

with and for this legislation. It will become law.

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise for the pleasant purpose of noting the decision by the Committee on Rules to add two names to that very special group that is portrayed in our reception room—six of the most distinguished Senators in our history. We have now added two—or shortly will have done so—Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan and Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

The story of Robert F. Wagner is a quintessential and essential one, describing the life of a poor immigrant child born on the east side of New York, who, by steady succession made his way to this Chamber. In the process, he changed the United States, recognizing, at long last, that we had become an urban Nation with needs, in legislative terms, that such a transformation requires.

The census of 1920 determined, for the first time, that the majority of Americans lived in urban areas—rather loosely defined, but still—and intensely so on the island of Manhattan. It may seem difficult to believe, but in 1910, the population of Manhattan was twice what it is today, and the conditions were difficult indeed.

Yet there was a degree of social order, a very powerful and progressive political organization, Tammany Hall, which dates from the Revolutionary War days. Aaron Burr was the head of Tammany at one point. And in the person of Charles Francis Murphy, it became unexpectedly, but unmistakably, the single most powerful source of progressive ideas for social legislation in our history—ideas that became law that changed lives.

Perhaps the critical event was the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911. In downtown Manhattan, there were women in a sweatshop, as we would call it. A fire broke out. The doors were locked. They were left to leap from eighth-story windows. And the city never got over it. Frances Perkins, having tea in Gramercy Park, five blocks away, never got over it. But it was Robert Wagner and Al Smith who did something about it.

They had gone to Albany under the auspices of their district leaders, big Tom Foley in the case of Al Smith, from the lower east side, and McCardle from the upper east side.

Smith became speaker of the assembly; Wagner, President pro tempore of the Senate.

They chaired together a commission on the Triangle Shirtwaist fire. They came out with legislation calling for safety and sanitary conditions, restricting child labor, limiting the hours of working women and protecting the activities of trade unions—

events which never before appeared on the legislative calendar of any State legislature, much less the Congress. And they passed.

Smith went on to become Governor of New York and created, with his company, a legislative agenda which Franklin D. Roosevelt, who succeeded Smith as Governor, would take to Washington. We call it the New Deal.

Wagner had already arrived in Washington and was well positioned to take up his work, beginning with the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933, and, in 1935, the defining Wagner Act, which is technically the National Labor Relations Act. It created the National Labor Relations Board and gave labor unions a right to exist and to be heard and not to be harassed.

He went on under President Truman. He allied himself with Robert Taft, and the first major housing legislation passed this body. Then health care was proposed by Wagner, with Truman's support. A half century has gone by, and we are still dealing with that issue. But it is well that we recognize the person—a person, not the only one—who singularly brought this matter to the nation's agenda.

I, as a New Yorker, am pleased, as all New Yorkers will be. I hope Senators will recognize that a just and honorable choice has been made. I am a member of the Rules Committee so it would not be appropriate to congratulate the Rules Committee, but I certainly thank the chairman and the ranking member, Senators MCCONNELL and DODD.

I see my friend from New Mexico is on the floor, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I don't know the parliamentary situation. I need 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THANKING SENATOR MOYNIHAN

Mr. DOMENICI. Senator MOYNIHAN, I was listening to your speech on the television set before I arrived on the floor. First, I thank you for what you said this morning. It is something we ought to hear, something that ought to be placed permanently in our RECORD. And that is what happened.

I personally want to say to you, over the years in my work as Budget Committee chairman and other legislation, I have found you to be a real friend. I think that is more important than talking about what you did here in terms of this Senator. I can remember, believe it or not, when we produced a most difficult budget, and it looked like a pretty good budget. I was wondering whether it would pass. I had the votes counted. All of a sudden, I won by one more vote than I thought. As he walked out, he put his hand on my

shoulder and said: You did a great job. I voted for you.

Now, we have talked a lot about other things, including you have asked me regularly about my wonderful family and my beautiful wife Nancy. I thank you for that concern.

I guess in the remaining time I want to say to you, there are many ways to be a great Senator. Sometimes you become a great Senator because you get a lot of big headlines. Sometimes you become a great Senator when you promote yourself, which is permitted around here, and there is nothing wrong with it. But I can say, I think you are a great Senator. I don't think you did either of those. I think you just worked. And when people had to hear something that was vitally important, that had some history to it, I don't think we have had anyone around here in my 28 years—maybe there are Senators who have been here longer who might have experienced it, but I don't think I have ever had a Senator who had so much impact because he knows a lot and he remembers history and he always calls matters to our attention when we ought to have them there. You have served on an important committee. Your knowledge of the world and trade and what it means to us in the world has been a tremendous asset for the Senate. I thank you for that.

I am certain that many are not going to have time to commend the distinguished Senator from New York because we are in some kind of a strange, 1-day-at-a-time funding resolution. We are just adding to the appropriations by 1 day at a time, which I have never heard of before. I have never had it happen to me in 28 years. I don't think it has happened. Nonetheless, we are here, and that is going to make it difficult for Senators to find the time that they want to commend you in this RECORD. But I am sure many Senators are thinking today that they would love to get down here and say thanks to you.

I thank Senator MOYNIHAN very much. I yield the floor.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. May I simply thank my revered friend. We have been together, even across the aisle, for a near quarter century. There is no one whose regard I greater value and whose remarks I could not be more moved by.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Senator. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed 2 minutes to respond to the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. The Senator from Indiana, Mr. BAYH, and I were here as you were getting ready to speak. We talked, shared some of our thoughts about you.