \$1.25 a bushel. Congress could pass 15 tax reduction bills, and still there could be a major depression in the Midwest unless something were done about agricultural policy.

Let the RECORD be perfectly clear. First, I favor a tax reduction bill. It ought to have been passed long ago. I believe all American business can adjust itself to tax bills; but American business finds it difficult to adjust itself to uncertainty. It can adjust itself to injustices, but it cannot adjust itself to uncertainty and indefiniteness with respect to a tax policy. That is why I believe there should be prompt action on the tax bill. We are already late.

But having said that, we ought not to deceive ourselves, because even if there is a tax reduction, we shall still not basically affect the agricultural economy of America unless there is a better price structure for agricultural commodities. If the price structure drops, as is the case at present with cattle, taking a toll of many billions of dollars in the loss of income, or if the price structure of wheat should drop drastically, or if the price structure of pork should drop, which is entirely probable, there would be trouble beyond any possibility of measurement.

Therefore, the Senator from Minnesota, in speaking today on agricultural policy, merely puts up a warning flag and says that we in this body should take time to reexamine the policy and pass corrective measures, even though they may provide only temporary relief. We need to take a long look at agricultural policy, because the agricultural policy of today is based upon programs adopted in the 1930's. American agriculture in the 1960's is as different from the agriculture of the 1930's as the modern jet airplane is different from the crate that was flown by the Wright brothers. We ought to recognize that fact.

Of course there is another—and transcending—reason for our concern with agriculture. It is that the products of the farm are continually and critically necessary to life itself. This also is the basic reason why, in an ever more urban society, all of us are as concerned with the efficient and effective marketing of farm products as with their production.

There is no question that by any statistical measurement the most distressing problem that confronts agriculture

is the underemployment and low income in many rural areas.

There has been in effect for several years a program designed to lift the burden of poverty from some 15 million citizens living in rural areas. Of the 8 million families in this country with incomes of less than \$2,500 a year, over half live in rural areas. More than one-fifth of the 22 million youths who live in rural areas are in poverty families—and each year 200,000 children are born into these families.

What I have just described is of great concern, I am sure, to all Americans, since they reflect what is happening in the United States. Many steps have been taken to help underdeveloped rural areas move ahead. We need to know whether the work that now is being pursued will accomplish its objectives. We need to know whether more or less Government funds should be appropriated for this purpose. We need an objective appraisal of the results of the funds already spent. We need an objective appraisal as to how we can assist the some 75,000 volunteer leaders all over the country. The Nation needs to know more about these 75,000 Rural Areas Development Committee members and what they are accomplishing. We need to know much more about the rural area development program, how it is working, and whether it is sufficiently extensive to do the work that is required.

Another area that should be reviewed most carefully is that of our research and education activities. There has been much discussion regarding the fact that the research and educational institutions should shift their activities to a greater extent in the direction of promoting adjustments within agriculture and the discovery of new uses and new markets. Any group of people who have been oriented in certain directions tend to wish to continue their same activities since this is the line of least resistance. However, I must raise the question whether this is the area of greatest utility to the American farmer and to the Nation as a whole.

There has been much talk and some results in the area of utilization research. However, I have a feeling that Senators are not satisfied with what has been accomplished to date in this area. I know it is easy to say that we should spend money to find new uses for our abundant farm products. I would hope that the suggested policy Commission would study this entire area and make strong, specific recommendations. The status quo may leave us in the status quo.

The Commission also should make an intensive review of Public Law 480, our food-for-peace program, to determine how it can be extended and expanded without injuring commercial markets. Under the food-for-peace program, food has become an important form of foreign economic assistance. Today, the food-for-peace program is an integral and vital part of the picture. In the 9 years that the food-for-peace program has been in existence, we have been able to ship overseas a grand total of almost \$13 billion worth of food. As economic

conditions permit, food-for-peace nations graduate to dollar markets. The food-for-peace program is both constructive and popular, and it has been the most successful market development program for commercial imports that this country has ever known. So every effort should be made to extend and expand it. Furthermore, Mr. President, we should make better use of the currencies which are accumulated as a result of sales under title I of the food for peace program.

Again and again I have reminded the American taxpayers and their representatives in Congress that we have wasted hundreds of millions of dollars that could well have been put to use had the Congress been willing to let the departments of this Government effectively use the currencies we have accumulated in country after country as a result of the food-for-peace title I sales. Instead, Mr. President, we seem more concerned about giving the Appropriations Committee jurisdiction over these funds. As a result, hundreds of millions of dollars of funds have been destroyed by inflation; projects that should have been built or developed have not even been commenced; and opportunities to build better conditions in the world have been neglected because of our deep concern that the Appropriations Committee have its hands on every one of the so-called soft currency dollars.

President Johnson is well aware of the potentials for good in our farm economy and its basic strength; I know of no President in this century more intimately acquainted than he with the needs of rural America and the problems of rural America. President Lyndon Johnson understands the American agricultural economy, and is well aware of its needs, and he has a deep appreciation of the problems that face our farm families. However, I am sure the President would be the first to say that he could use much more information in regard to the long-range problems of American agriculture—where it is going, what will happen to the family-sized farm, what we mean by "family-sized farm"; what products will be needed in the days ahead, how a shift can be made from the production of one commodity to the production of another, is the proper role of the Commodity Credit Corporation; and the proper extent of its activities. A host of questions need to be answered. A thorough study of these problems by a group that is representative of both the Government and the private community is needed. Therefore, I recommend the establishment of this Commission.

However, in a recent letter to the American Farm Bureau Federation, President Johnson raised some fundamental questions when he said:

If our democratic society is to thrive, it has a basic underlying need for free expression by its people. Those citizens whose roots are in the soil have a special responsibility to participate in policy discussion and make recommendations to their Government. They are the source of the finest agriculture in all the world.

We need to search for better ways ever responsive to changing conditions—to enable

our farmers and ranchers to share more fully in the bounty which they help create. In this endeavor, how can we use the pricing mechanism of the free market with more vitality than presently? In this endeavor, how can we better coordinate the role of Government with the area of the private sector, including farmers' own institutions, in the marketing of farm products? In this endeavor, how can our efficiency in producing and marketing be reflected in fair and open competition in the world's markets? In this endeavor, what should we do to assure ourselves of adequate reserves?

These are the questions that must be answered as you meet to study the issues and the facts underlying them. I will look forward with interest to your recommendations.

In the letter the President raised a very important question that ought to be studied by Congress and by every farm organization in America, and ought to be a guideline for the bipartisan National Commission on Agricultural Policy which I am recommending today. It does us no good to wring our hands about the state of agriculture or to complain about the high cost of agricultural programs unless we are willing objectively to analyze what these programs are doing, how were they created, under what conditions were they created, and how they meet present conditions. I believe a careful examination will show a need for careful review of the agricultural policy. There is general recognition, for example, that cotton is in trouble. Actually, cotton has been in economic trouble for some time.

The programs under which we have been operating have lost us markets both at home and abroad, have virtually destroyed the functioning of a free market and the various services attendant thereto, have required us to establish a costly export subsidy system, not only for cotton, but also for goods manufactured from cotton, and have been generally unsatisfactory in many other ways.

We should eliminate, or at least modify, such programs; and I am happy to say the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] and I have proposed an alternative program which makes much more sense. It would provide compensatory payments to cotton producers, so that our cotton could be sold in the world market, and at the same time U.S. cotton producers—who face higher costs—can have reasonable returns from their labor and their investment.

It is time we stopped the use of acreage controls, quotas, regulations, and compliance checks on the cotton farmers. Fundamentally, there is general recognition, both at home and abroad, that this program needs a major overhaul. However, it may well be that other programs will be found to be undesirable in terms of national policy. The proposed blue ribbon Commission should examine all of them.

As part of the Commission's activities, I suggest that it examine the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation, which has a very important and significant role to play in helping American farmers.

Mr. President, I wish to make quite clear the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation has been a very important, constructive force for our agricultural

economy; but I think the time has come—in view of the size of the Corporation, the vast inventories it holds, the number of employees it has, and the scope of its operations—when a commission such as the one I am proposing should examine the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation. I do not point an accusing finger at the CCC; I merely recommend a careful audit of its operations and a good look at the agricultural policy of the Government.

The Commodity Credit Corporation does have, and will continue to have, an important, significant role in helping our farmers. However, it was never organized to do the business of the cooperatives; it was never organized to take over the functions of the grain trade and the merchants in food and fiber. It was designed to help farmers in marketing, but not to take over the marketplace. None of us ever visualized that its activities would at times result in lower farm commodity prices.

I want to make quite clear the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation has as its primary objective the improvement of farm income. Therefore, any action by it which depresses farm income is contrary to the spirit and the letter of the law. So let every action of the Commodity Credit Corporation be measured by that standard. It is against the background of my major concern for the entire field of agriculture that I recommend that there be established a National Farm Policy Commission.

I introduce for appropriate reference a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a bipartisan commission to make a detailed study of our food and fiber policies. I ask unanimous consent to have the joint resolution printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 146) providing for the establishment of a bipartisan commission to make a study and investigation of the food and fiber policies of the United States, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this joint resolution may be cited as the "Commission on United States Food and Fiber Policy Act."

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established a bipartisan commission to be known as the Commission on United States Food and Fiber Policy (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of twenty-five members appointed by the President as follows:

(1) Five to be appointed from persons engaged in farming;

(2) Five to be appointed from persons engaged in the marketing of farm commodities or products;

(3) Five to be appointed from persons engaged in the processing of farm commodities;

(4) Five to be appointed from the general public; and

(5) Five to be appointed from the Federal Government.

(c) Vacancies in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(d) The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission to serve as chairman.

(e) Thirteen members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) Members of the Commission appointed from the Federal Government shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as officers or employees of the Federal Government, but they shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel and, in lieu of subsistence, a per diem allowance in the amount authorized under the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended, for Federal employees.

(b) Each member of the Commission appointed from private life shall, whenever the President determines such action necessary or appropriate, receive compensation for each day on which the member is engaged in the performance of duties of the Commission, and shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel and, in lieu of subsistence, a per diem allowance in the amount authorized under the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended, for Federal employees.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates not to exceed \$75 per diem for individuals.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission shall make a comprehensive study and investigation of any and all matters which relate to the food and fiber policies of the United States and of the direct and indirect effect of such policies on all segments of our society. In carrying out such study and investigation the Commission shall give special consideration to—

(1) the import and export policies and practices of foreign nations with respect to food and fiber and the effect of those policies on the United States;

(2) the various systems used by this Nation for marketing of agricultural commodities and products;

(3) the effectiveness of our present policies in the use of food internationally, and how such policies might be improved;

(4) the problems of rural poverty in the United States;

(5) the strategic reserve policies of the United States;

(6) the cost of and the benefits derived from the various food and fiber programs of this Nation; and

(7) the method of extending and expanding Public Law 480 without injuring commercial markets.

(b) The Commission shall submit to the President, not more than eighteen months after the date of enactment of this joint resolution, a report of its findings and recommendations with respect to the food and fiber policies of the United States. The Commission shall cease to exist thirty days after the submission of its report.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, out of any

money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter written to me by Alvin E. Oliver, executive vice president of the Grain & Food Dealers National Association. I am pleased to have the support of this association for a Commission on the U.S. Food and Fiber Policy.

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

GRAIN & FEED DEALERS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., January 15, 1964.
Hon. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: On behalf of the leadership of the Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, I wish to congratulate you on your efforts to establish a bipartisan Presidential Commission to conduct a thorough study of national and international food and fiber needs.

A continuing appraisal of farm program objectives, strategic reserve needs, the need for additional reserves to help stabilize price swings in periods of short supply, the objectives of international commodity agreements or arrangements for feed grains and livestock is of utmost value to the competitive vitality of this rich agricultural nation.

A farm policy task force of this association has been reviewing the needs for a strategic and/or stabilizing grain reserve. In a recent meeting they endorsed unanimously your proposal for a bipartisan Presidential Commission to study the needs of our national and international food and fiber requirements.

Our task force is composed of marketing specialists from small and large companies. These men are primarily concerned with programs which will enhance our trading position in world commerce. They recognize that adjustments are costly and should be pursued with complete regard for human problems involved.

It is from this interest that I wish to offer the services of this national association, the farm policy task force, or individual officers of the national to participate in the study of the proposed Commission.

Enclosed is a list of the officers of this association and the members of the farm policy task force.

Sincerely yours,

ALVIN E. OLIVER,
Executive Vice President.

THE FARM POLICY TASK FORCE, GRAIN & FEED DEALERS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Madison Clement, chairman, Clement Grain Co., Waco, Tex.

Dean Daniels, McMaster Grain Co., Sioux City, Iowa.

Dean Evans, Sr., Evans Grain Co., Salina, Kans.

Carl Farrington, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Loren Johnson, executive vice president, Continental Grain Co., New York, N.Y.

Frank Miller, president, the Ohio Grain Co., Milford Center, Ohio.

William Pearce, vice president, Cargill, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.

William Theis, Simonds-Shields-Theis Grain Co., Kansas City, Mo.

Hamill Verner, manager, Grain Merchandising, Quaker Oats Co., Chicago, Ill.

OFFICERS OF THE GRAIN & FEED DEALERS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

H. V. Nootbaar, president, H. V. Nootbaar & Co., Pasadena, Calif.

E. Dean Evans, Sr., first vice president, Evans Grain Co., Salina, Kans.

Sam L. Rice, Jr., second vice president, the Rice Grain Co., Toledo, Ohio.

Frank Heffelfinger II, third vice president, Peavey Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Alvin E. Oliver, executive vice president, Washington, D.C.

Herbert L. Sharp, secretary-treasurer, Washington, D.C.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I know that many other groups have expressed their interest in the proposed Commission. I have discussed this proposal with Members of the other body, Members who have a long record of service to American agriculture. I would expect to see companion bills introduced in the House of Representatives. It seems to me that, if we follow the procedure of establishing a national farm or agricultural policy commission, we can do a great deal to help the Department of Agriculture in its duties. We can do a great deal to give guidance to the President of the United States in overall agricultural policy. We might be able to do a great deal to bring about better coordination and cooperation among the farm organizations themselves, who are now far apart in many of their views and proposals. This is most regrettable, but it is a condition that we must face.

I am of the opinion that if we could obtain an objective analysis of farm policy over the past 25 years, as to how it was established, what purposes it was designed to fulfill, whether present farm and agricultural policies meet current needs, and whether those policies meet the needs of the future, we would be doing a great deal to bring about a new solidarity in American agriculture which would benefit the entire Nation.

I am hopeful that the Committee on Agriculture will look upon the joint resolution with sympathy and support.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

MILLIONAIRES WHO PAY NO TAXES—HOW MANY DO IT: THE UNLIMITED CHARITABLE DEDUCTION

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, some time ago, I announced that I would seek recognition a number of times before the tax bill came to the floor, but that I would seek recognition after all the business of the day had been concluded, so that the statements I would have to make about the tax system of the country could not be interpreted by anyone as a delaying tactic to slow up the progress of the tax bill.

Since I understand that all business for the day has now been concluded, I therefore believe it appropriate to seek recognition to discuss the so-called unlimited charitable deduction which is now incorporated in the tax statutes of the country.

MILLIONAIRES WHO PAY NO TAXES

Mr. President, some weeks ago I put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD information from the Treasury showing that in 1959 there were 20 taxpayers in the United States with adjusted gross incomes of \$500,000 or more per year who

paid no Federal income taxes whatsoever—not 1 penny. Since that time a number of people have asked me how it was done. The Secretary of the Treasury has written to tell me that in 15 of the 20 cases these individuals paid no taxes primarily—although not exclusively—because of the unlimited charitable deduction provision of the tax laws.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated November 18, 1963, as well as table 1, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, D.C., November 18, 1963.
Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: This is in reply to point 1 of your letter of November 5, 1963. The 20 returns with adjusted gross income over \$500,000 that were nontaxable in 1959 were nontaxable primarily because of the unlimited charitable contribution provision.

There were two cases in which the primary cause of nontaxability was interest paid, one of which was due to the purchase of securities on margin. There was one due to oil venture deductions, one due to expenses of an estate settlement, and the rest due to unlimited charitable contributions. Most of these contributions were in the form of property, usually stock. On the average, untaxed appreciation in value represented about 75 percent of the total contribution.

The main source of income in all cases was from investments. One individual derived most of his income from interest. Four had capital gains as their main source of income and dividends constituted the main income source for the others. Only nine returns showed some income from salary or director's fees; i.e., sources of income other than investments. Of these six were officers of corporations.

Additional information for the period 1958 to 1960 for 19 of these returns may be found on page 244 of part I of the hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means. A table showing untaxed appreciation in property value and additional tax if unlimited charitable contributions were eliminated for a somewhat different set of returns is on page 245 of the same volume.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS DILLON.

TABLE 1.—Number of returns by effective tax rates based on adjusted gross income by income classes: All returns with adjusted gross income of \$500,000 or more, 1959

| Adjusted gross income | Total | Effective tax rate (percent) | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | 0 | 0.1 to 9.9 | 10 to 19.9 | 20 to 29.9 | 30 to 39.9 | 40 to 49.9 | 50 to 59.9 | 60 to 69.9 | 70 to 79.9 | 80 to 84.9 |
| \$500,000 to \$749,999 | 529 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 34 | 90 | 241 | 73 | 47 | 27 | 4 |
| \$750,000 to \$999,999 | 193 | 2 | 23 | 3 | 9 | 23 | 90 | 36 | 16 | 9 | 2 |
| \$1,000,000 to \$1,999,999 | 197 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 22 | 93 | 34 | 17 | 12 | 1 |
| \$2,000,000 to \$4,999,999 | 64 | 2 | — | — | 4 | 6 | 31 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 1 |
| \$5,000,000 and over | 19 | 5 | — | — | — | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 | — |
| All returns | 1,002 | 20 | 8 | 10 | 55 | 142 | 461 | 155 | 89 | 54 | 8 |

Source: Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis.

THE PROVISION

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, what is the unlimited charitable deduction which allows some millionaires to escape paying any Federal income taxes at all, while the ordinary wage earner in the United States has 20 percent of his taxable income withheld at the source, week by week, month by month, and year by year? What is this provision which made it possible for people with incomes of \$1 million a year, \$2 million a year, and \$5 million a year and more to pay nothing in Federal income taxes and hence nothing to support the Government which protects him as it does all others, while the average person with a wife and two children and \$5,000 a year would pay about \$440 a year in income taxes?

The provision of the law is that, if the taxes paid—and I emphasize this—and the charitable deductions made in any 1 year—and both of these terms apply—and in 8 out of 10 of the preceding years, if they exceed 90 percent of the individual's "taxable income," then he can take an unlimited deduction for charitable contributions rather than only the 20- or 30-percent limitation in the law for other people which has the effect of freeing him from paying taxes.

As you can see, the ordinary person cannot deduct more than 20 or 30 percent of his income. He probably could

not contribute more even if he wanted to, for he would then have no income to pay for the necessities of life. But high-income people, by giving away assets which have appreciated in value, can meet the test with little difficulty.

RELATIVELY EASY TO QUALIFY

For those with incomes from oil and gas, or dividends, or capital gains or numerous of the other loopholes of the tax laws, it becomes relatively easy to qualify for this provision and, hence, to go tax free.

First of all, the provision is that taxes paid, plus charitable contributions, must equal 90 percent of taxable income. It should be recalled that half of a capital gain never enters into taxable income. It should also be recalled that things like the depletion allowance and intangible drilling and development costs do not enter into taxable income. As a consequence, the taxable income of those with large incomes from capital gains or from oil and gas or from other sources of income which are given special privileges in the tax laws, may in fact be only 10 or 20 or 30 percent of their total income. Because of this, by making a relatively small contribution many wealthy people can qualify for the unlimited charitable deductions and can escape taxes altogether. I gave an example in December of a man with an income in 1 year of about \$28 million who had no taxable in-

come at all. He could qualify by making no contributions—or dollar contributions.

Another taxpayer who pays a 75-percent rate could qualify by making only a charitable contribution of 15 percent of his taxable income. This is relatively easy to do.

Once qualified, a person can become tax free by giving away assets which cost him very little but which have a large appraised or real market value.

PAYS NO CAPITAL GAINS TAX

In addition to this, if a person contributes a capital asset to charity—and charities are very broadly defined and include a great many personal and private foundations and political propaganda institutions, which many of us feel have almost no relation to charity—the individual pays no capital gains tax at all.

For example, in the table which I shall shortly introduce into the RECORD, there is a taxpayer who contributed to charity an asset for which he paid \$466,902. The fair market value of this asset was, however, given as \$21.6 million. He was able to deduct not the cost of the asset, or a little less than \$500,000, but the so-called present market value of the asset, or \$21.6

million. Thus, by putting out half a million dollars, he got a net deduction of \$21 million.

Furthermore, ordinarily he would pay a capital gains tax of a maximum of 25 percent of the appreciated value of this asset. But in the case of the unlimited charitable deduction he does not have to pay the capital gains tax. As a consequence, in the example I have given, the particular taxpayer would have paid an additional \$6.2 million in taxes in the year he made the gain from the capital asset he contributed. But he did not pay \$6.2 million because of this special provision in the tax laws. Thus, he not only saved millions in taxes that he otherwise would have owed on his capital gains, but this deduction was also used to offset the taxes on other income that he had in that year—and I wish to emphasize that point—for a total of over \$6 million in taxes he would otherwise have paid.

I ask unanimous consent that at this point in my remarks a table giving 14 examples of taxpayers claiming the unlimited charitable deduction be printed in the RECORD.

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

TABLE 2.—*Partial listing of contributors claiming unlimited deduction*

| Taxpayer | Unlimited charitable deduction per return | Fair market value of property contributions | Cost or other basis of property contributions | Untaxed appreciation in property value | Additional tax if unlimited charitable deductions not allowed |
|------------|---|---|---|--|---|
| A | \$21,622,799 | \$21,585,369 | \$466,902 | \$21,118,467 | \$6,251,548 |
| B | 10,930,458 | 10,832,732 | 376,600 | 10,456,132 | 3,541,496 |
| C | 3,545,668 | 3,504,437 | 172,506 | 3,331,931 | 2,018,258 |
| D | 2,441,535 | 2,441,535 | 34,210 | 2,407,325 | 867,025 |
| E | 2,325,529 | 1,873,171 | 88,388 | 1,784,783 | 1,389,141 |
| F | 1,737,530 | 1,722,506 | 40,018 | 1,682,488 | 1,029,227 |
| G | 847,714 | 847,714 | 56,411 | 791,303 | 153,167 |
| H | 579,482 | 201,518 | 181 | 201,337 | 145,444 |
| I | 390,074 | 349,368 | 79,213 | 270,155 | 113,881 |
| J | 232,471 | 179,638 | 15,917 | 163,451 | 105,669 |
| K | 145,767 | 139,475 | 2,204 | 137,271 | 62,765 |
| L | 110,152 | 84,800 | 2,550 | 82,250 | 27,996 |
| M | 103,680 | 75,081 | 480 | 74,601 | 37,230 |
| N | 31,960 | 22,113 | 7,695 | 14,418 | 2,969 |
| Total... | 43,044,819 | 43,859,457 | 1,343,275 | 42,515,912 | 15,745,816 |
| Average... | | 3,132,818 | 95,948 | 3,036,851 | 1,124,701 |

¹ Include donations to private foundations.

Source: Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Office of Tax Legislative Counsel.

Mr. DOUGLAS. These are not necessarily the same taxpayers as in the list of 20 persons who paid no tax, which list has been previously inserted in the RECORD.

SMALL CONTRIBUTIONS—BIG TAX SAVINGS

These 14 people, by making contributions of property or stock or other assets which originally cost them a total of \$1.3 million, were able to deduct \$45 million from their tax returns and, at the same time, save \$15.7 million in taxes which they would otherwise have been required to pay.

For example, taxpayer B donated an asset for which he paid \$376,000. The fair market value of this asset was \$10.8 million which he was allowed to deduct. Furthermore, he did not pay \$3 1/2 million he would otherwise have paid on the appreciated value or capital gain of this asset as well as other taxes he would have owed. Finally, he used this deduction

as an offset against taxes he might owe on any other income he received. In this case, the tax savings was approximately 10 times the cost of the asset he actually contributed.

In these 14 examples the average cost of the asset contributed by the taxpayers was \$95,000. They, however, could deduct the market value of the assets whose average value was \$3.1 million. And by making a contribution of an average of \$95,000 in cost to them, they avoided paying an average tax of \$1.1 million in capital gains, and other taxes, or over 10 times the cost of the asset.

In addition, they could offset the average value of the deduction which for the 14 averaged \$3.1 million against other income they had. This is how they escape taxation.

DONATIONS TO PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS

One would think that this was enough. But in 8 of the 14 cases the donations

included—and may well have primarily consisted of—donations to private foundations—many of them the personal foundations of the taxpayer involved. They could therefore donate an asset with an average cost of about \$100,000. They avoided paying taxes on the capital gains and other income on the average of about 10 times that much, or \$1 million. On the average, they had an additional \$2 million to write off against other income, and by donating the asset to their personal foundations they could, for all practical purposes, use that asset even though it supposedly had been donated to a charity.

WORKS OF ART

Let me give some examples. Under this provision, a person owning a valuable painting could donate it to his private foundation, avoid paying the capital gains on the increase in value, write off other income against the market value of this painting, and under present law, still have the use of the painting as a loan from his personal foundation to hang over his mantelpiece.

That is a very frequently used form of the tax racket—making a donation of a painting but retaining it during one's lifetime.

Also in the painting racket there is no clear appraisal of market value. One could get a painting which originally cost \$1,000, and then could get some putative expert to affirm that the painting has gone up in value because of the popularity of the painter and have it valued at \$10,000, \$15,000, or \$50,000. For example, we all know that the paintings of the French impressionist school 40 years ago had only a nominal value. Now paintings by Monet, Renoir, and Degas are valued at scores of thousands of dollars. Increased values can be attributed even though they are nonexistent.

More often than not, if one reads the first-rate study that Representative PATMAN has made of the foundations in the United States—and I urge that the study be required reading for all Members of Congress and members of the press—this taxpayer could make himself and his wife, and his sons, and his daughters, and even in a Gilbert and Sullivan phrase, "his sisters, and his cousins, and his aunts" officers of his private foundation from which they could draw salaries and from which they too could have use of the asset which had been donated to a charity in order to qualify this millionaire for the unlimited charitable deduction.

Those who fall in that category escaped paying taxes on any kind on exceedingly large incomes.

JEWELRY DONATION

Mr. Philip Stern, in a forthcoming book on tax loopholes entitled, "The Great Treasury Raid"—which is a very apt title, for I have read the proofs on the book, and I suggest that the book should be read by everyone—gives an example of a wealthy lady who gave her jewelry valued at \$39,400 to her own private foundation. She then took a tax deduction of \$39,400 but the jewelry

remained locked up in her safe deposit box, so she said. Thus, the benefit to her was a tax deduction of \$39,400, but, as Mr. Stern states, the benefit to charity was zero.

WATERFRONT RIGHTS

Another example from Mr. Stern's book is that of a taxpayer who donated to his private foundation the very valuable waterfront rights of his lakeshore home. He got a tax saving of the amount of the "commercial waterfront rights" but charity did not benefit for the rights were not sold. Thus, he got a tax savings equal to the market value of the commercial rights of the property but kept the use of them for his private purposes.

Mr. President, the unlimited charitable deduction is one of the provisions in our tax code which is most abused. The ordinary taxpayer feels a great sense of injustice when he sees these gimmicks which allow millionaires to go tax free while he contributes a minimum of 20 percent of the first \$2,000 of taxable income he receives to the Government. The ordinary taxpayer pays for our planes, and tanks, and guns, but these millionaires do not.

I wish to emphasize that I use the words "these millionaires" rather than "the millionaires."

He pays for the interest on our debt, but the millionaires do not. He pays for the aid to our veterans and Federal payments to the poor and to the weak and for public improvements throughout the land, but many of these wealthy taxpayers do not. He supports our atomic energy program, flights to the moon, and our troops in Europe. But the millionaire oil operators and those with unlimited charitable deductions and those with capital gains in many cases pay not 1 red cent to defend our country and to pay for the needed programs of the United States.

Furthermore, as we all know, there are great abuses among many of the private foundations so that some of the funds which are supposedly contributed to religious or charitable foundations, in fact, go to those who are propagandizing in a violently political way through the radio and by press releases and by television against what the majority of Americans believe to be the best interests of our country. In fact, it is not unfair to say that there are millionaires paying no taxes whatsoever who are making so-called charitable contributions to their personal and private foundations for the purpose of complaining about the high tax rates and excessive Government expenditures to which they neither pay nor contribute. How ironic.

I know it may be said that some of this money goes to worthwhile private charities and educational institutions and therefore the unlimited charitable deduction is justified. In the first place, a great deal of the money goes not to such institutions, but to those that are far less worthy, and in many cases very little reaches the public as a whole. But even in the case of money given to worthy institutions, worthy as these may be, they are not more worthy than the

common enterprise of the United States of America. To absolve oneself completely from the support of the common activity of the Nation as expressed in the Government by making a contribution to some private charity seems to me not to be a worthy act.

WHOSE OX IS GORED?

In this connection, I have received telegrams of protest against my amendment to do away with the unlimited charitable deduction from two very famous men who are presidents of so-called Ivy League colleges and universities. These are very fine institutions. I attended one of them. They want to have the unlimited charitable deduction continued because they think it would bring in some money for them. I do not criticize their point of view. I think it is narrow. It is based primarily upon thinking of their own institutions, and not of the general good. This is a temptation to which all of us are very likely to succumb. But, important as the colleges of the Ivy League are, I do not regard them as of equal importance to the United States of America, and I do not believe that their maintenance should be given complete priority over the common activities of the United States.

There is an Ivy League university—I do not say it is one of those from whose president I received a telegram—which has as its slogan, "For God, for country, and for Yale." I hope the students or graduates of that university do not suggest that that is in ascending order of importance—that God should be at the lowest point in importance, country at the next level, and Yale at the top. It seems to me in this case it should be in descending order of importance—God first, country next, and Yale; important, yes, but at a lower level than that of either God or country. I am not saying that the president of Yale telegraphed me, and I want to respect the sanctity of correspondence; but I think a course in ethics might be instituted for presidents of our great colleges, so that they might develop a hierarchy of values.

In the Finance Committee a few days ago I offered an amendment to eliminate the unlimited charitable deduction provision. I was encouraged that I received three votes. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 14 to 3. This is one vote more than I usually get in support of my motions. But the issue is important, and I serve notice that I shall vote to amend the tax bill, when it comes to the floor, to eliminate unlimited charitable deductions, so that wealthy men will have to be content with a 30-percent deduction, which seems to me to be adequate for all normal purposes.

I yield the floor, and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be suspended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR INVESTIGATION OF MIGRATORY LABOR

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Calendar No. 798, Senate Resolution 249.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 249) providing additional funds for the investigation of migratory labor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Jersey?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 249) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That section 4 of S. Res. 22, Eighty-eighth Congress, first session, authorizing an investigation of migratory labor, agreed to March 14, 1963, is amended by striking out "\$68,750" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$73,750".

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY NEXT

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, under the previous order, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 37 minutes p.m.), under the order previously entered, the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 20, 1964, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 16, 1964:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Andrew V. Corry, of Montana, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Sierra Leone.

PATENT OFFICE

Edward J. Brenner, of New Jersey, to be Commissioner of Patents, vice David Lowell Ladd, resigned.

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Maj. Gen. Fred M. Dean, U.S. Air Force, of Florida, to be an Assistant Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

IN THE COAST GUARD

The following-named person to be lieutenant in the U.S. Coast Guard:

Jan R. Dazey

The following-named persons to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the U.S. Coast Guard:

Thomas E. Langmann Roger D. Williams
Stephen D. Csintyan John A. MacDonald
David J. Bain Cameron A. Hatfield

The following-named persons to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the U.S. Coast Guard:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Allen E. Rolland | Frederick D. Smith |
| James L. Walker | Charles W. Morgan |
| William L. Avery | John G. Denninger, Jr. |
| David W. Proudfoot | Theodore A. Somes |
| James A. McIntosh | Arthur R. Gandy |
| James L. Mueller | John W. Brittain |
| Richard J. Kiesel | Lawrence M. Schilling |
| Joseph H. Discenza | David W. Robinette |
| David H. Withers | David H. Whitten |
| Leonard J. Pichini | Harvey L. Wahnquist, Jr. |
| William S. Haight | |

Jon P. Ryan
 Harry A. Allen
 Joseph L. Valenti
 Lance A. Eagan
 Richard B. O'Keefe
 Hugh L. Thomas, Jr.
 William J. Wallace, Jr.
 Eugene Hornstein
 John A. Wuestneck
 Arthur E. Henn
 John T. Mason
 Joseph H. Sanford
 Joseph J. Smith
 Laurence J. Dallaire,
 Jr.
 Peter C. Hennings
 Ronald C. Zinzer
 Walter M. Coburn
 Henry B. Traver
 William H. Spence
 John K. Andrews
 Wade M. Moncrief, Jr.
 David S. Gemmell
 Richard V. Consigli
 Carl H. Burkhardt
 Joseph P. Dibella
 Neal Mahan
 George E. Archer, Jr.
 Glenn E. Haines
 Timothy G. McKenna
 Peter T. Muth
 Richard E. Shrum
 David T. Boyle
 William A. Borchers
 Edward K. Roe, Jr.
 Michael O. Murtagh
 Joseph L. Crowe, Jr.
 Anthony J. Solty
 William H. Roth
 William C. Heming
 James A. Umberger
 Kwang-Ping Hsu
 Robert A. Basteck
 Alexander C. McKean,
 Jr.
 Larry D. Brooks
 Francis W. Mooney
 Ronald M. Potter
 Richard C. Blaschke
 Stephen H. Hines
 George A. Casimer
 Robert K. Blaschke
 Thomas P. Keane

III

Thomas H. Lloyd, Jr.
 Thomas W. Boerger
 Albert F. Baken
 William S. Murray
 George E. Mason
 Norman H. Huff
 Clifford E. Banner
 Don M. Keehn
 Thomas D. Smith
 Daniel M. White
 Thomas F. McGrath,
 III
 Thomas S. Whipple
 Michael J. Schiro
 Harold L. Bonnet
 Arthur W. Mergner, Jr.
 Elmer Sorensen, Jr.
 Daniel T. Koenig
 Frederick A. Kelley
 James H. Lightner
 Raymond D. Bland
 James F. Greene, Jr.
 Wayne P. Stevens
 Jack W. Whiting, Jr.
 Phillip J. Bull
 Harry N. Hutchins, III
 Thomas W. Watkins,
 III
 David V. Hastings
 Lyman V. Root
 Hugh W. Nabors
 Francis J. Stadnicki
 Robert D. Markoff
 Stewart B. Morgan
 Raymond J. Hout-
 tekier
 David K. Carey
 Louis M. Casale
 John M. McCann
 Peter M. Bernstein
 Robert E. McDonough,
 Jr.
 Joseph R. Finelli
 Herbert M. Hurst
 Richmond D. Green-
 ough, Jr.
 Thomas J. Kenney
 John C. Schmidtman
 Robert F. Boysen, Jr.
 James G. McElroy
 James F. Sanders
 Ralph D. Meyer
 Bily R. Elder

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of chapter 835, title 10, United States Code, as amended. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

CAPTAIN TO MAJOR
Line of the Air Force

Abbott, Macklyn, 64659A.
 Abbott, Richard L., 20074A.
 Abelman, Robert M., 20082A.
 Abercrombie, William R., Jr., 20083A.
 Ace, Robert K., 26863A.
 Acker, William J., 42939A.
 Acquaviva, Onorio, 42373A.
 Adair, Robert E., 24593A.
 Adams, James A., Jr., 21537A.
 Adams, Lester M., Jr., 19980A.
 Adams, William E., 25874A.
 Adams, William E., 43236A.
 Addison, Hoyt E., 42972A.
 Agnew, William D., Jr., 42918A.
 Alres, Francis L., 43019A.
 Aitken, Charles P., 42358A.
 Albertazzie, Ralph D., 42356A.
 Albrecht, Henry K., 43489A.
 Alden, George B., 19986A.
 Alexander, George, 42618A.
 Alexczuk, Serge, 52773A.
 Alford, Joel L., 43359A.
 Alleman, Joy G., 43470A.
 Allen, Alfred S., 21805A.
 Allen, Jesse M., 28239A.
 Allen, Ronald G., 43047A.
 Allen, Russell L., 43469A.

Alley, Fred C., 42858A.
 Allison, Clark H., 20087A.
 Allison, Herbert E., 42817A.
 Allison, Philip J., 42522A.
 Almon, John S., 43069A.
 Alvis, William H., 64704A.
 Alvord, Ray W., 19995A.
 Aman, William G., Jr., 20088A.
 Ambrose, Robert F., 21666A.
 Amerio, Umberto M., 43553A.
 Andersen, David O., 20420A.
 Anderson, Earl, 43577A.
 Anderson, Joe, 20814A.
 Anderson, Joe E., Jr., 20090A.
 Anderson, John E., 26854A.
 Anderson, John W., 40725A.
 Anderson, Richard L., 28285A.
 Anderson, Robert H., 24448A.
 Anderson, Robert S., 26855A.
 Anderson, Thomas A., 20091A.
 Andreason, Allan K., 43377A.
 Andress, Joe O., 52837A.
 Andrews, Jean J., 26501A.
 Andrews, Richard T., 24829A.
 Anlian, Edward, 64682A.
 Anna, Lloyd P., 21528A.
 Archer, Harold L., 42317A.
 Archer, Roy E., 42754A.
 Argo, Marion L., 43554A.
 Aronovsky, Alvin J., 64658A.
 Ash, Curtis E., 43084A.
 Ashbaker, Joseph C., 23949A.
 Ashmore, James W., Jr., 23942A.
 Ashmore, Jehu D., 43555A.
 Asseo, Sam, 24803A.
 Atkins, Herbert L., 25879A.
 Atkins, Robert L., 43183A.
 Aton, Bert B., 20094A.
 Austin, Coy L., 27693A.
 Austin, Herbert W., 42989A.
 Austin, Robert B., 52881A.
 Avery, Bobby R., 20095A.
 Ayers, James W., 42312A.
 Aylsworth, Warren, 42416A.
 Baader, Theodore J., 40743A.
 Babel, William T., 42909A.
 Bach, Maurice D., 25549A.
 Bach, Roy E., 18810A.
 Bachman, Hal D., 42493A.
 Bacot, Edward L., 20421A.
 Bahl, James F., 21706A.
 Bailey, Edward D., 43030A.
 Bailey, Jack E., 52852A.
 Bailey, Stanley L., 43249A.
 Baker, Forrest E., 41565A.
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 Swenson, Homer W., 21653A.
 Taber, Allison Y., 26574A.
 Talbott, William L., Jr., 42574A.
 Talley, Franklin G., 64639A.
 Tandler, Tyler W., 20372A.
 Tandy, Orval H., 42470A.
 Tarlin, Robert I., 43030A.
 Tate, Roy W., 52924A.
 Tave, Arthur, 25881A.
 Taylor, Daniel D., 20373A.
 Taylor, Dewey F., 43534A.
 Taylor, James W., 42804A.
 Taylor, John C., 42311A.
 Taylor, John L., 43387A.
 Taylor, John M., 42926A.
 Taylor, Lloyd D., 20563A.
 Taylor, Robert H., 43164A.
 Taylor, Ryan E., 42351A.
 Teachout, Gerald E., 28328A.
 Teater, Charles W., 43087A.
 Teets, Alexander M., 64646A.
 Tempel, Donald G., 43424A.
 Temple, Richard R., 43283A.
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 Thatcher, Frederick S., 20558A.
 Theis, George I., 42439A.
 Thielen, Edward J., 43241A.
 Thomas, Arthur J., Jr., 42478A.
 Thomas, Clarence A., 42020A.
 Thomas, Clarence W., 42372A.
 Thomas, Ernest C., 20377A.
 Thomas, John J., 23086A.
 Thomas, Maurice C., 24817A.
 Thomas, Vernon C., 43339A.
 Thompson, Francis E., 20378A.
 Thompson, George C., 26519A.
 Thompson, Gordon W., 24767A.
 Thompson, Joseph C., 19713A.
 Thompson, Kermit C., 43552A.
 Thompson, Lloyd J., 20565A.
 Thompson, Melvin C., 26687A.
 Thompson, Nathan S., 52846A.
 Thompson, Robert J., 43276A.
 Thomson, David L., 43522A.
 Threlkeld, Richard J., 26860A.
 Thurber, Robert J., 42983A.
 Thurman, Nelson D., Jr., 42400A.
 Tickel, William E., Jr., 43312A.
 Tillis, Wesley M., 42575A.
 Tittle, David H., 25870A.
 Tobey, Richard N., 20451A.
 Todsen, Peter B., 20381A.
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Toms, Glen C., 19979A.
 Tomlin, Whitney N., 43610A.
 Tormey, William F., Jr., 20468A.
 Torraco, Pasquale, 22432A.
 Torres, Rudolph, 42504A.
 Tourtellot, George P., 24775A.
 Townes, Thomas O., 20432A.
 Townsend, Jack H., 42615A.
 Townsend, Loren R., 43190A.
 Trabue, Harold J., 43122A.
 Tracey, John K. M. C., 64625A.
 Traynor, William H., 43541A.
 Treankler, Lester E., 27691A.
 Trentman, Harold T., 42886A.
 Trimble, Earl L., Jr., 42931A.
 Tringas, Constantine J., 25546A.
 Tripp, Daryle E., 20383A.
 Tritschler, Philip H., 43015A.
 Trompeter, Arthur F., 20384A.
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 Troxel, Fred W., 64626A.
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 Trumble, Kenneth M., 43322A.
 Truver, Curtis C., 20422A.
 Tsuflis, Vassilius P., 43388A.
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 Tubbs, Charles D., 64671A.
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 Turregano, John E., 23087A.
 Tuten, Raphael O., Jr., 26887A.
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 Tuxhorn, William R., 26514A.
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 Ulrich, Lloyd C., 20510A.
 Umminger, Rudolph, 42691A.
 Underwood, Elbert M., 24783A.
 Underwood, William E., 64692A.
 Urban, Norman, 42758A.
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 VanDyke, Henry C., 52906A.
 VanHise, Harold C., Jr., 43405A.
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 VanSau, Richard F., 52905A.
 Vastine, John E., 24458A.
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 Vlisodes, George F., 20389A.
 Vogel, David A., 42897A.
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 Volino, Rose L., 70908W.
 VonHaven, Ellis J., Jr., 26506A.
 VonKaenel, Robert A., 43123A.
 VonPlaten, William G., 42497A.
 Voudouris, Arthur C., 24786A.
 Wade, Thomas D., 24809A.
 Wagner, Charles R., 52819A.
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 Walecka, Norbert J., 20391A.
 Walker, Clarence W., Jr., 24437A.
 Walker, Hugh E., 43455A.
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 Walker, Ludwell K., 52883A.
 Walker, Robert H., 42453A.
 Walker, Robert W., 20392A.
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 Wallace, Dorsey C., 42403A.
 Wallace, James, Jr., 20393A.
 Waller, Jack T., 43478A.
 Waller, Jay R., 41083A.
 Walrath, Leslie M., 64684A.
 Walsh, Michael J., 20396A.
 Walters, Frederick B., 42473A.
 Walther, Joseph D., 42339A.
 Wampler, Raymond D., 43251A.
 Ward, Charles W., 52790A.
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 Warner, George E., 43044A.

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 Wasmund, Lee R., 21902A.
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 Watt, Donald H., 52791A.
 Watt, Ross W., 52796A.
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 Watzke, James R., 52784A.
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 Wead, Arthur D., 20773A.
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 Weber, Howard S., Jr., 43032A.
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 Wechter, Jerome E., 43375A.
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 Wessel, Carl H., 43124A.
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 Wheeler, Alan D., 20481A.
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 Whipple, Loris D., 20478A.
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 White, Billy P., 25848A.
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 White, Robert H., 43162A.
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 Whitman, Elliott H., 42812A.
 Wicker, Troy L., 64672A.
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 Wilke, Robert F., 20868A.
 Wilkerson, Alva L., 64683A.
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 Williams, Bernard R., Jr., 22467A.
 Williams, Harry J., 52806A.
 Williams, Irvin L., 20509A.
 Williams, Isham R., Jr., 20406A.
 Williams, James T., Jr., 52789A.
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 Williams, John A., Jr., 43456A.
 Williams, John B., 42647A.
 Williamson, Boyd D., 43588A.
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 Wills, Lynn R., 42884A.
 Wilman, James W., 43505A.
 Wilson, Anthony E., 64631A.
 Wilson, Forrest E., 52892A.
 Wilson, James L., 26856A.
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 Wilson, Ray H., 42388A.
 Wilson, Rudolph A., 43570A.
 Wilson, Sam H., 60089A.
 Wilson, Wallace E., 43018A.
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 Wolfer, Leonard L., 60101A.
 Wollmers, John A., 26886A.
 Wood, Archie L., 20409A.

Wood, Charles J. B., 42879A.
 Wood, Douglas R., 42313A.
 Wood, Hubbard L., Jr., 27703A.
 Wood, Paul S., 20410A.
 Woodford, Charles E., 28289A.
 Woodland, Orville W., 42895A.
 Woods, Charles E., 25883A.
 Woodson, John D., 18592A.
 Woodson, Richard C., 42745A.
 Woody, Floyd W., 52807A.
 Woodyard, John J., 42619A.
 Woog, Rene M., 52786A.
 Worsley, Wion W., 64566A.
 Worthy, Lorne R., 42446A.
 Wright, Harold V., 27728A.
 Wright, Lennon E., 28251A.
 Wright, Thomas A., 42475A.
 Wunderlich, John H., 42950A.
 Wyatt, Elvin O., 20870A.
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 Wynne, Norris S., 43347A.
 Yahn, Sidney M., 42681A.
 Yale, George E., Jr., 24571A.
 Yandell, Robert B., 64621A.
 Yeager, George G., Jr., 25566A.
 Yedlicka, David J., 43040A.
 Yerg, Kenneth G., 21708A.
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 Yingling, John W., 20428A.
 Yohannan, Francis, 42419A.
 York, Garland A., 42503A.
 York, Kenneth T., 42953A.
 York, Theodore R., 20413A.
 Young, Douglas J., 43376A.
 Young, Frank L., 20414A.
 Yunag, Robert D., 43536A.
 Zagorski, Frank J., 20417A.
 Zastrow, Laurence A., 42768A.
 Zavitz, Paul R., 26849A.
 Zbar, Allan L., 32414A.
 Ziecrick, Karl H., Jr., 43253A.
 Zimmer, Norbert A., 43206A.
 Zimmerman, Clarence, 43054A.
 Zimmerman, Henry W., 43445A.
 Zimmerman, Richard C., 43257A.
 Zinkgraf, Clarence W., 42525A.
 Zolezzi, Carl K., 64656A.
 Zuro, Joseph E., 43037A.

Chaplain

Arendsee, Roger M., 55164A.
 Barnett, Beverly J., 64308A.
 Barnett, Ike C., Jr., 64306A.
 Bauer, Walter R., 55167A.
 Blaisdell, Travis L., 55162A.
 Blitch, Eugene A., Jr., 55159A.
 Caine, Martin J., 64311A.
 Clancy, John L., 48635A.
 Colson, James T., 32431A.
 Curran, John J., 55151A.
 Ellis, John R., Jr., 55160A.
 Franklin, Charles R., 55171A.
 Gabrielsen, Luther T., 32429A.
 Gilliam, Alvin J., 55158A.
 Hesseldenz, Clarence, 48649A.
 Israel, Kenneth R., 48628A.
 Jester, Harold D., 32428A.
 Jolly, Joseph L., Jr., 55157A.
 Kryluk, Nicholas T., 32433A.
 Letchworth, Clarence F., 48648A.
 Llewellyn, Stanley A., 48642A.
 Ludlum, William J., 48644A.
 McCalmont, Daniel W., 64305A.
 McCormack, Orville L., 48638A.
 McDuffy, Walter N., Jr., 27668A.
 Miller, Richard D., 48643A.
 Mossey, Robert E., 55156A.
 Newton, Willis H., Jr., 56413A.
 Overman, Robert F., 64304A.
 Pedigo, Merle F., 64307A.
 Pickering, John E., Jr., 55150A.
 Pooch, Richard F., 64303A.
 Pritz, Raymond, 55154A.
 Quiggle, Robert E., 48637A.
 Rathjen, David E., 32432A.
 Riddle, Ray, 55163A.
 Roth, Gordon L., 64309A.
 Rothman, Robert C., 48634A.
 Saathoff, Ray H., 55168A.
 Schoning, John B., 26753A.
 Shively, Deane S., 55161A.

Stevens, Leland R., 48645A.
 Summy, Kenneth D., 32430A.
 Swain, Karl L., 48641A.
 Sylvester, Oscar L., 64310A.
 Taylor, Wayne L., 48650A.
 Troutman, Lloyd B., 55155A.
 West, Johnson E., 55173A.
 Wilson, Robert R., 48639A.
 Yashkas, Frank L., 32427A.
 Zolnerowich, Peter, 55172A.

Medical Corps

Abramo, Arnold A., 32318A.
 Acker, Donald W., 29307A.
 Anzel, Sanford H., 32024A.
 Basehaw, Jack D., 29420A.
 Beauchamp, Charles J., 32322A.
 Behrens, William H., Jr., 32323A.
 Beljan, John R., 27645A.
 Boese, Robert J., 27504A.
 Bowers, David G., Jr., 27621A.
 Bozena, Andrew M., 27649A.
 Breece, Grady L., Jr., 63009A.
 Buchman, Robert J., 49667A.
 Byrd, Richard B., 75283A.
 Capps, William F., Jr., 27623A.
 Chubb, Richard M., 49677A.
 Chunn, Samuel P., 49668A.
 Clark, William B., 29487A.
 Clowdus, Bernard F., 54940A.
 Dalzell, Wilbert G., 27510A.
 Darby, John P., Jr., 29868A.
 Dees, Doyce B., Jr., 64206A.
 Dooley, Byron N., 29486A.
 Dunn, John N., 55853A.
 Dye, William B., 56547A.
 Evans, Carl T., 31918A.
 Ford, George L., Jr., 27640A.
 Gennar, Byron A., III, 27612A.
 Gill, Frank E., 32317A.
 Gorman, James A., Jr., 29629A.
 Gould, Kenneth G., Jr., 27521A.
 Greendyke, William H., 68904A.
 Hansen, Richard D., 29814A.
 Hein, Walter R., 27651A.
 Holderman, Wallace D., 27642A.
 Jackson, John L., 29630A.
 Jones, William B., 55811A.
 Kalnitsky, Eugene, 29870A.
 Karl, Edward A., 29813A.
 Kelly, Roy J., 31945A.
 Kemmerer, William T., 27503A.
 Langdon, David E., 32321A.
 Laporte, Donald J., 69803A.
 Lecoco, Frank R., 29815A.
 Lee, William L., Jr., 27639A.
 Lenyo, Ludimere, 27996A.
 Lewis, George O., 62490A.
 McClellan, Verne L., 49676A.
 Meijer, Henry P., 51327A.
 Meltzer, Saul S., 51329A.
 Nitz, George K., Jr., 29873A.
 Nugent, Paul F., Jr., 51328A.
 Parker, Edward C., Jr., 31915A.
 Penner, Clyde E., 27993A.
 Raspberry, James N., 51331A.
 Richardson, Harold N., 29871A.
 Robertson, James T., 27988A.
 Rogers, Bealer T., Jr., 27524A.
 Salina, Richard J., 54939A.
 Schubert, James J., 29485A.
 Schwarz, Kuno C., 28149A.
 Seaman, David, 29872A.
 Small, Harvey C., 27624A.
 Smith, Myron R., 64205A.
 Southwick, Samuel G., 29914A.
 Tenecky, Fred W., 32320A.
 Tieszen, Ralph L., 32319A.
 Turner, Robert J., III, 27619A.
 Vinson, William M., 49674A.
 Wright, Allen R., 27617A.
 Young, Gerald D., Jr., 51330A.

Dental Corps

Angelici, Arnold A., 51573A.
 Archambault, Jean B., 32579A.
 Bange, Albert A., 31916A.
 Barton, John A., Jr., 55873A.
 Boxwell, David O., 28133A.
 Bydalek, Raymond O., 51572A.
 Byerly, William T., 29891A.
 Clark, Robert C., 61152A.

Esterl, Norman L., 29294A.
 Ferguson, Richard P., 32359A.
 Frome, William J., 70370A.
 Furr, Robert E., 31948A.
 Hallwass, Karl H., 55776A.
 Harman, John N., 32360A.
 Hitchens, James A., 29302A.
 Jameson, William S., 32578A.
 Johns, Robert C., 56386A.
 Martinick, Stephen G., 59954A.
 Mielke, Willard L., 49704A.
 O'Hara, James W., 59715A.
 Pavlikowski, Fred L., 28130A.
 Sherheim, Myron T., 32581A.
 Smart, Elliott A., 27634A.
 Sproule, Paul W., 55775A.
 Starbuck, Gordon E., 64227A.
 Stephens, Oscar W., III, 32588A.
 Treloar, Thomas J., 59486A.
 Urata, Wallace T., 29301A.

Veterinary Corps

Anderson, Donald L., 29331A.
 Cook, James E., 27534A.
 Fineg, Jerry, 56480A.
 Goen, Oliver F., 51122A.
 Holk, Herbert C., 26648A.
 Lashua, Elmer L., 27533A.
 Wright, Albert D., 56479A.

Medical Service Corps

Alder, Albert V., 21880A.
 Ansley, Ben A., 23080A.
 Archibald, Erwin R., 25685A.
 Armatis, Gerald J., 49013A.
 Bairrington, Jarrell D., 55331A.
 Bodner, William C., 21878A.
 Boggs, Gayle E., 49009A.
 Brown, Ernest H., 49014A.
 Channell, Lynn R., 49012A.
 Clarry, Robert W., 49011A.
 Covell, Donald E., 23232A.
 Griffith, Llewellyn B., 24238A.
 Jonas, Ralph B., 23226A.
 Kelly, John A., 23225A.
 Krakauer, Hans A., 23235A.
 Martin, Robert P., 23234A.
 Massey, Marschal W., 49007A.
 Meyer, Albert M., 49010A.
 Mullin, Paul B., 49015A.
 Olson, Robert A., 49008A.
 Perkins, Arthur H., 25336A.
 Price, William B., Jr., 28003A.
 Schofield, James B., 23231A.
 Seaquist, Maurice R., 25344A.

Nurse Corps

Ball, Rita J., 49715W.
 Conboy, Ruth A., 51587W.
 Davis, Elizabeth M., 56558W.
 Drisdale, Alcester M., 63027W.
 Glends, Nena S., 25762W.
 Jeffries, Sarah M., 59961W.
 Mills, Meta M., 32591W.
 Myers, Jean C., 49716W.
 Rials, Audrey R., 49717W.
 Schooley, Mildred F., 24257W.
 Shipe, Olive L., 51588W.
 Wells, Helen, 23247W.

Medical Specialist Corps

Hodgkins, Barbara M., 21895W.
 Manor, Filomena R., 21894W.
 Reinbold, Carolyn, 49739W.

*SECOND LIEUTENANT TO FIRST LIEUTENANT**Line of the Air Force*

Abram, Max L., 71584A.
 Ackerman, Charles T., 62500A.
 Adams, James O., 73141A.
 Adlington, Paul R., 74330A.
 Aehnlich, Paul C., 72030A.
 Ahmann, James N., 62501A.
 Alexander, Larry D., 71816A.
 Allen, Gerald N., 71817A.
 Allen, Lawrence W., 72586A.
 Allen, Robert L., 74334A.
 Almquist, Gordon N., 74336A.
 Altenhof, Robert R., 72587A.
 Alvarez, Esteban O., 73810A.
 Aman, Earl D., 62502A.
 Amlong, Joseph B., 62503A.
 Andersen, Vernon K., 73811A.

Anderson, Calvin C., 73142A.
 Anderson, Charles A., 73812A.
 Anderson, Lee R., 62504A.
 Anderson, Marcus A., 62505A.
 Anderson, Warren L., 72034A.
 Anderson, Wendell L., 63362A.
 Andres, Lanny R., 63388A.
 Anselmo, Robert J., 73813A.
 Anzivino, Angelo L., 71324A.
 Apodaca, Victor J., Jr., 62506A.
 Arnold, David H., 72037A.
 Arnold, Richard W., 62507A.
 Asfahl, Charles R., Jr., 62992A.
 Atkinson, James F., Jr., 72588A.
 Atkinson, Thomas S., 73814A.
 Atnip, David L., 74343A.
 Ator, Robert A., 73143A.
 Atterberry, Phillip R., 69561A.
 Aube, Albert E., 73815A.
 Austin, James S., Jr., 63559A.
 Austin, James T., 74345A.
 Auten, Jimmie D., 73144A.
 Auth, James F., 73145A.
 Averett, Ronald J., 73146A.
 Aylsworth, William E., 62508A.
 Babitzke, Edward B., 74349A.
 Backus, Richard A., 62509A.
 Bacon, John M., 73147A.
 Baertl, Charles E., 72589A.
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 Baker, James N., 71326A.
 Baker, John T., Jr., 62512A.
 Baker, Willard K., 73816A.
 Balas, George R., 72837A.
 Baldassano, Robert S., 74355A.
 Baldwin, Nathan W., 73150A.
 Ball, Billy D., 74356A.
 Barlow, Gordon J., 74363A.
 Barnes, James E., 73817A.
 Barnes, Wymon J., 71327A.
 Baron, David A., 74366A.
 Barrett, Norman L., 73151A.
 Barrick, Ronald R., 62513A.
 Barry, Edward P., Jr., 62514A.
 Bartholomew, Rodney A., 62515A.
 Bartlett, William K., Jr., 73152A.
 Barton, John B., 71696A.
 Bassett, David H., 72344A.
 Bassett, Donald A., 72593A.
 Baten, Jimmie R., 71328A.
 Bates, Weldon D., Jr., 62516A.
 Batton, Robert N., Jr., 73818A.
 Bauer, Donald W., 73153A.
 Bayliss, Paul M., 71329A.
 Beagle, Howard T., 63474A.
 Bear, Howard J., 71697A.
 Beardemphl, Thomas W., 63448A.
 Beazley, Charles E., 73154A.
 Beck, John J., Jr., 63429A.
 Becker, Edward L., Jr., 74373A.
 Beckner, Stanley G., 73155A.
 Behler, Joseph A., 71330A.
 Behring, Darrel D., 74375A.
 Beller, Gerald R., 63449A.
 Bennett, Jerry L., 62517A.
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 Bennett, Richard A., 74379A.
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 Berlingson, Richard J., 73158A.
 Berle, Terence H., 73159A.
 Bernard, Samuel T., 72349A.
 Bertram, Norman L., 74386A.
 Best, Robert W., Jr., 62518A.
 Betsill, Sammy F., 73160A.
 Bettsworth, James A., 62994A.
 Bever, Howard O., 73161A.
 Bevington, Alan L., 73162A.
 Bilodeau, Gilbert R., 62519A.
 Binder, Donald H., 73163A.
 Birmingham, Edward P., 73164A.
 Birrittella, Bernard J., 72840A.
 Bishoprick, Dean W., 62950A.
 Bitner, Richard F., 62520A.
 Bjorke, Erle L., 72598A.
 Bjornstad, Robert J., 72599A.

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 Blackmore, Ronald E., 73166A.
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 Blaisdell, Allan C., 62521A.
 Blake, Hubert L., 74393A.
 Blakney, Kenneth L., 73821A.
 Blankenship, Charles H., 73167A.
 Blaufuss, Edward A., 73822A.
 Bledsoe, Adolphus H., Jr., 71334A.
 Blessing, David A., 62986A.
 Blizzard, John J., Jr., 73168A.
 Bobek, Andrew S., 73169A.
 Bodenhamer, Howard L., 62522A.
 Boedecker, Robert F. C., 62523A.
 Bohlson, John S., 74397A.
 Bolen, Edward S., 72600A.
 Boles, Jimmie K., 74398A.
 Boles, Robert H., 72841A.
 Bomar, James S., 72045A.
 Bomgardner, Larry J., 73823A.
 Bond, Charles C., 72353A.
 Bonfield, John A., 74400A.
 Booth, Robert M., 73170A.
 Bordeaux, John C., 71702A.
 Boren, Donald F., 63430A.
 Bott, Don C., 74402A.
 Bounds, Gordon S., 62524A.
 Bouquet, Victor H., Jr., 62525A.
 Bouthyday, Fred R., 73171A.
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 Box, Don W., 62527A.
 Boyd, Cecil S., 62528A.
 Boyd, Charles G., 72601A.
 Boyd, Stuart R., 62529A.
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 Boys, William W., 74405A.
 Bradberry, Lester E., 73172A.
 Bradley, George E., Jr., 74407A.
 Bradley, James E., 74408A.
 Bradstreet, Frederick E., III, 62531A.
 Brady, James C., Jr., 73173A.
 Brady, Tim, 74409A.
 Brandon, Felix R., II, 73174A.
 Brandt, Rand, 73175A.
 Brannelly, John J., 73824A.
 Brannon, John J., 73825A.
 Brant, Roger F., 73176A.
 Bratton, Richard V., 72354A.
 Breen, Joseph A., 63471A.
 Breeze, Harrel R., 72046A.
 Breitling, Fred G., 74411A.
 Brennan, Charles L., 72603A.
 Brewer, James E., 74412A.
 Brian, Arthur W., 71703A.
 Brickey, Robert E., 62532A.
 Bridley, Charles A., 73826A.
 Bright, Jack W., 62533A.
 Brill, Frank Z., Jr., 72604A.
 Brinker, Michael P., 73827A.
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 Wilson, Charles R., 74112A.
 Wilson, David A., 74113A.
 Wilson, Frederick P., 62801A.
 Wilson, George D., 72759A.
 Wilson, John M., Jr., 62981A.
 Wilson, Joseph W., 71506A.
 Wilson, Kenneth E., 75253A.
 Wilson, Leonard R., 74114A.
 Wilson, Robert M., 72458A.
 Wilson, Thomas W. C., 62802A.
 Wilson, William R., 75255A.
 Wimmer, Carl J., 62803A.
 Winklepleck, Robert H., 75257A.
 Winter, Jon W., 72953A.
 Wise, Donald E., 71508A.
 Wisner, Thomas D., 74115A.
 Witcher, Bruce E., 72954A.
 Witte, Roger E., 74116A.
 Woelfel, Robert T., 62804A.
 Wohrman, Frederick R., 62805A.
 Wolcott, John J., 62806A.
 Wolf, Dennis F., 74117A.
 Wolfe, Dennis B., 62983A.
 Wolfe, James L., 75258A.
 Wolfe, Roland L., Jr., 75259A.
 Wolff, Armand E., 73463A.
 Woller, Elde C., 75261A.
 Wolpert, James H., Jr., 74118A.
 Womack, Joseph E., 73464A.
 Wood, Keith F., 62807A.
 Wood, Paul M., 72461A.
 Wood, Walter H., Jr., 74119A.
 Woodbury, Roger C., 62808A.
 Woodland, Kenneth E., 72463A.
 Woodruff, Gary L., 74121A.
 Woods, Philip H., 62809A.
 Woodward, Charles D., 72194A.
 Woodward, Elbert T., 74122A.
 Woodward, John F., Jr., 75266A.
 Woodworth, Paul A., 74123A.
 Wooke, Charles F., 72955A.
 Wozmak, James M., 75269A.
 Wray, Duane J., 75270A.
 Wright, David E., 74124A.
 Wright, James H., Jr., 71510A.
 Wright, Larry D., 73465A.
 Wright, Robert W., 74125A.
 Wright, William R., 62810A.
 Wunderler, Carl J., Jr., 73466A.
 Wyatt, J. C., 71511A.
 Wynne, Richard L., 72468A.
 Yaeger, Michael A., 72956A.

Yancey, George P., 62811A.
 Yano, Chauncey S., 72469A.
 Yates, Robert C., 72471A.
 Yavis, Robert P., 62812A.
 Yeley, Donald L., 75272A.
 Yoakam, Gary L., 71653A.
 Young, Donald R., 75273A.
 Young, Emerson D., Jr., 72472A.
 Young, Kenneth M., 73467A.
 Young, Larry M., 69576A.
 Young, Otis B., Jr., 75274A.
 Young, Richard A., 71880A.
 Yount, Ben F., 73468A.
 Youschank, William J., 75275A.
 Zapotocky, Robert J., 74126A.
 Zarpaylic, John T., 74127A.
 Zawoysky, John R., 73469A.
 Zekan, Andrew M., 73470A.
 Zembraski, Robert F., 74128A.
 Zenyuh, John V., 62813A.
 Zielke, Robert B., 75277A.
 Zimmerman, Ronald L., 74129A.
 Zimmern, Jonathan E., 71882A.
 Zollner, Ronald A., 75280A.
 Zompa, Edward A., 62814A.
 Zuck, David L., 63486A.
 Zumbrunn, Werner J., 62982A.
 Zych, Leonard P., 75218A.
Medical Service Corps
 Wild, James H., 62795A.
 Gordon, James V., 70935A.
 Simpson, Harry J., 70934A.
Nurse Corps
 Anderson, Marie E., 66045W.
Medical Specialist Corps
 Eyler, Roberta K., 71145W.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate January 16, 1964:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

John R. Reilly, of Iowa, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the unexpired term of 7 years from September 26, 1962.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1964

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Ephesians 3: 17: That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith.

Eternal and ever-blessed God, fill us now with joy and thanksgiving, with wonder and high hopes, as we seek to appropriate by faith the blessings of Thy grace needed for the hours of this new day.

We are sure that no day can ever be marred or soiled by the sordid promptings of self-interest if we have an exalted sense of Thy love and follow the unfailing guidance of Thy spirit.

Inspire us with a zealous and invincible desire to have a large share in building Thy kingdom of peace on earth and good will among men.

Grant that no selfish consideration or feelings of complacency shall ever close our hearts to the cries of a broken world with its baffling problems and perplexities.

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

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

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

MR. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

MR. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I should like to inquire of the majority leader as to the program for next week.

MR. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the question of the minority leader, we have no further legislative program for this week. Of course, we will pay tribute today to our late colleague. It will be my purpose to ask unanimous consent to go over until Monday next, in view of the fact we have completed our legislative program for this week.

The program for next week is as follows:

Monday, bills on the Consent Calendar will be called, and there are four bills to be called up under suspension, namely:

S. 1309, to amend the Small Business Act by broadening the disaster loan authority and imposing criminal penalties for certain offenses;

S. 298, Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1963;

S. 741, bribery in sporting contests; and

H.R. 9435, judicial procedures in litigation with international aspects.

On Tuesday bills on the Private Calendar will be called. We will also consider on Tuesday the bill H.R. 4879, the Library Services Act amendments, which will be considered under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

I should like to advise Members also that the dean of the Pennsylvania delegation [Mr. MORGAN] has advised that he will seek recognition to pay tribute to our late colleague, Mr. Green, on Tuesday.

On Wednesday, H.R. 8190, Patent Office fees bill, under an open rule with 2 hours' general debate.

For Thursday and the balance of the week, S. 254, providing for acquisition of certain property in square 758 in the District of Columbia, as an addition to the grounds of the U.S. Supreme Court Building. This will be considered under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

This is subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time, and any further program may be announced later.

MR. HALLECK. I thank the gentleman.

ADJOURNMENT FROM TODAY UNTIL MONDAY NEXT

MR. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

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

MR. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, first of all I would like to ask if the legislation dealing with acquisition of property is the parking lot

for the Supreme Court? Is that the bill to come up next week?

Mr. ALBERT. That is my understanding.

Mr. GROSS. Can the gentleman give us any advice as to when we are going to get into gear and start in on some of the major legislation that is pending?

Mr. ALBERT. In the first place, we are only in the second week of the session. We have already enacted important legislation. Second, two subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations are already at work. We are hoping to have the authorization bills all here soon—some of them are already up here. They are the authorizations necessary to the enactment of the various appropriation bills. We are programming this legislation as fast as it is ready and the committees are ready to present it.

Mr. GROSS. I hope the gentleman and the distinguished Speaker of the House will do everything in their power to move the legislative program forward this year. I may say to the gentleman that this is the second session of an already organized Congress, and we ought to be proceeding expeditiously.

Far be it from me to tell the gentleman from Oklahoma, the distinguished majority leader, how to conduct the business of the House, but I do not want to go through another 12-month session if it can be avoided, and I am sure it can be. I have said this before and I am going to say it repeatedly. I hope, too, we can have some assurance soon for the record that there will be no business put over on account of primary elections this year.

Mr. ALBERT. If the gentleman will yield on that, we abandoned that practice of putting over votes on account of primaries last year.

Mr. GROSS. I might say to the gentleman I am afraid that there was some business postponed last year on account of primaries, and last year was not a full-fledged primary election year as will be the case this year. I hope that we may have that assurance and all Members of the House may be put on notice that this year there will be no postponing of important business before the House of Representatives on account of primary elections, because this, as the gentleman well knows, can stretch out the legislative program for weeks on end.

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman's point certainly is worthy of consideration. I will say to the gentleman we have had this matter under consideration.

Mr. GROSS. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

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

There was no objection.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

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

There was no objection.

WHOLESALE FEDERAL LIQUOR STAMPS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to report to Congress on a situation which has arisen in Texas concerning the forced sale of wholesale Federal liquor stamps to retailers in our great State. In my interviews with retailers in Denison, the following information was developed: Retail liquor dealers in the Denison area were forced to buy wholesale Federal liquor stamps over their protest that as retailers they did not need the wholesaler's license. Some paid as much as \$1,100 for the stamp; others as little as \$400. Some refused and were not further coerced. One retail chain of three stores was filed on by Alcohol Tax Unit Investigator Archie Kirkpatrick. This chain was fined and made to purchase the wholesale stamp and to remain closed for a month. Upon reopening, the chain installed as general manager, Jerry Kirkpatrick, the 26-year-old son of the investigating agent for the Alcohol Tax Unit, Archie Kirkpatrick. The younger Kirkpatrick, a resident of Dallas, approximately 75 miles south of Denison, was not known to have experience in the liquor business.

I have asked for information throughout the State of Texas concerning the sale of wholesale Federal liquor stamps to retailers. On January 6 I brought this matter to the attention of Mr. Dwight Avis, Director of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service, who assures me that an investigation is being made.

However, as of yesterday, Archie Kirkpatrick is still being retained as an investigator in the Dallas office. I question the propriety of allowing a person under investigation to remain in active status where such serious allegations have been made.

NEED FOR A NEW LOOK AT FOREIGN AID

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in today's Washington Post states that some have suggested that the State Department take over the functions of AID and others that the foreign aid program be parceled out among the various depart-

ments of Government. Then the editorial cynically observes:

The object of the first suggestion is presumably a closer coordination between the economic and political elements of American foreign policy; the second is clearly designed to minimize congressional hostility by means of budgetary camouflage.

I am a severe critic of how the foreign aid program has recently been carried out by our Government, and this criticism is felt by millions of Americans and by a large portion of Congress. The first objective mentioned by the Washington Post in the proposed reorganization of the foreign aid program is an objective which may have validity, and I am sure there are those who make this the chief point of criticism of the program. There are probably others who cynically wish to fool Members of Congress into spending the same amount of money in the same extravagant manner but under some sort of a camouflage.

But, the vast majority of the general public in this country and the vast majority of the critics of the program in Congress are critical of this program because it involves tremendous financial outlays at a time when our country is in such a fiscal situation that most agree that a tax cut must be enacted when we are running our Government on a large deficit basis. Most people take the same view that I do, that is, that there is a great deal of value in the foreign aid program, but that the program must be diminished in these times of severe deficit financing in our country when there is present the requirement for reducing taxes.

In the changes that should take place it is obvious that administrative improvement should be made and waste eliminated wherever possible. However, I feel, and I am sure many others feel, that there are more specific criticisms of the present program. I have already mentioned that it is greatly too large when the present fiscal situation in our country is considered. Another specific criticism is that it is easier to obtain with U.S. funds a specific public work or other betterment in a foreign country than it is in our own country for our own people, when they are equally needed. This should not be so.

Another criticism is that the entire foreign aid program is too flexible and lacks specific congressional attention and restriction to individual projects and countries. From the debate on the appropriation bill I gather that the whole sum of money can be scattered around in an entirely new pattern by the executive branch with practically no guidelines if the executive branch decides that it is what they think best. This should not be.

I am a strong advocate of the military program being placed in the Department of Defense and being worked upon by the appropriate authorization committees and appropriation committees in the defense field in the House and Senate, subjecting these military items to the same close scrutiny and careful attention that is given our own military expenditures. Nothing like this or even approaching this is presently the case.

This correction is one of the most needed corrections in the present program. It certainly has nothing to do with any sort of budgetary camouflage. It merely means that military authorities in studying this program from beginning to end should be subjecting it at least to the same careful scrutiny and austere standards given our own domestic military expenditures.

I shall summarize. I believe it is now time to separate the military assistance from the economic funds in the program and that the military assistance should be subject to the same careful scrutiny in military channels that our own domestic military expenditures are given. The economic aid programs for the several countries should be particularized and the projects and programs for each country made definite, eliminating the vast flexibility now aiding the tremendous size of this program. All programs and projects abroad should stand at least on the same strict basis of justification used in the expenditure of domestic projects dollars. Finally, every effort that can be made should be made to minimize the overall cost of this program in view of the present fiscal situation in our country.

REVISION OF FOREIGN POLICY DUE

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, according to the morning dispatches, the Government of Panama declines to resume diplomatic relations with the United States unless a revision of the Canal Treaty is discussed. So what? We do not need Panama nearly as much as Panama needs us. Two-thirds of Panama's national income is derived from the United States in payments to the Panamanian Government or in salaries to canal employees.

What is needed here is a little realism in our dealings with irresponsible nations. The U.S. practice of jumping to do the bidding of half-pint nations has about convinced the world we are the softest mark in history. We failed to stand with our friends when Nasser seized the Suez Canal, and in fact condemned the efforts of those friends to protect their rights. Panama now expects to do as Egypt did.

We had a chance to kick Castro out of Cuba and failed to take it. Now, he is more firmly entrenched than ever and is training revolutionaries who disrupt efforts for progress and democracy throughout Latin America. His agents were in the forefront of the rioting in Panama.

We are in the right, and when we are in the right there is nothing wrong with using the strength which God and our own initiative has endowed us with.

We are overdue for a revision in foreign policy.

TRADE WITH COMMUNIST NATIONS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, there are several old cliches—"the chickens come home to roost" and that sort of thing—but there is really no graceful way to say "I told you so." Nevertheless, once in a while it is necessary to do so because it illuminates past mistakes and wise men profit by their mistakes.

I opposed the campaign to win public and congressional approval of the sale of wheat to Russia. I said that the effect would be to bail out the faltering farm system of the Soviet Union. I observed that because of our own system of subsidies, American taxpayers would be supporting the Soviet treasury and actually relieving Russian taxpayers. I pointed out that we would be giving the Russians another opportunity to sell and other small grains at a profit to her satellite countries.

Furthermore, if I may be forgiven for quoting myself, I said:

For quite some time we have implored nations of the free world not to trade with Communist Cuba. We have urged that their ships bypass Cuban ports. We have even exercised some coercion to enforce this policy. Economic boycott is now the only means pressed by our Government to oust Castro. Can we have any hope of ousting Communist Castro through economic boycott (which requires the cooperation of the entire free world) while we openly trade with Communist Khrushchev? To our complaints against free nations trading with Castro, they will simply say, "We trade with Communist Cuba, sure! You trade with Communist Russia, don't you?" We have left ourselves absurdly and ridiculously inconsistent.

The wheat deal went through despite much opposition and doubts expressed by many, including myself. Now the proverbial chickens have come home to roost, and more may be on the way.

Under Castro and the Communist system, public and private transportation in Cuba has collapsed. Every photograph and other evidence showed abandoned, dilapidated and broken down motor vehicles and rail equipment. As soon as the signatures were dry on the United States-to-Russia wheat deal, England sold 400 buses to Castro on a convenient basis.

On the England-to-Cuba bus sale, our State Department said this "certainly does not help." Our Secretary of Commerce said, "I don't like it a bit." Yes, our Government, through these and other high officials, expressed strong resentment and objections to the British sale of buses to Communist Cuba. But I ask, how could the British be expected to take seriously American objections and criticism when we were at the very moment consummating wheat deliveries to Communist Russia? The simple answer is, they did not take us seriously. The typical British reply was like the one broadcasted by British Broadcasting

Co. on January 9. "Why should Americans," they asked, "be so angry about British buses sold to Cuba when they sell wheat to Russia?" This is typical of statements forthcoming from many British sources. They simply laughed in our face.

I predict that our wheat deal with Russia will open the floodgates of trade with Communist nations. As a matter of fact, several countries were anxiously bidding on the bus sale to Castro, which I doubt they would have done had it not been for our wheat deal with Russia. The bidders included some of our stanchest allies, West Germany, Japan, Spain, and France. Furthermore, there are rumors now that Spain will go through with a plan to build ships for Castro—a plan which they had just about abandoned because of U.S. protests. Now their argument is the same as that used by the British. If the United States can sell wheat to Russia, they say, Spain can sell ships to Cuba.

Yes, indeed, our wheat deal with Russia has brought the chickens home to roost. The economic blockade of Cuba, the one and only means inaugurated by our Government to liquidate the Castro regime, is dead. The wheat deal killed it. Although time is fleeting, I do not think it is too late. It can be revived. We can establish an effective blockade. We cannot make a policy of economic blockade of Cuba work unless we play by the same rules and set the right kind of example. And certainly our wheat and grain trading with Russia is not the right kind of example.

We had better close the gate before it is too late.

THE LATE HONORABLE HOWARD H. BAKER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, no words I have ever spoken in a lifetime of experience on many levels of human endeavor have called up from me so profound an emotional sense of personal loss as the unexpected and the untimely passing from us of our beloved colleague HOWARD H. BAKER, of the Second District of Tennessee. I know how widespread this deep and upsetting sense of bereavement is among his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. For what we had in HOWARD BAKER was not only a statesman of the first magnitude in the field of complex and involved legislation that touched the life of every American of our time; what we had in HOWARD BAKER was a man of great sensitivity and feeling, whose legislative achievements were not only intellectual and extraordinary on their own, but were motivated by the noblest qualities of human decency and righteousness.

Here is the grandeur of human personality that explains the greatness of our country.

HOWARD BAKER was, on the basis of the most exacting standards of our time, an educated gentleman, who gave to his

community, to his State, to his country, the enormous value of his talents and his diligence. Every syllable he uttered, every move he made, every gesture, as I well know, was dedicated to the public interest. This abiding passion for the public good was born in him, as his life so amply testifies.

What HOWARD BAKER leaves behind is a massive contribution of difficult and regular work-a-day and brilliant service on the Ways and Means Committee, and as a Member of this House. The key word those of us who were associated with him in his work or who knew him personally and affectionately, was: "constructive." HOWARD BAKER was a working legislator. His effort is imbedded in the statutes of our country and will operate to the public good for generations to come.

I thought that the Members of this House would like to know the editorial comments made by his hometown newspapers on his passing. To me these comments are priceless and clearly show the love and esteem held for him by everyone.

I ask unanimous consent that I include these very appropriate editorial comments from the Knoxville News-Sentinel and the Knoxville Journal at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, Jan. 8, 1964]

HOWARD H. BAKER

HOWARD BAKER's sudden death comes as a shock not only to his constituency but to the whole country. For he had become a national figure.

The esteem, prestige and influence he had gained in his nearly 13 years in Congress climaxed a career that had reached the unusual in achievement.

It had been widely remarked in recent years as he won reelection easily if not unopposed that "Howard is in Congress for life." That proved true, but the life ended sooner, alas, than expected.

HOWARD BAKER had human qualities. He could forgive and forget. Just as many of his critics of things he'd done in the past had forgiven and forgotten in the overall appraisal of his career.

His first campaign for election to Congress against Frank Wilson, the Oak Ridge Democrat, was bitter indeed. Yet the two turned out to be good friends, Baker endorsed Wilson for Federal judge, and many of Wilson's followers, like so many other Democrats, turned out being among the BAKER devotees that kept electing HOWARD to Congress time after time after time.

HOWARD tried hard to serve all the people, regardless of their political faith. And though himself a devout Republican, he was his own man. Many times he deviated from the party line in his votes when he thought it was in the public interest to do so. There have been times, even, when we ourselves have opposed the "liberal" side he took in voting on certain issues. For HOWARD could never be classified. No "boss" could tell him what to do.

Outstanding in his record was his consistent espousal of the Baker-Herlong bill that would have cut both taxes and Federal expenditures on an automatic formula over a 5-year period. He was in favor of solvent government. Herlong-Baker never passed,

but some of its principles have been creeping into tax legislation at his instance.

In all his dealings, HOWARD BAKER thought of the human—or humane—side.

Perhaps his last such achievement of note was an insertion he got into the current tax bill that the House passed last year. That was to spare people of 65 and over from having to pay taxes on the yield from the sale of their homes, regardless of whether they ever bought another.

Mr. BAKER's championing of TVA, regardless of Republican line or the attitude of skeptical Presidents, is something for which this area will forever owe him a debt. And likewise for his having almost singlehandedly prevented TVA's headquarters from being moved from here to Muscle Shoals, Ala.

Counting the time he had been a State legislator and the 14 years he had served as a district attorney general, HOWARD BAKER had a career of 30 years of public service. A host of people mourn him and with gratitude for this service, and will miss him. For his likes don't come often.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal, Jan. 9, 1964]

HOWARD H. BAKER

Those of us who, over a long period of years, enjoyed the friendship of HOWARD H. BAKER, found in him those qualities that give it value. One expects of his friends affection, understanding, and a willingness to help in time of need. No friend of Representative HOWARD H. BAKER, whose sudden death came as a shock on Tuesday, ever found him wanting by those standards. Furthermore, they found in him not only a man possessed of all of these qualifications for friendship, but also integrity and high-mindedness that were unquestioned even by such opponents as he had from time to time.

It was natural, then, that HOWARD BAKER's relationship to the roughly 500,000 people in his congressional district completely paralleled that which he maintained with his personal friends throughout his 13 years in Congress. Some of us who have observed his service in the House during more than a decade feel that his determination to give aid to every constituent, to help where he could to solve the other man's problems, and at the same time to meet the demands of his office at the national level; all these contributed to a shortening of his years, to the tragic loss of his services to the district by his death this week.

It is one of the ironies of life, especially in politics, that HOWARD BAKER should have been struck down at a point in his public career when he could not have been successfully challenged by any potential opposition. It was foreseeable, until death came, that he could have served out as many years as he chose in this high office, with never a suggestion of opposition either in his own party or from outside it. So great was the confidence of the citizens in this district in his loyalty to them and in his integrity as a man and a politician, that his reelection worries were over.

So much for his relationship to the people of his district. Thousands of them did not actually realize it, but HOWARD BAKER had achieved, during his years in Congress recognized stature as a legislator and statesman. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, the body in which all tax legislation originates according to the Constitution, he was known as a member who never attended a meeting without having prepared his lesson in advance. He was as conscientious about attending meetings of this committee as he was about his general attendance at all sessions of Congress. He was an authority on Federal tax laws, a man whose opinion was given high value by the committee's chairman, Repre-

sentative WILBUR MILLS, of Arkansas, and by his other colleagues.

As one of the select group of 435 House Members who bear responsibility for legislating in the interests of 190 million people, HOWARD BAKER had reached a place where he was in truth a power in the Federal Government. Thus the loss sustained in his death goes far beyond this district to the service of whose citizens he had literally dedicated his life. His death is a loss to the Nation.

The memory of this service is fixed indelibly in the hearts and minds of those of us who were his friends and his constituents. As a man, a politician and as a statesman, he has handed down a legacy of a life well lived that should serve as an inspiration to all of us who survive him.

To Mrs. Baker and the members of his family our sympathy is extended, upon both our own behalf and that of thousands of others who share with them their sorrow in the passing of a great man from our midst.

Mr. QUILLEN. Tennessee has lost a great Republican leader, the Nation has lost a great statesman, and I have lost a good friend.

My wife joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Baker and the members of the family.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on the life, character, and public service of our late colleague from Tennessee.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. QUILLEN. I am happy to yield to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, another beloved colleague has been taken from our ranks and the suddenness of his passing is a sober reminder to all of us—once again—that no man knows the day or the hour when his mission in life shall have been fulfilled.

HOWARD BAKER was my friend, as he was the friend of all among us in this body.

If he was capable of anger or meanness, I never saw it displayed.

He was unpretentious, but effective in his contributions to the work of this body.

HOWARD BAKER came to the Congress after a distinguished career of service to the Republican Party and to the people of his community and his district.

Here he served faithfully and well as a deeply conscientious member of the great Committee on Ways and Means.

The gentleman from Tennessee was a man of complete integrity—dependable and talented—who recognized his responsibilities to the people he represented as well as to the country as a whole.

HOWARD BAKER was a man of principle who never wavered from a course he believed to be right.

His greatest quality, I think, was a consistency of purpose and a willingness to stand up and be counted—come what may—for his convictions.

That the people he served had confidence in and appreciated HOWARD BAKER was reflected in the majorities his constituents gave him year after year.

With his passing the State of Tennessee and the Nation have lost a sincere public servant.

I join in offering my heartfelt sympathies to his bereaved family.

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

Mr. QUILLEN. I yield to the distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in mourning the sudden death of HOWARD BAKER of Tennessee. He had been a Member of this body since 1950. In that time we came to know him as a man of warmth, of principle, and of dedication.

We mourn because we have lost a friend whom we respect and genuinely like. We mourn because this body and the country have lost a public servant whose very presence enhanced the dignity of the Congress. We mourn for the State of Tennessee and particularly for the second district of that State, for HOWARD BAKER was ever mindful of the hopes and needs of the people whom he represented. We mourn also for Mrs. Baker and her children, for they have lost a devoted husband and father.

The facts of the life of HOWARD BAKER constitute a story of ever-widening responsibilities, all of which he was eminently qualified to bear. He was an alert and intelligent student, graduating from the Knoxville High School in June 1918, at the age of 16. He received an A.B. degree from the University of Tennessee in June 1922, and an LLB degree from the University of Tennessee College of Law in June 1924. The personal qualities and abilities which we have come to know were early recognized by his fellow students. He was president of the senior class in 1922 and president of the student honor system. While at the college of law he became a member of Phi Alpha Delta legal fraternity and was one of five students selected to organize the Tennessee Law Review. He became its first editor-in-chief.

His fellow citizens, those people who knew him well, also recognized his leadership qualities. He was a member of the Tennessee Legislature in 1929 and 1930, a member of the Scott County Board of Education in 1931 and 1932, and Attorney general of the 19th judicial district, composed of six counties, from 1934 to 1948.

HOWARD BAKER was first elected to the 82d Congress on November 7, 1950, and we have since had the benefit of his experience and talents. He has been a valuable member of the Ways and Means Committee since 1953 and has helped to write much sound social legislation for the good of his State and his country.

HOWARD BAKER was a statesman, a gentleman, a fine human being, with a love of his fellow men, with a broad understanding mind that had no restrictions or no limitations. We shall miss him greatly in the years that lie ahead.

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

Mr. QUILLEN. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Tennessee and his colleagues from his great State and our distinguished Speaker and minority leader in expressing my own personal grief at the passing of one of the really fine, great, and distinguished Members of this House. I was shocked upon receiving word of HOWARD BAKER's death first of all because I lost a man whom I considered a real friend. I have known Mr. BAKER ever since he became a Member of the House. I have had the privilege of serving with his son-in-law on the Committee on Agriculture and of knowing his daughter and other members of his family. I have always considered HOWARD BAKER one of the warm, genuine Members of the House of Representatives and one of the finest persons I have ever known. I was shocked because in the death of HOWARD BAKER this Congress lost a genuine statesman, a man so gentle, so kind, and yet so rugged and so determined in the pursuit of the principles in which he believed.

He served with dedication, without fanfare. He went right to the heart of the issues in his work. He worked faithfully at his job from day to day. He was a big man. He was, as has been said, a distinguished member of the great Committee on Ways and Means and he was a distinguished Member of this House. He served his district in an outstanding manner. He contributed to the work of every colleague in the House.

This country and this House are better for the service of HOWARD BAKER.

Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] in extending to him and to the loved ones of our late colleague my sincere sympathy in this hour of their bereavement.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished majority leader. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS].

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, just as we were preparing to open this second session of Congress our beloved colleague, HOWARD BAKER, was suddenly taken from us. Just as he was preparing to devote another year in serving the people of Tennessee, who he so well served for so many years, he was taken from them. Why this should be we cannot understand. God in His wisdom determined that his work was done and called him to his great reward.

While HOWARD BAKER is no longer with us to advise and counsel us, he remains with us in our minds and hearts, never to be forgotten. He will be remembered for many things. His accomplishments and contribution to our national laws stand for all time as a monument to him. He will be remembered not alone for his legislative achievements but also for his kindness, his friendliness and deep affection for all men.

Several years ago it was my privilege to be a guest speaker in HOWARD's district. It was an enjoyable occasion; one I shall never forget. What most impressed me was the love and respect the people of Tennessee held for their Representative in Congress. This is attested to

by the fact that he has been their Representative for 13 years.

It can be truly said that HOWARD BAKER was one of our foremost lawyers, particularly in tax matters, to serve in the Congress. His contribution to the work of the Ways and Means Committee has been nationally recognized.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grieved with the passing of my good friend and extend my sincere sympathy to his fine wife and family.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK], have permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, we pause today to honor a fine legislator and outstanding Tennessean who was richly endowed with those qualities which are so characteristic of the great in our land. All Americans share in the untimely loss of our esteemed colleague, but especially the citizens of Tennessee's Second Congressional District have lost a warm and faithful friend as have I personally.

If the true measure of man can be determined by his service to others, HOWARD BAKER's career certainly weighs well on the record of time. For four decades he has held positions of leadership in his community and Nation. Whether as a leading student at the University of Tennessee, as attorney general, or as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. HOWARD BAKER always demonstrated his real concern for the problems of every individual.

These abilities and attitudes were soon recognized in Congress, and he was appointed to the vital Ways and Means Committee. In this capacity his contributions have been many as he rose to be a ranking and influential Member. Typical of Mr. BAKER's forward-looking legislation was the Baker-Herlong tax reduction bill, one which will influence tax legislators and policy for many years to come.

His labors for high principles were long and successful: his character tolerant and considerate; and it can truly be said that none failed to profit by their association with Congressman BAKER.

While the many good works will always remain a living memorial, I know also that HOWARD's lovely wife, Irene, and his children will perpetuate the recognition of community service and personal responsibility so typical of our colleague.

I ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Chattanooga News Free Press and Chattanooga Times be printed at this point in the RECORD.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News Free Press, Jan. 8, 1964]

REPRESENTATIVE BAKER'S INFLUENTIAL CAREER

A life of colorful and influential political leadership was ended suddenly yesterday when Second District Representative HOWARD BAKER succumbed to a heart attack just 5 days before he would have been 62.

Representative BAKER, a moderate conservative, had been a leader in the Republican Party of Tennessee for many years, and Representative of the Second District since 1950. A former Taft supporter, Representa-

tive BAKER was a leader in State GOP affairs and had achieved stature on the national level.

He was one of the senior members of the House Ways and Means Committee and on various subjects had exhibited important leadership in the interests of his district, Tennessee, and the Nation.

Perhaps one of the most significant efforts of Representative BAKER was his cosponsorship of the Herlong-Baker bill, a plan to ease the confiscatory nature of the Federal income tax, to reduce it by gradual stages and to pump new vigor into the free enterprise system by allowing Americans to keep more of their fruits of their labors, while promoting the growth of a greater economy that could provide for national spending needs at lower tax rates. Although the Herlong-Baker bill was not adopted, it undoubtedly has had influence on the tax philosophy of our Nation, and there is yet hope that the time may come when major steps will be taken in the direction Representative BAKER urged.

Tennesseans are saddened by Representative BAKER's sudden passing, and offer their sympathy to his family and many friends.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Jan. 8, 1964]

HOWARD H. BAKER

Representative HOWARD H. BAKER's untimely death, following a heart seizure at his Knoxville home Tuesday morning, strikes hard at all who knew him as an attorney, political leader and public official. His fatal illness came without prior warning, just 5 days before his 62d birthday.

A stalwart Republican who gave his party loyal support in and out of office, Mr. BAKER was above all else a Tennessean who loved his State and a public servant who rendered willing service to his whole constituency.

He was first elected to Congress in 1950 and had been returned to office by majorities of 2 to 1 or better ever since. The margins reflected not only the traditional Republican leaning of the Second District but his own popularity as well.

As one who knew the worth of the TVA, Representative BAKER stood firm in his support of it and, although soundly conservative in his outlook, he was not averse to bringing the power of the Federal Government to bear on problems too burdensome for local solution alone. His votes in favor of an expanded public works program and of an increased appropriation for area redevelopment in 1963 reflected his concern in this direction.

In his relatively short congressional service, he had become the second-ranking Republican member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, a position from which he could wield constructive influence for his district and his State. His death is a loss, personally and politically, for Tennesseans all.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield at this time to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, the Representative from the Fourth Congressional District [Mr. EVINS].

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of this session of the Congress, the flag of our country over the Capitol again was lowered to half-mast—as we learned the sad news of the passing of one of the most highly respected Members of this body.

I was saddened and shocked—as we all were saddened and shocked—to learn of the passing of our beloved colleague, Con-

gressman HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee.

He was one of the most important Members of the House and indeed one of the finest characters that ever served in this body—one who added greatly to the dignity and respect of the legislative branch.

His friendship and kindness to me over the years has been a source of inspiration and pleasure—we shall miss him and we shall miss him immensely. He was both a great and a good man—a Christian gentleman and one of God's noblemen on earth.

HOWARD BAKER was first elected to the Congress in 1950—and the people of his district—the Second Congressional District of Tennessee—returned him to the House each 2 years by sizable majorities, thus expressing their strong approval of his work and service to the people of his district.

Mr. Speaker, I was among the House delegation which attended Congressman BAKER's funeral in Knoxville and witnessed the manifestation of love and affection which his people hold for him.

The great outpouring of sorrow and regret at the passing of this distinguished Representative was impressive testimony to the high esteem and regard in which he was held by the people of his district and my State of Tennessee.

The message of his minister—which was delivered on this occasion—spoke of the love and respect which his own home people held for him. He loved his church, he loved his constituency, and he loved his country. HOWARD BAKER was beloved by the people of all walks and stations of life. He was a solid favorite in his district and a popular Congressman with the people.

He was his party's nominee for Governor of Tennessee on one occasion and for Senator on another, and served as chairman of the Tennessee delegation to numerous Republican National Conventions.

Although we were members of different political parties—party lines made no difference in our friendship. He was an American first, and a legislator who put principles above party and one with whom we could all work for the best interests of our beloved country.

He fought for many just causes and will be remembered as much for his support of the Tennessee Valley Authority as for any single service that he rendered during his years of distinguished service in the Congress.

Congressman BAKER was a credit to his district, State, and Nation and will be sorely missed by both sides of the aisle.

He was a scholar—a conscientious legislator—and a Christian gentleman.

I was pleased to count him as a warm personal friend and shall miss him immensely.

I extend my most sincere sympathy to Mrs. Baker and the other members of his family in their bereavement.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BECKER].

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee, leaves a gap in our ranks

that will be hard to fill. I remember when I came to the House as a Member 12 years ago, HOWARD BAKER was one of the first men I met. His greeting was warm and friendly, his desire to be helpful was evidenced always with a smile. We became friends from the very first and so did our wives. As a friend, I shall miss him greatly. But HOWARD BAKER, Member of the House, will be missed for his close attention to all legislative matters, for his great interest in the people of his district and the entire Nation. The House of Representatives lost a great man.

Mrs. BECKER joins with me in expressing our sincere and deep sympathy to his lovely wife, Irene, and his daughter. May God sustain them in their grief.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished senior member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and personally aggrieved, as I am sure all of my colleagues were, at the passing and the loss of our dear, beloved colleague, HOWARD BAKER.

HOWARD and I served together in the Congress since the 82d Congress, and on the Committee on Ways and Means since the 83d. He and I for the last several years have been seatmates on that committee.

I shall always cherish our association. We all knew HOWARD to be one of the most conscientious of legislators—calm, quiet, warm, but firm and steadfastly committed to those principles in which he believed.

He was sincere at all times. HOWARD BAKER, an attorney by profession, was one of the very knowledgeable men in this Congress on tax matters. He was quick to recognize an injustice in the laws where'er they appeared, and equally quick to suggest remedies and try to find solutions for these inequities.

HOWARD BAKER was not only a colleague, but a friend to all. He was called friend by many, and enemy by no one. He set for himself the highest of ethical standards in both his public and in his personal life.

While HOWARD BAKER as a man has been taken from us, HOWARD BAKER and what he stood for will never be forgotten by those with whom he served and by those he served.

Mrs. BYRNES and I extend our deepest sympathies to the people of his district and his State, and particularly to his very charming and lovely wife, his children and his many friends.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM].

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, one of the most unforgettable experiences I have had as a Member of this body is the opportunity to know and be associated with the late HOWARD BAKER. I was shocked, as all of us were, to learn of his sudden passing. In reflecting upon it and his record here, I think we can all agree that he was one of the most calmly competent men ever to serve in this body, and with that calm competence, he, as the gentleman from Wisconsin a moment

ago said, set for himself the highest of ethical standards. The respect he had for the other Members of the House, their positions and views on controversial matters, the respect which he had for the House of Representatives as an institution, all signified his thorough understanding of our form of government and the part that this House plays in our form of government.

While his constituents must necessarily be saddened at his loss and while his family certainly is grieved by his sudden passing, his constituents and his family and all of his friends here may take great pride in the fact that HOWARD BAKER was a real American and most highly representative of his people, and an individual who held in the highest esteem the institutions for which this Government stands.

I join others in expressing to his family our genuine grief at his loss.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BROYHILL].

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is always difficult to express the sentiments that cause one man to cherish the memory of another. I had the privilege of knowing HOWARD BAKER for many years. For me, knowing HOWARD BAKER meant a series of distinct and valuable impressions that I shall not forget.

When I came to the Congress this past year we reaffirmed and strengthened that friendship which had extended for so long. As a new Member, I derived from HOWARD BAKER a continuing example of the dedication with which a Member of the House might ably and faithfully represent the people of his area. As a citizen interested in wise government, I saw in HOWARD BAKER the manner in which regional and personal considerations might be transcended and properly accommodated to the happiness and the achievement of the Nation at large. And as merely another human being passing through life and seeking a friend, I found in HOWARD BAKER the generosity and good will that encouraged people everywhere to follow his example.

HOWARD BAKER responded completely to his duties as a member of the Ways and Means Committee. He also complied modestly and openly with the requirements of personal friendship. He was independent in his dedication to what he thought was right. But he never hesitated to share with others the benefit of his insight and experience.

He was a man who could be admired and respected for his ability, and at the same time he could affectionately be sought out for his friendship and for the goodness of his heart.

I know I will miss HOWARD BAKER. For me, and I think for all of us, the Halls of this Congress will seem a little less bright and these surroundings a little less warm now that he is gone.

To his devoted wife and his fine family, Mrs. Broyhill and I extend our deepest condolences. Their grievous loss is shared in some way by all who knew this distinguished American.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER].

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, I think it can be completely said that our beloved and late colleague, the Honorable HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee, was peculiarly adapted and fitted for the times in which we live. There are many requirements for an effective and competent legislator, but the indispensable ingredient is one that belonged to our colleague to a degree unexcelled by any other legislator I ever knew, and that ingredient was that a legislator really love people.

HOWARD BAKER was a friend to all of us. He was a friend of all sections of the country. He was a friend of mine and he was a friend of my people. He was exceedingly capable, studious, energetic and powerful in his influence with his colleagues because everyone of us knew that he had studied carefully any legislation that he sponsored and that his conclusion with respect to any legislation was only arrived at after much consideration and that as to any position he took, it was an elementary requirement with him that it be a fair position and that it be fair to all people and to all sections.

Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER had my complete respect and I miss him already. Members on both sides of the aisle already miss him, but I think I can truthfully say that on both sides, on the Democratic and on the Republican side, all of us agree that we are thankful we were privileged to have HOWARD BAKER with us for a season and to have had the benefit of his association and the benefit of his wise counsel. We are all appreciative of the great contribution he made to the development and preservation of America.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with the colleagues and associates of HOWARD BAKER here in the House, with the men and women who knew him, respected him, and loved him for the type of man that he was, in paying tribute to his memory as a man as well as to his services in this body.

It was my great privilege to have known HOWARD BAKER for many, many years. He was not only an able legislator—as we all know—a kindly man and a wonderful friend, but he also was an active leader in the affairs of his own political party. For years he served his State as the chairman of his party, and as a national committee member representing Tennessee. He served in many Republican National Conventions as a delegate from the great State of Tennessee. At times he was chairman of the Tennessee delegation in the national convention of his own party, the Republican Party.

His wife, and a wonderful lady she is, and our sympathy goes out to her, is at the present time a member of the Republican National Committee.

HOWARD BAKER was a man who will be missed, not only in the House, but as I have accentuated his national prominence, within his own party and throughout the country in many ways, because he was a national figure. He

was not only a giant national political figure, but also a giant figure in the field of national legislation. As a man he was highly respected by the leadership of both political parties, the friend and associate of Presidents, a man upon whom one could always rely.

No one ever had to worry as to where HOWARD BAKER stood in any political or legislative battle in which he might be engaged.

HOWARD BAKER has left in this House, as well as in Tennessee and in the councils of his great Republican Party, a void which will never be filled. He has also left to all of us many precious memories, and to his family the priceless heritage of a good name.

Mr. QUILLEN. I yield to my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HARVEY].

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed with great sorrow that I join in paying tribute to HOWARD BAKER. It was my privilege not only to know him but also to be associated with him in many ways during our periods of service in the House. The variety of his capabilities were always a source of amazement to me. He had a great depth of understanding of the problems facing our country. His character and his qualities were such that he attracted a broad area of affection and appreciation. Not only that, but in his contribution to his country he was a vigorous Representative of his district and his section of our country.

Those folks who were his constituents had reason to have confidence not only in his integrity but also in his ability.

By his passing he leaves another great heritage for those of us who survive him, a wonderful example of character, which we should all emulate.

Mrs. Harvey and I join in extending our sympathy to his widow Irene and to his daughter.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I came here with HOWARD BAKER in 1951. Both of us were colleagues in the 82d Congress. In the second year of my service I was chairman of the 82d congressional group. HOWARD followed me as chairman of the 82d congressional group and did an outstanding job in trying to bring some good to that organization.

It was through this association that I came to know him best, because I believe we prize here in the Congress our associations most closely with the group with whom we came to the Congress. Through this association my wife and I came to know HOWARD and Irene Baker.

We visited in their home, and they in ours. I was not only a colleague of his in this House, but also a friend of his at the everyday level.

Very early in life some men put their footprints on the sands of time and mostly during their life those footprints continue to show. From early boyhood through high school, through college, and through law school HOWARD BAKER had one achievement after another. There were many honors that came to him not only in college, not only in busi-

ness, not only in this Congress, but I think probably the prize which HOWARD BAKER took with him when he left here was that of the respect which he had from his colleagues in this Congress on both sides of the aisle. We in Illinois came to know HOWARD BAKER and Irene Baker better because of the marriage of his son to Joy Dirksen, the daughter of our own Illinois leader, Senator DIRKSEN. I think we began to regard HOWARD BAKER then as one of us in the Illinois group.

This has been a wonderful opportunity that Elsie and I have had to know HOWARD and his family. I am sure through the years we will prize this as one of the fine associations that we have had in Washington. I know that HOWARD BAKER will be missed here because he was an expert in his field, I know, and on many occasions when I sought his advice I sought his advice because I thought he was qualified to give that advice not only as a lawyer but as an expert in the field which he had chosen to take up in this Congress.

I think those footprints have been left in the Ways and Means Committee and they will be difficult to fill by whoever follows him. I know my wife and I do want to extend our sympathy and condolences to his gracious wife and also to those members of his family whom we have come to know so dearly.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague [Mr. BRAY], the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is always a sad duty to say goodbye to one of our colleagues. The passing of HOWARD BAKER is especially sad to me. We came to Congress at the same time, January 1951, and our close friendship has ripened through the years.

HOWARD BAKER was a man much loved and well respected in this Chamber. His advice and counsel were often sought by his Republican colleagues; and those who served on the Ways and Means Committee with him have told me that his contributions to that group were immeasurable.

His gentle friendship warmed all of those who knew him well. He sought to do his job quietly, without fanfare and flourish.

Our loss is great, and so is the Nation's. And yet at such times we know the great personal loss it is to his family and his loved ones.

To them we can offer only our sincere condolences, and hope that their grief is somewhat mitigated by the knowledge that he led a life of truly worthwhile service.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, the sudden passing of a colleague is always sad, but that sadness is multiplied when the colleague was a close personal friend, and is magnified when the colleague and friend was a statesman at the height of his career and influence.

At a time when our country faces so many grave problems at home and abroad, we can ill afford to lose leaders of the experience and ability of HOWARD

BAKER. Throughout the years of his outstanding service in the Congress, many of us had come to rely upon his maturity of judgment, his careful study of legislative proposals, and his ability to cut through the nonessentials and present clear and well-reasoned arguments for or against matters under consideration in the House.

I arise today to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of this wise and effective legislator. Those of us who are privileged to continue to serve in the House of Representatives have sustained a grievous blow in the loss of his leadership and experience. The State of Tennessee has suffered the loss of one of her most effective and efficient Representatives, the country has lost a patriot and statesman of the first rank, and the Baker family a devoted husband and father.

Mrs. Jonas joins me in extending profound sympathy to Mrs. Baker and her children in their great personal loss. Mere words cannot assuage their grief but it is our hope that they will find some comfort in the knowledge that their loss is shared by a host of friends who mourn his passing.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MILLIKEN].

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join with my distinguished colleagues today in paying my respects to the memory of HOWARD BAKER, who was one of the most distinguished Members of this House.

Mr. Speaker, I extend to his family my deepest sympathy. He was, indeed, a wonderful American and an outstanding Member of the House.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. LINDSAY].

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I wanted to make a special effort to be on the floor today in order to pay my tribute to the memory of our late colleague, HOWARD BAKER. There are very special reasons for my personally wanting to do this. First of all, I had and have the most enormous respect for the courage, the integrity, and the public-spiritedness of this man. He was a rare person. He was a thoughtful man—tough-minded, independent, rugged, kind and with sensitive and good judgment.

HOWARD BAKER was a colleague to whom I personally turned for counsel, advice, and guidance, more often than I think most Members realize. He and his wife showed special kindnesses to my wife and to me from the first. Freshmen find it difficult to adjust and often wonder whether or not there will be a friendly hand coming from their seniors. HOWARD BAKER was one of the first, and he stayed that way for the time that I knew him. He was a solid friend, a genuine friend, and a warm one.

One of HOWARD's children, his daughter Beverly, lived in New York and lives in New York. She was a stewardess for Pan American Airlines. She mas-

tered two or three languages and traveled overseas, of course. HOWARD and Mrs. Baker were enormously proud of her. She is now married to a New Yorker. The Baker family was proud of its son-in-law and happy about life in general.

I cannot tell you, Mr. Speaker, how disturbed I was when I heard the news that HOWARD BAKER had suddenly passed on. I think that this institution, the House, is the lesser for it. I suppose there has never been a time when the Congress needed good men more than it needs them now. Scrutiny is always close, adjustments are always underway, and the times are strenuous. We cannot afford to lose men like HOWARD. But the Congress is better off for him; the Membership is better off for him. Each person who has been touched by his life is ahead for that association. Certainly the great people of his State have been lifted by the representation that HOWARD BAKER gave them.

I have only been to HOWARD BAKER'S State once or twice in my life, but I feel I know it and love it, and have an enormous respect for it because of men like HOWARD BAKER. When he represents and brings his State into the Congress we know it is a good constituency and an intelligent one, one that looks to the interests of the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER will be missed by all of us from all sections of the United States. Personally, I will miss him very much. The sympathies of Mrs. Lindsay and myself go to Mrs. Baker, the children, and the grandchildren.

We hope that God in His great wisdom and mercy will give all of them comfort and guidance in the years to come.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague from Washington [Mr. PELLY].

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] yielding so I can join with other Members of the House in paying my final and heartfelt respects to our deceased colleague, HOWARD BAKER.

One of the great privileges of being elected to Congress is that of being associated with men of the character, ability, and integrity of HOWARD BAKER. I am sure that in my own experience he would be one of the first examples I would cite in this regard.

It has always seemed to me that commonsense is the one overriding quality that makes a successful legislator. In this regard I think HOWARD had more good old-fashioned commonsense than almost anyone I have met here in Washington. As such I always looked on him as one of the ablest Members of this House and, of course, especially in tax law matters. Certainly many of us looked to HOWARD above all others to counsel and guide us when it came to provisions and language of bills reported by the great House Committee on Ways and Means.

I think particularly of my experience as a member of the House Republican policy committee. HOWARD's explanations and recommendations on taxation were such as to have great weight with

me. I respected and admired him in this way but also personally I often consulted him and asked for information and advice informally because I trusted his judgment in such matters.

Frankly and in my opinion I think HOWARD BAKER's loss is such that it will be almost impossible to find anyone who can take his place. He was one of the truly great leaders of this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, there is another aspect to his loss—the human and personal side. His warm, quiet personality bore out the old adage that still water runs deep. On the golf course, in a locker room, on a social occasion as well as in the Halls of Congress it was always the same—he was a man whose charm, dry wit, and unfailing friendliness will never be forgotten. He has left his friends a fond and abiding memory. I shall always be thankful for that.

Yes, it was a privilege to know HOWARD BAKER. He was at once a humble and a great man. I am grateful for having served with him and having had the honor and pleasure of his friendship.

To his widow and family Mrs. Pelly and I extend our deepest sympathy. May the wonderful memory of a fine father and husband sustain them in their sorrow.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH].

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my other colleagues in paying tribute to our departed colleague, HOWARD BAKER. I also want to extend my sincere sympathy to our colleagues from Tennessee in the great loss which they have sustained.

I was greatly shocked and saddened when I picked up the paper last week and read where HOWARD BAKER had passed away very suddenly that morning, without advance warning or notice of any kind.

It was a great privilege to serve with HOWARD BAKER in this House, and I greatly valued his friendship. I soon recognized his outstanding ability and great capacity, as well as his sound judgment on legislative matters. I regarded HOWARD BAKER as one of the best informed men in this House on tax matters. As others have mentioned, I frequently consulted HOWARD BAKER on tax legislation and tax matters. He was a student of tax matters, and when he gave an opinion he spoke with authority.

HOWARD BAKER had been in Colorado many times and was always a welcome visitor to our State. He addressed different conventions on tax legislation and other matters pending in Congress. He had many friends in Colorado who are saddened over his untimely death. He was a man of unusual ability, and a most able lawyer. I am sure all of us who were associated with him in this House recognized his great capacity and his ability to analyze and appraise tax proposals.

HOWARD BAKER had a friendly and genial personality and always had time for a visit. It was a genuine pleasure and real privilege to serve with him in this House.

I consider the passing of HOWARD BAKER not only an irreparable loss to the people of his district, to the State of Tennessee, but also to the entire Nation. We can ill afford to lose men like HOWARD BAKER in these critical times. I will personally miss him as a friend, and I sincerely regret that his counsel and advice will no longer be available to us.

Mrs. Chenoweth joins me in extending our deep personal sympathy to Mrs. Baker, the children, and the other members of the family. We pray that God will give them comfort and strength to bear this heavy loss, which all of us share with them.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR].

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I join the great number of our colleagues who have spoken about the unexpected passing of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER]. I am sure, as has been pointed out here earlier, that this came as a great shock to all of us, particularly so to those who began service with him here in the 82d Congress. As Members know, there is always a feeling of closeness among those who constitute the same class in this great body. That was certainly true with respect to the attitude of the other Members of the 82d group toward HOWARD BAKER. We loved him and respected him.

The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH], who just preceded me, pointed out quite properly that HOWARD BAKER had a deep and profound knowledge of tax legislation. In this field particularly, he was a very great expert. This is not to imply that his knowledge and wisdom were limited to that field, but in this he was especially profound. Many times when there were matters pending before the Committee on Ways and Means I would go to him and get his opinion upon a particular piece of legislation, and found his thinking always to be objective and helpful.

I think in retrospect the thing that impressed me most about HOWARD BAKER was the fact that he was a quiet gentleman, a gentleman in every sense of the term. He conducted himself always as a gentleman should, whether it was on the floor of this Hall or elsewhere. You were proud to number him among your friends. Mrs. Adair and I knew him and his family socially. We have been their guests on many occasions and they have been ours. She joins me in this expression of sympathy to the widow of HOWARD BAKER and to the children. May God bless them all.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with others in noting the passing of my good friend and colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee, and I do so with a profound sense of personal loss.

HOWARD BAKER was a man of character and highest principle—unswerving in his determination to stand by the right, as he saw the right—and, as a result, his was a distinguished and valuable career of dedicated public service to his State, his Nation, and his fellow man.

He was a true gentleman, in the finest sense of that word, and he was also a

gentle man—a good and kindly man, conscious always of the rights and opinions of others with whom he served, and particularly anxious to be of assistance and advice to those of his colleagues who were junior to him in knowledge and experience. Perhaps because we bore the same first name, he often went out of his way to be especially helpful to me in legislative problems in which he knew I was interested, and I shall always be grateful for his guidance.

This Congress—and we, as individuals—have sustained a great loss. Perhaps that loss might best be summed up in these lines from Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar":

His life was gentle, and the elements so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Mrs. Robison joins me in expressing our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Baker and to her children.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER, late a Congressman from Tennessee, was more than a colleague. He was a real friend. Having been sworn in the Congress the same day as was HOWARD I naturally had a close relationship with him. His advice and counsel to me was most helpful.

He and his lovely wife, Irene, made a great team.

The work HOWARD BAKER started will be completed by those who admired and respected him so much.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, this House has lost another pillar of strength in the untimely death of our beloved colleague from Tennessee, HOWARD BAKER.

The State of Tennessee is justly proud of the ability, statesmanship, and independence of its congressional delegation, and HOWARD BAKER was a highly effective leader in that delegation.

Early in my own service in the House, I grew to respect and admire the character and ability of this distinguished Tennessean.

Always courteous and considerate, HOWARD BAKER could be counted on to give a full and fair hearing to any proposal by a colleague, and he was a great champion of progressive legislation in many fields.

It has been a privilege to serve with him in Congress, and to call him friend.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, 13 years ago this month, HOWARD BAKER and I stood in this Chamber and took the oath of office as freshmen Members of the 82d Congress on the opening day. It was with a special feeling of sadness, therefore, that I learned of his sudden death on the opening day of the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

During the intervening years, my respect and admiration for HOWARD grew, as did our friendship. For several years we occupied office suites on opposite sides of the corridor, and we and our staffs enjoyed a friendly, neighborly relationship.

HOWARD was one of the leaders of our 82d Club, serving as president at one time.

His appointment to the powerful House Ways and Means Committee was recognition of his exceptional legislative

ability. He was the second ranking minority member at the time of his death. He had earned the respect of both the majority and minority on the committee through his dedicated work on tax legislation, medicare, and the many other important bills handled by this group.

The House has lost a valued, knowledgeable Member, the Nation has lost a dedicated legislator, and I have lost a dear friend.

Mrs. Berry joins in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Baker and their three children.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under the flag of freedom, our Nation has many opportunities to bring forth great men to benefit mankind. A magnificent opportunity presented itself in the person of HOWARD H. BAKER. The Nation had a good student in HOWARD, who possessed the natural qualities of integrity, a fine sense of humor, intelligence, loyalty, and brotherly love; and it took great care to groom him well for the role he would play as he tread across life's stage.

The Nation took him by the hand while yet a small boy and led him gently but firmly through its public schools in Tennessee, and urged him on to a law degree from the university of that State. From then on it was the still small voice that guided him into activity in the Presbyterian Church, the Masons and Shriners, the Republican Party—experience which served him well when the Nation decided it was time for the folks in Tennessee to harvest the benefits, and sent him to Washington to represent those folks.

For those who took the oath of office for the 82d Congress back in 1950, it did not take long to discern the stature of this wise and humble public servant.

I was one of those freshmen Congressmen back in 1950, and as the years passed and both HOWARD and I returned to Washington in each succeeding election, I had the wonderful privilege of becoming a close friend. After we were sworn in together for the 82d Congress, it was not hard for me to watch his star rise, as he so earnestly took up his post of duty.

One of his greatest contributions was his membership on the House Ways and Means Committee, one of the most important committees of the House of Representatives; and his position on the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. How fortunate the Nation was to have chosen HOWARD, who as a Member of Congress, a member of those committees, a Christian and a Republican, was repaying his borrowed tuition to America's school of life. HOWARD had proved one of the best investments the country had made.

Now the return on his marvelous investment has not stopped, but will continue through the years; for HOWARD H. BAKER, the Congressman from Tennessee, will ever live in our hearts, our minds, our daily life. My gratitude to Americans, under the flag of freedom, who gave this priceless gift to its citizens.

At this time, of course, Mrs. Belcher and I wish to extend our sincere sympathy to his beloved wife, Irene, and the other members of his family.

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, words are inadequate to express my sense of loss at the passing of HOWARD BAKER.

Personally, socially, and, yes, even politically, though our parties differed, we were friends. HOWARD BAKER was a fine man; an able legislator. He put his country first in all considerations. He was a Member we could ill afford to lose; taken, as he was, much too early in a life that was devoted to the service of his district, his State, and his country.

I know of no one in this House who did not hold HOWARD BAKER in high esteem, and that is not strange because he was one of those rare people who deserved just that. I not only held him in high esteem, but I had a deep personal affection for him.

I have seen a great deal of him here in Congress since we served together on the Ways and Means Committee, and his stature continued to grow as the years went by.

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the sudden death of HOWARD H. BAKER, our friend, was a shock to the Members of the Congress. As a brilliant lawyer and experienced legislator both at the State and National levels of government he contributed much to the progress of legislation through the Ways and Means Committee and before the Rules Committee and on the floor. In the seven terms that he served in the House he enjoyed the respect and admiration of everyone. He was a scholar and was thorough in his analysis of legal presentations in the interest of the public. He was a laborious worker and sincere in his interest in complicated public tax laws presented to his committee. He was loyal to the precepts of honesty and was rigid in his determination to serve with a high sense of dedication. To his family, we of Illinois send our heartfelt condolences.

The State of Tennessee has lost a great statesman and the Nation a worthy and distinguished servant of the people. May God bless him in his stewardship and receive him as a noble son of His teachings. He has earned eternal rest.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, we have gathered on a number of occasions during the past year to offer parting words in memory of colleagues. These are never easy experiences, but they do serve to remind us of how fleeting our lives be on this earth, how short a time we actually stand in the moment of history, how humble we become when we consider the finality of death.

These thoughts come to mind today as we reflect on the memory of another departed colleague. HOWARD H. BAKER stood here for his moment in history, as all of us do. His moment was distinguished by a quiet dedication that impressed every person who came into contact with him. He was not a headline seeker, but his efforts contributed immeasurably to the betterment of his Nation and this Congress. He did not shout his objections to the gallery, but you knew you were in a battle if you engaged him in debate.

I remember well his effectiveness when appearing before committees, his firm control of the subject at hand and his

complete command of the facts. HOWARD BAKER was a man who did his homework and who knew how to use it effectively. We will miss his wise counsel in these halls.

America has not only lost a son but a servant. We in this Chamber have lost a friend and colleague. The world has lost a crusader for the causes of man's freedom.

Our sincere sympathies go to Mrs. Baker and their children who have lost a beloved husband and father.

May this loss remind us again of the responsibilities we carry to make sure that the HOWARD BAKERS who have gone before us shall not have given of their lives in vain.

Mr. ELLIOTT. I enjoyed the friendship of HOWARD BAKER from the time he came to Congress from the Second District of Tennessee as a result of the 1950 elections.

He was an outstanding Member, an able, devoted, and kindly man, an outstanding public servant. He was gentle, but strong. He was frank, but fair. He was forthright, but compassionate.

I shall miss his friendship very much.

I extend to his wife and family my sincere sympathy. I share their sadness.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, it was with a profound sense of shock and grief that I learned of the sudden, untimely death of our colleague, HOWARD BAKER. I had the privilege of knowing him since early 1953 when we were appointed together to the Committee on Ways and Means. In the years since, I, like all who knew him, came to respect HOWARD for his ability, and to genuinely admire him for his warmth and dignity as a man. Certainly he was one of the most knowledgeable and capable men in this House, and his dedication to duty and his devotion to those ideals he held dear set a standard that was, and always will be, hard to match.

HOWARD BAKER truly epitomized the independence and individualism which so characterizes the people he represented in east Tennessee. He was never afraid to speak his mind, or to present and fight for new proposals which he felt were in the best interests of his constituents and the whole Nation.

For years to come, I am sure, his name will remain attached to the tax proposals he developed in true bipartisan spirit with our colleague, SYD HERLONG, and to the proposition that the American taxpayer deserves and needs tax reduction, but only as it is earned through fiscal responsibility and budgetary commonsense. HOWARD worked hard to develop new ideas and approaches, and sought always to present vital thoughts and workable alternatives on major legislation to assure a "legislative history" so vital to the later interpretation of our laws. He was also, at one and the same time, an idealist and a realist, combining the best features of both attributes in a balance too seldom found in leaders of this or any other time.

East Tennessee can be proud it gave us this man, even for so short a time.

HOWARD BAKER'S passing leaves a void in this House that will be hard to fill. To his wife and children, Mrs. Knox and I extend our deep sympathy.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the word which we have just received on the sudden passing of our beloved and admired colleague, HOWARD BAKER, has us deeply shocked and saddened. HOWARD BAKER was my close personal friend. We have served together on the Committee on Ways and Means for many years. We worked closely on many, many legislative projects on the committee. Our States adjoin one another, and we had many matters of deep and mutual interest to our section of the country. His death is a tragic loss to the Committee on Ways and Means, to the Nation, to the Congress, and to his district.

It is frankly very difficult to give expression to our feelings in matters of this nature when word reaches us so suddenly of the passing of one of our very close friends. HOWARD will be sorely missed by those who were close to him and by the constituents whom he represented so effectively, so conscientiously, and with such great leadership over the years. I always found in matters of mutual concern and in problems which came before the Committee on Ways and Means that HOWARD BAKER was a man of exceedingly good and sound judgment and was possessed of a deep and abiding wisdom. He always kept uppermost in his mind the public interest and the general welfare of the Nation and those whom he represented.

Those of us who had the privilege of working with HOWARD closely on legislative details can attest to some of those personal qualities which we admired so much. His professional ability in the legal field was widely known. I can honestly say that HOWARD BAKER had as broad a knowledge of general principles of law as anyone with whom I have had the privilege of associating over the years. Invariably, when questions came before us involving matters somewhat new or novel to the majority of the members of the committee but which did involve some basic legal principle in a field with which we might not at the moment be familiar, HOWARD BAKER usually had the answer without reference to any text or without refreshing his recollection by the use of any notes. He was possessed, above all, of sound commonsense. His approach to the problems with which we are confronted was invariably reasonable and thoughtful.

The legislative projects on which he worked are countless, and this is not the occasion to even try to enumerate those things which were done in the Committee on Ways and Means at his suggestion and under his leadership. Suffice it to say that the legislative monuments to his endeavors in this body are many, great, and enduring.

We will feel his loss very deeply as time goes on. His friendly and sound counsel will be missed as we continue our endeavors here. His warm and friendly personality, his ready wit and his abiding wisdom and commonsense will likewise be very sorely missed by those of us

who had the privilege of associating closely with him.

My deepest sympathy is extended to Mrs. Baker and his fine son and daughters.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER and I came to Congress at the same time in 1951 and we became close friends from the first time we met. It was a friendship which I always cherished for many reasons, and one which included not only ourselves but our immediate families. It was easy and natural to be friendly with him and over the years I always admired him, not only because of his personal character but also because of his conscientious work as a legislator.

On the Ways and Means Committee where I had the honor and privilege of serving with him, he left a record of dedicated service and intellectual honesty. He was a courageous Congressman, willing to express his views and take a stand regardless of the pressures of the moment. He had great ability to analyze tax problems and explain his positions always to the enlightenment of his fellow committee members. On this great committee his passing will be a distinct loss.

HOWARD BAKER was a great American and a great public servant. As one of his friends and colleagues who admired him, I mourn his death and with Mrs. Betts, I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Baker and his family.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it was not my good fortune to know HOWARD H. BAKER intimately but I always admired his calm, deliberate and well-reasoned approach to our numerous legislative problems. He possessed the rare quality of instilling confidence in whatever program he determined to endorse for we knew that his was a sensible and well-considered decision. It was his and our misfortune for him to be called for an early departure. Mrs. Younger and I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Baker and their three children. I cannot help but be reminded of a short verse because I am sure that HOWARD so lived that he was ready on that tomorrow.

The clock of life is wound but once,
And no man has the power
To tell just when the hands will stop—
At late or early hour.

Now is the only time you own:
So live, love, toil with a will.
Do not depend upon tomorrow,
For the clock may then be still.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing my deep sorrow at the passing of the Honorable HOWARD H. BAKER from Tennessee. HOWARD BAKER served his district, his State and the Nation for many years with a thorough and unflinching dedication and devotion. It was my privilege to serve with Congressman BAKER on the House Ways and Means Committee. He always placed the interest of our country first. His keen mind and his wonderful philosophy in life made him a most valued member of this most important committee. He was firm, yet congenial. He could disagree without being disagreeable. He had the respect and admiration of all of the House Ways and Means

Committee and the entire staff. HOWARD BAKER had a friendly way about him. He always wanted to be of assistance. I recall his cooperation on the congressional committee of 10 members set up to protect the American shoe industry. He demonstrated a real concern for those employed in that industry and gave unstintingly of his time in helping to prepare the information required to aid the shoe industry solve their complex problems. HOWARD BAKER was loved by all who knew him. I have lost a good friend. Congress has lost one of its most able Members. This country has lost a great and good American who dedicated his life to the service of his Nation.

I am grateful for having known Congressman BAKER, for having the opportunity to serve with him. I shall miss his warm smile and his helpfulness.

I extend my deep sympathy to Congressman BAKER's family.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, the loss of HOWARD BAKER was a sudden and tragic one for his friends, the party, and the Nation. His legacy as an intelligent, industrious, and dedicated gentleman will live on as an example and inspiration for all students of good government. However, those who knew him personally will cherish his warm manner and his helpful counseling. We will remember him as a glowing example of an industrious Christian friend.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we were certainly shocked by the untimely death of our distinguished colleague, HOWARD BAKER.

He was certainly an outstanding citizen in every respect, one who placed public service above monetary gains. His service as a member of the Tennessee General Assembly, as district attorney general of our State, and then as a Member of this body was outstanding in every position he held.

Our departed colleague was one who was firm in his convictions but yet held no grudge or malice toward those who differed with his views.

On every problem or project that affected Tennessee you could always count on HOWARD BAKER to not only be present but to draw on his wealth of experience throughout his career to add much to its successful completion.

Yes, we shall miss him, not only in the deliberations in this body but in all problems we have, not only in Tennessee but in the Nation as well.

To Mrs. Baker, his lovely daughters and fine son, and their families we extend our deepest sympathy in their great hours of sorrow.

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the loss of HOWARD H. BAKER is one that the country and the Congress can ill afford.

I was profoundly saddened when I learned of HOWARD's sudden death.

He was a man of high integrity and one who always placed his country's welfare foremost in his thoughts and actions.

His work on the Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation was outstanding.

HOWARD always had time to discuss with his colleagues any legislative prob-

lem they were burdened with and I profited countless times because of his counsel and his wisdom.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

MR. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged, as a freshman Member of the 82d Congress, to become acquainted with HOWARD BAKER and his fine family. It was a real pleasure to serve with him in succeeding Congresses for nearly 14 years.

He was a very capable lawyer, well grounded not only in the law but in the work with which he was confronted in important House committee, of which he became a high ranking member.

The extent of his devotion to duty was evidenced by his deep and abiding concern for the people of Tennessee and its Second Congressional District, whose well-being he placed far above mere party loyalty or personal interest.

We have lost a dear friend and a constant and helpful colleague, and Mrs. Wharton and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Baker and the children.

MR. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee Second Congressional District has lost one of the most able Representatives in Congress; our Ways and Means Committee has lost a valued member; and I have lost a dear personal friend. Working with HOWARD BAKER in committee, I became more aware each day of the depth of his knowledge and his intelligent approach to our problems. The logic he expressed on many points at issue was often a helpful guide to me in my conclusions. He was clear, concise and logical in his arguments, and I found it very easy to follow his reasoning in many of the intricacies of the tax problems with which he was so authoritatively familiar. It was always a pleasure to observe the smooth functioning of Howard's very orderly and intelligent mind. I consulted with him frequently, and had the highest regard for his principles and ideals.

As neighbors in the same apartment building, Mrs. Schneebeli and I learned to know HOWARD and Irene Baker well. He had a great warmth of character. His cheerful disposition was an inspiration to all of us. We will miss his friendly and affable personality; his wise counsel and advice. Mrs. Schneebeli and I extend to Irene and to the rest of the Baker family our sincere sympathy in this loss which we share. We hope that the knowledge of the great respect and admiration in which HOWARD was held by all who knew and worked with him will sustain and comfort them in the days ahead.

MR. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER was a close personal friend of mine. Over the years, we have talked together about many of the issues as they came up in the House. His opinions I felt were always sound and in the best traditions of our country. I have lost a real friend and I will miss him, his kindness and his understanding. His loss is not just one for the State of Tennessee but was really a national loss.

MR. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, it was a shock to learn of the death of my colleague and personal friend, HOWARD

BAKER. His death is a great loss not only to his family but to his friends and his constituents. I first met HOWARD when he and I became freshmen Members of the 82d Congress in 1951. His service in Congress has been outstanding and his hard work and ability have contributed greatly to the work of the House and its committees. We will all miss HOWARD but we will always remember him as a fine American and able Member of Congress, and a hard worker in the interests of his constituents. My wife and I extend our sincere sympathy to his family.

MR. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I shall not forget HOWARD BAKER. I remember him as a man of keen intellect, of warmth, and of principle. I remember him as a public servant who, while ever mindful of the needs and desires of his district and of his State, was always dedicated to the good of the Nation.

I cannot claim long years of service with HOWARD BAKER; our paths crossed but briefly. But in that short time I formed a very lasting impression of his character and ability. He was above all else a man of balance and moderation.

As a member of the very important Ways and Means Committee since 1953, he will rightly be remembered for his work on tax legislation and social security law. In the area of taxation, he was always a proponent of tax reduction and reform. He helped write the tax law revision of 1954 and for several years was cosponsor of the Herlong-Baker tax bill. Throughout, he firmly believed in the coordination of tax reduction with a balanced budget. This, to my mind, is a position of moderation and responsibility.

These same qualities were evident in his stand on social legislation. He recognized and sympathized with human needs. He was not adverse to bringing the power of the Federal Government to bear on problems but only when those problems had become too burdensome for local solution. This, to my mind, is a mark of balance and moderation.

I shall miss HOWARD BAKER. He possessed in large measure those qualities which are so essential in all men, whether they are private citizens or their representatives. Without those qualities this House, this Congress, and this country, are in trouble.

MR. SILER. Mr. Speaker, it was most unexpected and sad news that we heard on the morning of January 7, 1964, concerning the termination of this earthly pilgrimage of our esteemed and able colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee.

HOWARD was one of my closest friends in the House. He and I often sat together and frequently discussed various measures as they related to our districts which were adjoining and populated by people of the same general character and background. In point of fact, HOWARD was born in my district and he had a number of friends and relatives in some of my counties.

It seems to me that HOWARD BAKER had a real passion for public service that transcended all personal ambition or self-aggrandizement. I feel that he could visualize the humble homes back in the hills of Tennessee from which many let-

ters addressed to him emanated during his tenure of office up here in Washington. I am sure he was never too busy nor too elevated to see his people and discuss their problems with them. He was ordained to helpfulness and humanitarianism among his constituents and for our country. All too seldom do we find able, patriotic, unselfish men and women willing to leave their homes and interests of the past and come to Washington to work in the vineyard of governmental endeavor and for the welfare of our everyday citizens. But as everyone knows the self-seekers who aspire to come to Washington are a dime a dozen. HOWARD BAKER was among that lesser number of those willing to come here in a selfless dedication to our country and our people.

To the family and close intimates of my friend and fellow servant, HOWARD H. BAKER, I extend my sincere condolences and I trust they will now have the everlasting and comforting presence of the Lord to fill that void left by the departure of one so real to them so long.

MR. DEROUMANIAN. Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER was my friend. We served together on the Committee on Ways and Means and we fought together for the principles in which we both believed. With many more years of experience on this committee than I, he was always most helpful to me, generous with his time and his personal concern.

He is no longer with us but he has left his mark in the Congress. I will long remember this true, practicing Christian.

I knew HOWARD's family—his wife and two daughters—and my sympathy goes to them. I know what a terrible loss his passing must be to them and to his son. However, the pride that they must take in his great service to his country and his many accomplishments for the betterment of our people will help much, in future years, to offer them comfort and solace.

MR. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was inexpressibly shocked and grieved to learn of the sudden passing of my esteemed and dear friend, Congressman HOWARD H. BAKER, who was, in every respect, an outstanding Member of this body and a great and dedicated American.

Congressman BAKER was a neighbor of mine in the Old House Office Building for some time, and I have never known a finer, more considerate and kindly gentleman. Of great personal charm, friendliness, and generous noble spirit, Congressman BAKER truly endeared himself to all those who knew him.

He was a man of strong, sterling character, positive convictions, great ability, a learned lawyer and keen student of government, who stood firmly and resolutely by his beliefs and fought militantly for the fundamentals and policies which he believed to be right and best for his district, his great State, and Nation.

He was respected, esteemed, admired, and loved by those of us who knew him well and indeed by all his colleagues in the Congress. He was a true, devoted servant of his people and his country.

His passing has left a great void in our midst, and it is with a very heavy, sorrowing heart that I mourn his passing and extend to his bereaved and beloved family my most heartfelt sympathy for their truly irreparable loss, a loss which we share with them.

The life, work, and contributions of Congressman BAKER will long be remembered in this great deliberative body where he served with such outstanding distinction. We will sorely miss him for he was in truth a gentleman in the best sense of the word, a man of generous impulse, of superlative patriotism, unselfish devotion to duty, a warm friend, and a great American.

May he find eternal rest in his heavenly home.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the Members of the House in paying my deepest respects to our recently deceased colleague, HOWARD BAKER, from Tennessee, and to express my feeling of grief in the loss of a good friend to his bereaved family. HOWARD BAKER was a kind and considerate man and was helpful to me as a Member of the House on many occasions, giving of his time and his valued advice unselfishly.

His service on the Ways and Means Committee was most valuable to the Congress and to the Nation and his dedication to service as a Congressman was unexcelled in the Nation's highest legislative body.

The Congress and the Nation have lost a valuable and dedicated servant and I shall miss his warm and friendly greeting, his ever-outstretched helping hand, and his valuable counsel and advice. I am proud to join in these remarks lauding his service upon his untimely and most unexpected death.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I speak of our great friend and colleague, HOWARD BAKER. For 13 years we shared a treasured friendship—a companionship which never ceased to yield a rich harvest of joy with each renewed encounter.

HOWARD BAKER was a big man—a broad-gaged man, big of heart, big of mind, big of spirit. There was nothing petty, nothing partisan, nothing pica-yunish about him.

He was here for a very simple purpose—to serve his Nation and to serve his fellow man. He was a man of great commonsense—a man of uncommon judgment. He could look at the most complicated, the most heated issues, with a detachment, a fair-mindedness, that compelled the admiration and respect of all who served with him.

In the heat of controversy he remained calm, seeking always the answers to two basic questions: "What is good for America? What is good for my fellow citizens?"

Some years ago I served with him on the elections subcommittee where tempers at times became heated, but HOWARD always was calm, fair-minded, objective, seeking only the facts as the basis for doing justice.

And for years I served with him on the Committee on Ways and Means. Though we were of different parties and often differed in our views, we remained

close friends all the way. His sanity, his fairness, his moderation, his search for what was wise and just—these were the hallmarks of this splendid servant of our country. As our great friend, as a devoted public official, as a kind, good man, HOWARD BAKER will live forever in our hearts. God bless his loved ones and his memory.

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, we of the Ways and Means Committee will miss HOWARD BAKER. We have spent a lot of time together in committee. His dispassionate analysis and constructive suggestions added much to our deliberations. HOWARD will be sorely missed.

All of us want to make a contribution. It can be said of HOWARD that Congress, our Nation and the world were better because he was here, which in my mind is a fitting epitaph for a Congressman.

Our prayers go with you, HOWARD, and to those you leave behind. We will miss you and hope to meet you again one day.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of our late colleague HOWARD BAKER, Tennessee and the Nation have lost a sincere and valuable public servant. He was not only an able and kindly representative of east Tennessee but a champion of the whole Appalachian region. He was a devout Christian gentleman and commanded the respect and affection of his colleagues. I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow and other members of his family.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, HOWARD BAKER was a great American—loyal, patriotic, and dedicated to those principles and ideals that made this Nation great.

HOWARD BAKER was devoted to the private enterprise system that carved out of the American wilderness the highest standard of living in the history of the world. He believed in States rights, strong local government, and a maximum of individual liberty. His service here in the Congress reflects honor on the great Volunteer State. He served in the tradition of Andrew Johnson with forthrightness, courage, and integrity.

Mr. Speaker, we lost a friend and the State of Tennessee and the United States lost a great statesman.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Baker and her lovely family.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying respects to our late beloved colleague, HOWARD BAKER, an outstanding Member of the House and a wonderful example of legislative service to his colleagues here in the Congress, and to his constituents in his home district.

Mrs. Derwinski and I extend to Mrs. Baker and her family our condolences in the sad passing of HOWARD.

He was an exceptional Member of Congress, tremendously effective, but in a quiet way, he earned proper respect from the Members for his thorough knowledge of subject matter that came before his committee, and for his dedication to sound legislative practices.

We will miss his wise counsel, his experience, and the inspiration that he provided younger Members of Congress.

I am sure that the people of the Second District of Tennessee will long remember the faithful, untiring service he supplied their needs, and all of us who served with him will forever cherish his memory.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, along with the other Members of Congress, I feel that I have had a great privilege in being able to serve in the Nation's Congress with the late beloved HOWARD BAKER.

I did not know him intimately, but our associations here tell us of the character and service of men far better than words can ever detail. Mr. BAKER was a man of inspiring character and dedicated service. He was serious about his service and I think I saw in him a determination that his people should find no stone unturned in their behalf.

The Congress has suffered a loss of one of its finest Members. His district, in the great State of Tennessee, has lost a champion. His family has lost a beloved. Let us all find comfort in the fact that he gave so freely and so unswervingly of his talents to his Nation.

Mrs. Hemphill joins me in sympathy to his family.

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, certainly we were all saddened, and this House suffered a tremendous and tragic loss, by the passing of our beloved and distinguished colleague from Tennessee, HOWARD BAKER. He was a good man, a fair man, a leader, and an outstanding legislator.

Only a few short months ago, I had the pleasure of flying to Knoxville to speak in behalf of HOWARD BAKER. It was a wonderful and gratifying experience indeed, to see the warm love, respect, and appreciative feeling his many fine friends held for him and his lovely wife, Irene. Our sincere, heartfelt sympathies and prayers are with Irene and her children. We share their loss and their grief. May God love and comfort them during these trying days.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I have known HOWARD H. BAKER for the past 8 years and more recently as a neighbor and fellow member of the House Ways and Means Committee. My friendship and associations with him shall be among the lasting memories of my service in the U.S. Congress. Mr. BAKER was a kind and good man who was always willing to help others in the performance of their duties. As a legislator, he was articulate and conscientious and was certainly one of the most able men in the field of tax legislation in the entire Congress.

In Mr. BAKER's passing the people of the Second District of Tennessee lost an outstanding Representative, and the legislative bodies of the Federal Government have lost an able and dedicated servant. Many of us have lost a valued friend, and his family a devoted and beloved husband, father, and grandfather. To his loved ones, I extend my heartfelt sympathy in their time of sorrow.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in this House in paying tribute to the memory of the late HOWARD H. BAKER of the State of Tennessee.

He was an instrumental part of this body, and he will be greatly missed.

He was a kind man, and he was a progressive legislator whose record will forever remain a permanent part of this Nation.

The Tennessee delegation, which last year lost the services of Senator Estes Kefauver, can indeed be proud of this noble man who gave so greatly of his time and talent to that State. Among so many other things, the TVA project stands as a continuing tribute to the late Congressman BAKER.

My deepest sympathies are extended to all of his friends in Tennessee, and to his family.

MR. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to my good friend and colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER. He came to Congress one term earlier than I but during the most of our service we have been neighbors in the Longworth Office Building. I became well acquainted with him and learned to respect his judgment. Our deceased colleague was a man of great capacity and perseverance. His basically sound intellect won him national recognition. Many people in Michigan's 10th Congressional District, which I represent, spoke to me of him and his work on the Ways and Means Committee as though they knew him personally.

I visited his political battlegrounds and learned of the high esteem with which he was held by the people of Tennessee. Not only did he ably serve his constituents in the Second Congressional District of Tennessee, but his goals, as he envisioned them, were for the betterment of the Nation as a whole.

Nathaniel Krum has written:

What I've written, what I've said,
Won't be thought of when I'm dead;
But my actions—what I've been—
Will remain in the minds of men.

I am sure that as the years pass, the actions and character of our departed colleague, HOWARD BAKER, will remain in the minds of his fellow men.

To his widow and children I extend my sincerest sympathy.

MR. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the death of HOWARD BAKER leaves quite a vacuum in the House of Representatives. He was not only one of the outstanding statesmen in this body but had a host of admirers and personal friends who were shocked and grieved by his passing. I cannot think of a more dedicated and respected Member. A hard worker, HOWARD BAKER wielded great influence in this body. His work in the field of tax legislation was preeminent. And he had a remarkable faculty of putting the welfare of the country ahead of partisan considerations in all of his official actions here. I have lost a valuable personal friend. The entire Nation has lost a valuable public servant.

To his wife and family I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

MR. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I share with other Members of the House a great sense of loss we all feel over the death of our colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER. He was a dedicated legislator and a valued friend.

Without question, HOWARD BAKER was an outstanding Representative of Tennessee's Second District, as the great margins of his six reelections to the House of Representatives bore witness. Both the country and the Congress are richer because of his 14 years as a lawmaker.

HOWARD BAKER'S work on the Ways and Means Committee commanded the respect of Members from both sides of the aisle. As an expert in the fields of taxation and social security, he helped shape sound sensible laws, a legislative legacy that will benefit all the American people. He was coauthor of the Baker-Herlong bill to reduce income tax rates. Many of his suggestions are incorporated in the tax bill now before the Congress.

We will miss HOWARD BAKER'S wise counsel and able service. I extend my sympathy to his family and my condolences to his many friends who mourn his passing.

MR. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, may I join thousands of others who regret deeply the untimely loss of HOWARD BAKER. He was an able and forthright American and a true and loyal friend. His contribution to the Nation through his services in Congress will long stand as a memorial which all will recognize. In particular I would like to acknowledge his close association and support of my father, Robert A. Taft, over a period of many years in the U.S. Senate. We will sorely miss him.

MR. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I learned of the unexpected death of our late beloved colleague, Hon. HOWARD H. BAKER.

HOWARD BAKER served his district and his Nation for many years with honor and distinction. His influence, and the warmth of his friendship, extended far beyond the borders of his congressional district.

We shall feel his loss keenly in the years that lie ahead. His family can take comfort in the realization that, during his life on this earth, HOWARD BAKER lived a rich and full life, characterized by unselfish service to others.

Mrs. Whalley and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Baker and the children.

MR. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee for yielding to me in order that I may join with him and my associates in the House of Representatives in tribute to our late and beloved colleague, HOWARD H. BAKER.

It is difficult to adequately express your feelings when suddenly faced with such a loss as the passing of this great American. As a Member of Congress and a Representative from the great State of Tennessee, HOWARD BAKER enjoyed the respect, the admiration and the affection of every Member of the House, the people of his State and all who knew him.

HOWARD BAKER and I embarked on our service in this House at the same time and I know of no one during the intervening period who has made a greater contribution to the cause of good government. He was a devoted public servant and one who stood firm in his convictions and his determination to represent the people well.

HOWARD H. BAKER leaves a great heritage for those of us who have been privileged to serve with him. Because of HOWARD BAKER, our Nation is a better place in which to live.

I was proud to call him my friend, and Mrs. Ostertag joins with me in extending our profound sympathy to Mrs. Baker and her family in their great personal loss.

MR. STEED. Mr. Speaker, with the tragic passing of Congressman HOWARD H. BAKER, of Tennessee, the House of Representatives and the people have lost a man of courage, determination, ability, and sound counsel.

It is hard to endure blows such as these which take from us hard-working men at the peak of their usefulness. As an expert in the tax field and in the wide sweep of activities affected by the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. BAKER had developed a knowledge that it would take another many years to hope to duplicate.

During his entire seven terms in Congress it was my pleasure to serve with him and in the most recent years to be his neighbor. My sense of deprivation is heightened by the fact that I have lost a friend.

My hometown newspaper, the Shawnee (Okla.) News-Star, eulogized Congressman BAKER in an editorial January 14, which I reproduce as follows:

TRIBUTE TO A FRIEND

America's domestic oil industry lost one of its most faithful and effective friends in the death of Representative HOWARD H. BAKER, Republican, of Tennessee, earlier this month. Congressman BAKER, as a member of the tax-writing Committee on Ways and Means, was a stalwart fighter for curbs on foreign oil imports, for fair tax laws, and in all other matters which affected the petroleum industry.

In recent years he was a key figure in Congress in a number of important contests which the domestic oil industry won in Congress. One of his most recent activities was to defeat several burdensome tax amendments in the pending tax modification bill, and in the continuing fight led by Oklahoma Congressman Tom STEED to curtail importation of foreign oil.

He was an eight-term veteran and was held in highest esteem by members of both political parties. He had many friends in Oklahoma.

MR. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a sad privilege to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our departed brother, HOWARD BAKER.

HOWARD was devoted to the very best interests of that beautiful country he was so proud to represent in eastern Tennessee. He appreciated the good that TVA had brought to the remote areas of his State and stood foursquare in defense of that development.

He was sound in his approaches to the problems coming before the Ways and Means Committee where he was a high ranking member when death came. It is so often true that the Grim Reaper arrives when a man is at the apex of his potential.

HOWARD BAKER was a pillar in his community and his State long before he came to Congress. As one reviews his

life, the conclusion is inescapable that he was indeed a model of the men our Founding Fathers had in mind when this body was established: Men, deeply concerned for the good of their districts, yet of that breadth of vision that sees clearly what is in the national interest and who work diligently for every sound and proper adjustment to that end.

My wife and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Baker, their son, their two daughters and their families.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow and regret that I learned of the passing of my good friend HOWARD BAKER. I considered him to be a real friend, and I will miss him.

HOWARD BAKER was a Member of Congress when I came to the Congress in 1953. He was one of the first Members to shake my hand and with whom I became acquainted. Since that time I have had many occasions to seek his counsel, and to compare ideas with him. His advice was always objective and succinct, but delivered with restraint and consideration.

HOWARD BAKER's service in Congress was noteworthy for many reasons, but his work as a member of the very important Ways and Means Committee was perhaps the most valuable service he gave. He was extremely knowledgeable in all phases of the jurisdiction of that great committee, and his reasoning was sound. The country and the business community are more healthy economically because of the service of HOWARD BAKER.

Tennessee, its history both past and present, and its people were the pride and focus of HOWARD's life. I had occasion at one time to make a speech for HOWARD in his district. I well remember the pride with which he showed me the wonders of east Tennessee, and told me of the virtues of his people. In his passing, his State and its citizens have lost a great champion.

To Mrs. Baker and to the Baker family I extend the deepest sympathy of Mrs. Rhodes and me. They will be comforted, I know, by the memories of a husband and father who was a fine upstanding individual, and by the pride they must feel in the accomplishments of his life-time. May God rest his soul.

FAMILY DOCTOR WEEK IN COLORADO

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, this is Family Doctor Week in Colorado. I want to commend Gov. John A. Love, for issuing an executive order proclaiming this week as Family Doctor Week. We are happy to honor the family doctor who has made such a valuable contribution to the growth and development of our Nation.

The proclamation reads as follows:

STATE OF COLORADO: EXECUTIVE ORDER, PROCLAMATION FAMILY DOCTOR WEEK, JANUARY 12-18, 1964

Whereas the health and physical well-being of the people of Colorado is a basic goal fundamental to all other goals; and

Whereas the personal physician and family doctor occupy a key position in the system of medical arts and sciences by which the health of the American people is maintained at levels which are the envy and aspiration of the world; and

Whereas the education of the physician is a continuing and lifelong process to the furtherance of which the doctors of Colorado will gather January 12 through 18 at the University of Colorado Medical Center for their 10th annual General Practice Review;

Now, therefore, I, John A. Love, Governor of the State of Colorado, do proclaim the week of January 12 through 18, 1964, as Family Doctor Week and urge all citizens to avail themselves of the achievements and benefits of medical progress by enlisting the services of a personal or family physician.

Given under my hand and the executive seal of the State of Colorado, this second day of January, A.D., 1964.

JOHN A. LOVE,
Governor.

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have as one of my colleagues the Honorable HENRY C. SCHADEBERG of the First Congressional District of Wisconsin, a true man of God.

I was fortunate to receive a Christmas card from Mr. and Mrs. Schadeberg with a greeting that had such warmth and was so appropriate, I would like to share it with all Members of the Congress.

Mr. SCHADEBERG, who was formerly pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Burlington, wrote this poem:

"Peace on earth to men of good will"

Was the song of the angels as on Bethlehem's hills

The shepherds watched their flocks by night,
Expecting their God to set the world right.

"Peace!" men cry, but there is no peace
For those who seek for themselves, release
From the struggle to set the world free
From the price men must pay for liberty.

The "peace" that comes at Christmastime,
That fills our hearts with joy sublime,
Is to know that we are right with God
In the battles we fight on the paths we tread.

"Peace on earth! Good will to men!"
Is the song of the angels, now, as then,
For peace is ours each newborn day
If God is our partner along the way.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON DECEIVES AMERICAN PEOPLE ON AGED CARE

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DEROUNIAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in today's New York Times, President Johnson is reported as having said:

That the administration programs would cost the employee and his employer 25 cents a week. The resulting assurance of hospital and nursing home care after retirement *** would not be charity.

Are we to assume that President Johnson does not know what his own Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare interprets the present medical care bill before the Committee on Ways and Means to assure?

Secretary Celebrezze testified that the present bill would cover about 30 percent of the average cost of hospital care for those over 65. The one-fourth of 1 percent proposed tax in the current bill was admitted by Mr. Myers, Chief Actuary of Health, Education, and Welfare, as being completely inadequate. He has said the tax should be double that proposed, in response to questions by the outstanding chairman of our committee.

Yesterday, the President also stated he was opposed to the means test in the present Kerr-Mills Act. Does the President mean he is against the following Federal programs: old-age assistance, aid to needy families with dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, aid to the aged, blind, or disabled and/or medical assistance for the aged, low-rent housing, farm housing, school lunch program, veterans' pensions, veterans' hospital or domiciliary care and medical treatment? Every one of the foregoing requires a "means test."

The following additional Federal programs although not containing a specific means test, are intended to help only the needy: Indian health, surplus food programs, maternal and child health services, services for crippled children, child welfare services, National Defense Education Act loan program, treatment of narcotic addicts, and Public Health Service treatment of lepers.

It is about time that even the President of the United States stopped chicanery on such an important subject as care of our aged citizens.

HOWARD H. BAKER

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing sincere regrets on the passing of our beloved and distinguished colleague from Tennessee, the Honorable HOWARD BAKER.

Mr. BAKER was an outstanding citizen dedicated to serving his community, his district, his State, and his Nation. He was respected by all who knew him.

Since coming to the House, I found myself relying heavily upon him as one of the most distinguished and learned members of the Ways and Means Committee. We have lost an invaluable colleague and he will be missed.

Mrs. Cahill joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Baker and the members of the family in their great loss and sorrow shared by all of us.

RESOLUTION ON PANAMANIAN CRISIS

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JOHANSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is time for Congress to say it again—with the hope that this time it will be heard and heeded.

In consequence of the grave Panamanian crisis, including current diplomatic developments, I have today introduced a House Concurrent Resolution designed to do just that.

This resolution is identical—word for word—with one passed by the House in the 86th Congress, February 2, 1960, by the nearly unanimous vote of 381 to 12. It is as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that any variation in the traditional interpretation of the treaties of 1903, 1936, and 1955 between the United States and the Republic of Panama, with special reference to matters involving the provisions of such treaties concerning territorial sovereignty, shall only be made pursuant to treaty.

The broad purpose of the 1960 resolution and House action was to put the brake on State Department appeasement policies—and their implementation by Executive order.

One specific hope was to prevent the U.S. Government knuckling under to Panama's demand to be permitted to fly its flag within the Canal Zone alongside the American flag.

Neither object was realized.

In September 1960, under threat of a repetition of 1959 anti-American riots, the Eisenhower administration yielded to Panama's demand. The overwhelming, bipartisan sentiment of the House was totally disregarded.

There is no doubt that this concession, and the impression of weakness it created, has encouraged further demands and, along with the activities of Castro's Communist agents in Panama, contributed to recent events and the current situation.

I strongly supported this resolution in 1960. There is infinitely more reason for adopting an identical resolution now. The United States has agreed to OAS-sponsored talks between representatives of the two countries "who will have sufficient powers to discuss without limitations all existing matters of any nature which may affect relations" between

Panama and the United States. Panama, in turn, is pressuring for full-scale negotiations and treaty revision.

This could provide a field day for appeasers.

If, as is to be devoutly hoped, President Johnson stands firm against appeasement, this resolution will strengthen his hand. In any event, Congress should put the administration on notice against retreat by Executive order or diplomatic concessions.

The issues involved are too crucial to be resolved, or decisions made binding, by any process which bypasses the constitutional "advice and consent" role of the Senate with the opportunity for full disclosure and debate this treaty-making procedure provides.

It is my own strong conviction that under no circumstances should the United States in any way surrender or weaken its complete, unilateral control over the Panama Canal—or remotely suggest abandoning the canal.

If there are areas of failure or neglect in our relations with Panama which call for correction, that correction should be applied after the threat of violence has ended, and it should be applied either in accordance with "traditional interpretation" of existing treaties or pursuant to duly ratified treaty revisions.

Let there be no concessions, now or hereafter, which handcuff the United States or permit the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal to become another Cuba or another hemispheric dagger at our heart.

It is desperately urgent that we understand that a shackled American sovereignty can protect neither our own legitimate interests nor the independence and sovereignty of other free nations against the enemies of freedom and independence.

THE ABUSED CHILD

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to provide for the mandatory reporting by physicians and institutions in the District of Columbia of certain physical abuse of children.

The purpose of this bill is to provide for the protection of children who have had physical injury inflicted upon them and who are threatened with further injury by the conduct of those responsible for their care and protection. My bill would make it mandatory upon any physician, intern or resident or hospital to report to the Metropolitan Police Department any case of physical injury to a child under the age of 18 which comes to their attention and which they have reasonable cause to believe was caused by parents or guardians other than accidentally.

The bill would further grant immunity from liability, civil or criminal, to

anyone participating in good faith in the making of such a report. It would further provide that in this instance neither the physician-patient privilege nor the husband-wife privilege shall be grounds for excluding evidence regarding a child's injuries or the cause thereof in any judicial proceedings resulting from a report.

This bill is based upon the suggested language of the Children's Bureau of the Welfare Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. According to the Bureau there has been in recent years a noticeable increase in the number and violence of attacks on infants and young children by parents and others responsible for their care.

In January 1962, a group of consultants met with the Children's Bureau to consider the problem—one of their conclusions was a recommendation that legislation such as I have proposed be enacted in the various States. Largely as a result of this recommendation the following States now have laws providing the mandatory reporting of violence to children: California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Oregon, and Wyoming. My own State of New York now has a citizen's committee working on this problem.

What is frequently known as the "violent parent syndrome" is certainly not a new phenomenon in society. As I pointed out before, however, the increase in such violence is new and this bill provides one means of dealing with it.

I hope that we will see action on my bill in the near future.

RULE BY INTIMIDATION

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the affinity of the Washington Post for any leftwing cause, pink organization or idea that is other than American, is well known both here in Washington and throughout the country.

If their attacks on the basic elements of democracy were not at times so infantile, they would constitute more of a threat to this Nation than they are. Their teary-eyed appeal and their hand-wringing plea for the "right" of homosexuals to solicit funds on the streets of Washington is a good example of the lengths to which the Post will go in order to support a devious cause.

Last week, it became necessary for the Post to attack constitutionality in order to bring their support behind a Communist-front organization. It would be difficult for most people to openly support a subversive organization, but all it requires of the Washington Post, apparently, is to chop the truth up here and there, ignore the Constitution of the United States and build a case on false accusations and wild exaggerations. Such is what they have done to support the Communist-front organization, "Southern Conference Education Fund."

In an editorial entitled "Rule by Intimidation," the Post attacks the Louisiana counterpart of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities and its parent act, the Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act.

The Post calls it an "exceedingly dubious legislative concoction," though the committee was created by the Legislature of Louisiana and the constitutionality of the laws it enforces has been upheld by a three-judge Federal panel.

It would seem that there is enough Communist activity already in this country without the State of Louisiana having to fight also the Washington Post. The help of the Post is not needed; the Communists are doing their job well enough.

In this editorial, the editor of the Post says that agents of the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities "arrested these reputable and respected citizens," referring to the often-cited Communist-front agent, James A. Dombrowski.

If this is the kind of reputation and respectability the Post admires, and it apparently is, then, at least, they should themselves have the respectability to retitle the editorial to "A Defense of Communism" or "Down With Americanism." It would be far more suitable and certainly a more accurate title for the predominant aim of the Post.

The editorial is reproduced below:

RULE BY INTIMIDATION

The pushing around to which the Southern Conference Educational Fund has recently been subjected in Louisiana is more than a matter of local concern. It involves some supplementary high-handedness on the part of a U.S. Senate subcommittee; and it also involves a flagrant disregard of some fundamental American rights.

Under the guise of enforcing a local and exceedingly dubious legislative concoction called the "Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act," policemen acting at the behest of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, raided the homes and offices of three officials of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. With drawn revolvers, they arrested these reputable and respected citizens, terrorized them and their families and confiscated their papers and files.

The triumph of the Louisiana legislative committee would have been short lived had it not been for a helping hand from the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate. A Louisiana criminal district court promptly dismissed, for lack of any evidence whatever, the charge against the three SCEF officials that they had conspired to subvert something or other; and it would just as promptly, no doubt, have ordered return of the SCEF files had they not suddenly been subpoenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The subcommittee's role in this affair deserves scrutiny. Its seizure of the SCEF files was accomplished, it appears, by the use of a subpoena signed in blank by the chairman, Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, and filled out to be served at the last minute on the State legislative committee by the subcommittee counsel. This was precisely the shotgun practice used by the subcommittee in the case of Robert Shelton whose conviction for

contempt of Congress was reversed just the other day because a subpoena signed in blank was used to summon him. We think this is thoroughly irresponsible conduct by the subcommittee staff.

A three-judge Federal court now has under consideration a suit by the SCEF attacking the constitutionality of the Louisiana subversive activities and Communist control law. In the manner of its enforcement in Louisiana, the law seems to be a plain infringement on the advocacy of ideas—and as such in violation of the first amendment. It seems obvious that it is being used against the SCEF for the sole reason that that organization is engaged in advocating civil rights for Negroes in the South. If it succeeds in this case, it will be used in other Southern States to tag the civil rights movement as "subversive" and Communist. This amounts to rule by intimidation. It is the antithesis of the democratic process.

JUDGES UPHOLD LOUISIANA LAWS ON RED CONTROL

NEW ORLEANS, January 11.—The constitutionality of Louisiana's Communist control laws has been upheld by a special three-judge Federal panel.

The panel, in a decision issued yesterday, also tossed out a suit seeking an injunction banning the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities from turning over records of the Southern Conference Educational Fund to the Orleans Parish grand jury.

The suit was filed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a group which says it fosters racial harmony, and its executive director, James A. Dombrowski, of New Orleans.

State police, acting under orders of the Joint Committee on Un-American Activities, swooped down last October on the fund headquarters and the office of its treasurer, Benjamin Smith, and his law partner, Bruce Waltzer.

Issuing the majority opinion were U.S. District Judges E. Gordon West, of Baton Rouge, and Frank B. Ellis, of New Orleans. U.S. Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom dissented.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SNYDER (at the request of Mr. HALLECK), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. HANNA, for the period January 20 to 23, 1964, on account of official business.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. LIBONATI) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MULTER.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on January 15, 1964, present to the President, for his ap-

proval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 7406. An act to provide for increased participation by the United States in the Inter-American Development Bank, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 20, 1964, 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:

1542. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a draft of a proposed bill entitled "A bill to authorize the appropriation of \$115 million for the Peace Corps in fiscal year 1965"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1543. A letter from the Chairman, District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, transmitting the Annual Report of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, pursuant to Public Law 592, 79th Congress; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1544. A letter from the Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, transmitting the 18th annual report of the Agency's operations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, pursuant to Public Law 377, 79th Congress, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1545. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, relative to a proposed amendment to the concession contract with the Quapaw Bath House Co. in Hot Springs National Park, pursuant to 70 Stat. 543; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1546. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a report to the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives of the United States, relating to House Report 706, dated August 26, 1963; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. S. 1309. An act to amend the Small Business Act, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1097). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 9648. A bill to provide for the exchange of certain lands by the United States

and the State of Missouri; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 9649. A bill to amend the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951 to provide for the crediting for leave purposes of military and civilian service not credited under such act because of administrative error, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 9650. A bill to amend section 218 of the Social Security Act so as to enable States, through Federal-State agreement, to provide further opportunity for certain State employees to elect coverage under the insurance system established by title II of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 9651. A bill to amend provisions relative to overtime compensation for substitute employees in the postal field service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 9652. A bill to provide for the mandatory reporting by physicians and institutions in the District of Columbia of certain physical abuse of children; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MURRAY:

H.R. 9653. A bill to extend the authority of the Postmaster General to enter into

leases of real property for periods not exceeding 30 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. JOHANSEN:

H. Con. Res. 255. Concurrent resolution relative to the interpretation of treaties between the United States and the Republic of Panama; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BUCKLEY:

H. Res. 609. Resolution to provide for the further expenses of the investigation and study authorized by House Resolution 56; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MURRAY:

H. Res. 610. Resolution to provide for additional expenses for the investigation and study by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service authorized by House Resolution 151, 88th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII.

Mr. MORSE introduced a bill (H.R. 9654) for the relief of Ismail Bengisu and his wife, Olcay Bengisu, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

President Johnson's Credo as an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, President Lyndon Baines Johnson has long been known for his dedication to the cause of liberty, and the free exercise of political, social and civil rights by all Americans. On April 3, 1962, President Johnson, then Vice President of the United States, was presented with the 1962 Stephen Wise Award by the Maryland Chapter of the American Jewish Congress for his fight against discrimination and bigotry. On that occasion the President delivered the following speech in which he defined his credo as an American. The speech appeared in the September 16, 1963, edition of the *Congress Biweekly*.

The speech follows:

MY CREDO AS AN AMERICAN

(By Lyndon B. Johnson)

(On April 3, 1962, President Johnson, then Vice President of the United States, was presented with the 1962 Stephen Wise Award by the Maryland Chapter of the American Jewish Congress for his fight against discrimination and bigotry. In accepting the award, Mr. Johnson delivered the following speech in which he defined his credo as an American.)

I accept this honor with a reluctance that goes way beyond modesty. I remember so well the remark made to me many years ago by a wise old Texan. "Young man," he said, "just remember that how many awards and honors you have isn't the real sign of great-

ness. It's how many you deserve." I can't think of any honor I've ever wanted to deserve more than this one. I cherish the very thought that I have contributed in some measure to spreading liberty and opportunity to more of our citizens.

I accept this honor in good conscience only because I view it as a token of appreciation and encouragement to those Americans, including members of the American Jewish Congress, who have worked so long to make the American dream a thing of life. But I could never view this plaque as a tribute to me alone. You see, I got my reward for my efforts against discrimination long before tonight. My reward has been an increased understanding and appreciation of what my country stands for and must be. My profit has been a sharper awareness of what it is we offer when we Americans speak to the world.

In the last several months I have been in many countries on several continents. I have seen many faces in that great mass of mankind which is caught up in turbulent change. I have seen people who most of all need hope. I have seen people who are yearning to be free. I have seen people who are struggling to break the bonds of poverty, illness, and illiteracy.

You cannot work for long with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity without achieving a better understanding of the forces that are most powerful among these people in far distant lands. After all, the goal of our human rights organizations is to provide for our own citizens the hope and freedom that we hold forth as a goal to these masses in other lands.

Why should our Government be so concerned about racial injustice?

There are some hard, practical considerations that none of us can overlook: Our country and the whole free world is confronted with an immense challenge. It is a challenge that stretches from the rice paddies of Vietnam to the rain forests of Africa to the steamy villages of Latin America. To

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

631. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., asking Congress to pass legislation creating the term, "Gold Star Father," with all the rights and privileges of the Gold Star Mothers; to the Committee on Armed Services.

632. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., to require the members of the Joint Committee on Printing to correct a statement on page A7715 of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, dated December 18, 1964; to the Committee on House Administration.

633. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., requesting the Joint Committee on Printing to make certain corrections in the RECORD regarding recognition of former Members as such when referred to in the RECORD, and to follow the practice; to the Committee on House Administration.

634. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., with reference to immigration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

635. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., asking Congress to consider his proposal for settling jurisdictional disputes between committees; to the Committee on Rules.

meet that challenge in triumph we shall need every resource this Nation can muster. We shall need the intellectual genius, moral strength, political astuteness, oratorical skill, mechanical know-how—all these and many things more we shall need.

We must remember, as Harry Emerson Fosdick once said, that "democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people." Whatever may be offered by a lad trapped in the slums of Harlem, or a youngster isolated on an Indian reservation, or a boy struggling along on a midwestern farm—whatever each can offer the Nation must receive.

One of the most moving tributes to democracy and human freedom that I ever read was the statement by Chaplain Roland B. Gittelsohn a few years ago when he dedicated the 5th Marine Division Cemetery on Iwo Jima. He said:

"Somewhere in this plot of ground there may lie the man who could have discovered the cure for cancer. Under one of these Christian crosses, or beneath a Jewish Star of David, there may rest now a man who was destined to be a great prophet. * * * Here lie officers and men, Negroes and whites, rich men and poor. * * * Here are Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. * * * Here no man prefers another because of his faith, or despises him because of his color. Here there are no quotas of how many from each group are admitted or allowed. Theirs is the highest and the purest democracy."

That is a statement which reflects brilliantly the principles of morality, of religion, of respect for human worth, on which this Nation was founded. Each generation has an obligation to keep those principles alive. Each generation is obligated to expand their impact, to make them more meaningful to more people.

You and I know what the obstacles are. John Stuart Mill once wrote that, "The despotism of custom is everywhere a standing hindrance to human advancement." We see

the painful truth of this as we observe efforts to erase from our society the blot of racial and religious discrimination. And I say this with no holier-than-thou attitude. We all have been influenced by the ideas, the assumptions, the likes, the dislikes, of our fathers and grandfathers. Each of us is to some degree a victim of our environments. What we must do is free ourselves and help to free each other, from the ignorance, the outmoded notions that are incompatible with a free society in an age of nuclear weapons and space vehicles.

I am not prepared to accept the notion that racial or religious hatred and conflict are inevitable any more than our forefathers were prepared to accept muddy roads and horses and buggies as an inevitable part of life. We must have confidence that we can make ours a society in which men and women of all races, religions, and backgrounds can live under conditions of mutual respect and of true equality of opportunity. I believe that we can.

I came to Washington from Texas some 30 years ago. I remember what Washington was like then. I remember how difficult it was for a Negro to get a Government job of any importance or prestige. We have come a long way in those 30 years.

I got a sharp, personal reminder of what has been happening in this country recently when I went to San Antonio to urge the people to elect HENRY B. GONZALEZ to Congress. We made whistle stops all over town. Late in the day we stopped near a big supermarket. I was given an eloquent introduction by a Negro who has been a friend for many years. Then I got up and delivered what I hoped was a good speech. As the meeting broke up a middle-aged Negro gentleman stepped up to the pickup truck on which I stood and said:

"Mr. Vice President, I was born two blocks from this spot. And I've lived here all of a long life. But let me tell you that never in the wildest night did I dream that I'd live

long enough to have a white Texan Vice President of the United States come to this corner, be introduced by a Negro, and get up and appeal to the people to vote for a man named GONZALEZ."

That was a sharply touching moment for me, because until that remark was made I was completely unaware of what really had taken place, or of how much it signified in the way of change. Yes, there's been a lot of change in the last 30 years. But there's room for a lot more. I pledge to you on behalf of the President that we're going to produce more progress in the first 4 Kennedy years than the country made in all those 30.

I am against bigotry and discrimination because I think they are wrong. I am for human understanding, for equal justice, for equality of opportunity because I think they are right.

May this country always be the kind where a man needs, and the people demand, no greater explanation than this.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1964

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

John 14: 1: Let not your heart be troubled. Ye believe in God, believe also in me.

Eternal God, our Father, always and everywhere we need Thee; in the joys that cheer us and in the trials that teach us to put our trust in Thee; in times of prosperity to restrain us from becoming proud and vainglorious; in our days of confusion and perplexity to clarify our minds and safeguard us from doubt and despair.

Show us how we may more fully embody the transforming and transfiguring spirit of our blessed Lord who walked upon this earth in the long ago with a love and a compassion which never sought anything but the glory of God and the welfare of all mankind.

Grant that when our days are dark and beset by difficulties we may go forth unafraid, placing our hands in Thine and heeding Thy still small voice, saying unto us, "This is the way; walk ye therein; be of good courage; lo I am with you always."

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 16, 1964, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGowen, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the

following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 385. An act to extend the maximum maturity of certain Veterans' Administration guaranteed or insured home loans to 35 years.

CHANGE IN PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order on Wednesday next for the Speaker to entertain a motion to suspend the rules and pass Senate bill 741.

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

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the bill?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, it is a bill which was on the program to be called up under suspension of the rules today. The request was made by the Republican leadership. The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH] is interested in this bill and has to be in his own State on official business today. We merely request that the consideration of the bill be put over until Wednesday.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

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

There was no objection.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE CLARENCE CANNON, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I note the presence of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I take this time to pay a word of tribute to his leadership.

The gentleman from Missouri has worked out a schedule for the handling of the supply bills this year. If all Members of the House will cooperate with him in effectuating the schedule, it will enable us to pass all appropriation bills by early in June. This will be an important accomplishment indeed, and the gentleman from Missouri is to be commended for the initiative he has taken in this matter.

I wish to advise Members further that the President has informed us that all authorization bills will be presented to Congress early this year. Some of them have already been sent up. We hope that all legislative committees will be able to act expeditiously on these bills so that the consideration of appropriation bills may follow in due course in compliance with the goals set by the gentleman from Missouri.

We are off to a good start this year. There is every reason to believe that we can dispose of the people's business in this Chamber at an early date this year.

ECONOMIC REPORT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 278)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Joint Economic Committee and ordered to be printed, with illustrations:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., January 20, 1964.
The Honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
The Honorable the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIRS: I am presenting herewith my Economic Report to the Congress as required under the Employment Act of 1946.

In preparing this report, I have had the advice and assistance of the Council of Economic Advisers, who, in turn, have had the assistance of members of the Cabinet and heads of independent agencies.