

ment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named (Navy enlisted scientific education program) for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant

in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Spinks, Grafton.

The following-named (Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps) graduates for perma-

nent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Gallegos, Joey R.
Roten, Richard C.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SOVEREIGNTY OF UNITED STATES OVER PANAMA CANAL

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, on February 13 the Honorable George F. Barnes, a member of the Senate of Virginia, introduced a resolution in that body calling upon the U.S. Senate to reject any encroachment upon the sovereignty of the United States over the Panama Canal.

I applaud this action on the part of Senator Barnes.

I was discouraged to learn of the recent action of Secretary of State Kissinger in signing an agreement which seeks to commit the United States to a surrender of its sovereignty in the Canal Zone.

The sovereignty of the United States is guaranteed by a treaty of 1903 and cannot be abrogated without a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate. If an agreement surrendering U.S. sovereignty is negotiated by the administration, I hope that it will be rejected by the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution introduced in the General Assembly of Virginia by Senator Barnes be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO.—

Expressing the sense of the General Assembly of Virginia relative to the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903

Whereas, in nineteen hundred and three, the United States of America was granted sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone in perpetuity; and

Whereas, the Panama Canal is essential to the defense and national security of the United States of America; and

Whereas, the Panama Canal is a vital importance to the economy and interoceanic commerce of the United States of America and the remainder of the free world; and

Whereas, valuable exports from Virginia go through the Panama Canal to distant reaches of the globe; and

Whereas, under the sovereign control of the United States of America, the Panama Canal has provided uninterrupted peacetime transit to all nations; and

Whereas, the traditionally unstable nature of Panamanian politics and government poses an implicit threat to the security of the interests of the United States of America served by the Panama Canal; and

Whereas, the Republic of Panama possesses neither the technical and managerial expertise to effectively operate and maintain the Canal nor the capability to meet the growing demands placed upon the Canal; and

Whereas, the Canal represents a five billion dollar investment on the part of the people

of the United States of America; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of Virginia, the House of Delegates concurring, That the General Assembly of Virginia requests that the Congress of the United States reject any encroachment upon the sovereignty of the United States of America over the Panama Canal and insist that the terms of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903 as subsequently amended be adhered to and retained; be it further

Resolved, That the Clerk of the Senate send copies of this resolution to Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; Gerald R. Ford, Vice President of the United States; Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State; Carl Albert, Speaker of the House; J. William Fulbright, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and to each member of the Virginia Delegation to the Congress of the United States.

IF ROLLBACK OF OIL PRICES—LESS GASOLINE

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the name of the political game today appears to be "take a shot at the major oil companies." They are a great target because they do not vote, and everyone wants cheap gasoline.

For years under price control pressure, new oil well drilling has been declining. Domestic new discoveries are down. The only way to encourage more drilling is to provide a profit margin. Costs are up from \$56,000 to \$94,000 in drilling a new oil well and only one of nine holes drilled will be a producer. We can also increase secondary recoveries of stripper wells if we realistically pay the costs of these inflationary times.

I saw a recent editorial from the Dallas Times Herald. Both Texas Senators are quoted. But remember the major oil companies are owned by the stockholders who live in New York City, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles. The need is for the major oil companies to start speaking out and stop whispering. Here is the Dallas Times Herald editorial:

ROLLBACK WON'T WORK

Congressional conferees, acting in political fever, could prolong the fuel shortage rather than easing it if the proposal to roll back oil prices is passed by both houses.

In making political passes at a critical issue, the joint Senate-House committee is running counter to federal energy chief William E. Simon's position. It could put a burden on oil producers that would be too heavy to carry.

The amendment which they propose to tack on to the emergency energy act would automatically turn back domestic crude oil to \$5.25 per barrel and prohibit that price from rising above a ceiling of \$7.09 per barrel.

That, says Mr. Simon, would be totally restrictive and make continued production unprofitable for many oil companies. He is correct.

Further, it would place President Nixon in the tight position of considering a veto for the entire emergency act. Or, if he leaves the amendment in the act, he would be the scapegoat later if price increases were granted.

Briefly, and simply, the cost of the oil product today is at a higher level than the conferees proposed—\$5.25. Mr. Simon argues that the closest price he "could live with" would be a price ceiling of \$7.88 per barrel if there is to be continuing oil production in the critical period of shortage.

It is odd, indeed, that politically ambitious men such as Sen. Henry Jackson—architect of the idea—oppose the thinking of Simon and his knowledgeable staff just to give the consuming public the idea that they are getting a price cut.

It won't work.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and Sen. John Tower immediately saw the holes in the plan and asked that it be considered. Bentsen made the point that stripper wells, now an important part of the accelerated energy plan, would have to be exempt or there simply wouldn't be enough oil production.

The public is getting weary of grandstand plays on their energy shortage. They want studied action and results—preferably from a man like Simon rather than ambitious vote seekers.

DR. MALCOLM R. CURRIE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Dr. Malcolm Currie, the new Director of Defense Research and Engineering, was the subject of a short article in the January 1974 issue of Government Executive.

Because of the importance of Dr. Currie's post, and the fact that this article was one of the first which tells us something about Dr. Currie, I ask unanimous consent that the article "Decision Maker" by printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

DECISION MAKER—DOD'S MALCOLM CURRIE: FOCUSING ON THE FISCAL YEAR 1975 BUDGET

Last June, Dr. Malcolm R. Currie took on the job of Defense Research and Engineering, filling a post Dr. John Foster filled for the previous seven years. Hierarchically, Currie has the number three post in the Pentagon. He had been vice president for R&D at Beckman Instruments, Inc., of Fullerton, Calif.

Currie's modus operandi differs from Foster's though it is not to say he criticizes the Foster style.

"I'm forming an extremely close working team with the three R&D assistant secre-

ties (of Army, Navy and Air Force)," he said. "I'm regarding my whole office staff as peripheral to that R&D central management team in DOD."

Objectives of this move are to bring in the service assistant secretaries closer to where the DOD decisions are made—indeed, contribute to them—and thus to force the individual assistant secretaries to take a more objective, less parochial view of their individual services.

Although he works with the Research and Development Policy Council, staffed with the Service chiefs as well, his closer liaison is with the assistant secretaries. "It's a civilian group," Currie said, "consisting of men with diverse backgrounds, but similarly oriented. They all come from industry, and they're all concerned with problems of management."

MIDEAST LESSONS LEARNED

The group, including Currie's principal deputy Bob Parker, meets for an extended lunch every Tuesday. "I have formal meetings with each of them alone," Currie said, "set up on a regular weekly basis. And then we have hot lines to each other's offices. We see each other many times a day, to discuss problems." His is an anticipatory kind of management, dealing with problems by nipping them in the bud; he is, as he refers to himself, "a constructive adversary."

Currie is in the process of "constructing a series of fairly broad objectives from this office, that I'm going to achieve in three years. That's management by objective; it's a useful tool."

The difficulties he encounters here are built in constraints—budgetary, Congressional, "and of course the constraints of advocacy in the Services and their own set of self-imposed constraints."

His approach to this is to review programs of a tri-Service level, by mission area and technology. "I'm going to institute a procedure by which we do this on an ongoing basis during the year, not just in the Fall season of cutting the budget for the next fiscal year."

One example he cited was in the technology of high energy lasers "It's big business." And another is electronic warfare: "we're going to be looking at (that) in the next two months, across the Services."

Intra-Service: The Navy's antisubmarine warfare efforts are fragmented in terms of the number of efforts ongoing and the number of people involved. "We're working with the Navy to collect these fragmented efforts in ASW into overall packages which, from a management point of view, we can inject a sense of responsibility in tradeoff between these elements."

In the '74 budget, Currie is concerned about the level of investment in component and systems technology the Nation should have in the ballistic missile defense arena. "I don't believe it should be zero," he said, "and quite clearly it can't be a billion dollars a year. What should it be? It consists of several large programs collected under the general heading of ballistic missile defense. I'm trying to initiate conversation with people in Congress on coming to agreement as to coming to the right, approved level."

Emphasis in the 1975 Fiscal Year budget in DDR&E on the strategic R&D, the two biggest will be programs being the *Trident* and the B-1.

Also focused in the FY '75 budget will be aspects of modern warfare that have been "created by the Mideast conflict." For example, air mobility has shown to be very decisive: "Our ability to transport 50 percent more tonnage over three times the distance with one-third fewer sorties than the Soviets had a decisive influence."

Also in FY '75, the whole spectrum of air defense, from guns to infrared missiles to radar-controlled surface-to-air missiles that make up air defense and the mobility as-

sociated with that (which has) to be reevaluated; we're doing that right now."

The Mideast conflict emphasized the importance of electronic warfare. The precision in stand-off delivery of weapons with pinpoint accuracy is being reevaluated. "We're shifting monies around, shifting emphasis."

"Of course, the whole business of anti-armor missiles like the TOW missile, and the requirements these place on armor and the mobility attached with that armor—these are all questions we're actively studying."

The fuel energy crunch is impacting on the Services. "We're going to be looking very critically at new developments in our ability to standardize on fuels more than we have, decreasing the number of jet aircraft fuels we're using."

"I don't have any magic there (solving fuel problems). One can think of making a greater fraction of ships in our future Navy nuclear rather than conventional power. I'm certain there will be an increased trend in that direction."

Project *Sanguine* is still alive. It is "felt to be extremely important for future communications with the ballistic missile fleet," Currie said. Its status is experimental. There's a small demonstration system in Wisconsin and it's being experimented with. We would like to go ahead with a fully-hardened system when we can overcome the human and political kinds of factors involved."

A new tri-Service program of growing importance is NavStar, a new navigation satellite. The Executive Manager will be the Air Force but both Navy and Army managements are locked in with it.

"It will be a DOD system that will not only furnish over the long terms some real cost savings in avoiding continued proliferation of all kinds of navigation equipment," said Currie, "but it will provide a tremendous new military capability in the common grid at which we can operate very accurately. It will impact on precision weapon delivery in a tactical sense and strategic guidance of weapons."

The four-year program will have wide industry participation.

Phase I of this program will be a concept validation phase," Currie said, "not only in terms of the satellite system itself, but in terms of the user equipment. I'm going to make sure that industry does participate on a wide basis, because billions of dollars will be spent over the next 10 or 15 years in user equipment of one kind or another. We want to extract from industry on a competitive basis the best of what technology and engineering can offer."

BEYOND THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a memorandum issued by the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, entitled "U.S. Mineral Resources—Where Do We Stand?" This excellent study gives an indication of the problems we are likely to face if we do not give sufficient attention to our natural resource position and impending mineral shortages.

The statistics included in the MCPL report substantiate the claim made in *Business Week* that "fuel, of course, is only the tip of the shortage iceberg," and

deserve an amount of attention and concern corresponding to that which has been showered upon the energy crisis of late, before it is too late.

In 1973 the National Materials Advisory Board reported that we are now almost completely dependent on foreign sources for 22 of the 74 nonenergy mineral commodities considered essential to a modern industrial society. We are now running a deficit arising from minerals importation of about \$6 billion per year; this could approach \$100 billion a year if present trends in the use of minerals continue. Programs to insure against the waste of already scarce commodities can no longer be a matter of purely corporate concern; they are a matter of national necessity.

Experimentation with resource diplomacy by the world's commodity producing countries could follow in the wake of the successful example set by the Arab oil producing states. Commodity cartels such as CIPEC, the copper counterpart to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—OPEC—have been encouraged to take a stronger, more unified position as the result of OPEC's renowned success at influencing prices and profits.

We, in turn, must plan and take preventive measures to insure that the co-ordination of production by commodity exporters cannot, and will not determine the level of the prosperity of the United States. We must be in a position to be able to make and implement policy with regard to specific materials and specific needs before we reach a crisis situation. The development of new domestic, lower grade and hitherto unprofitable reserves will require new economic policies regarding exploration and extraction, new impetus for developing necessary technological skills, and a new nationally accepted basis upon which to balance environmental and industrial considerations.

Moreover, we need to develop immediately administrative mechanisms, first, to deal with the depletion of domestic mineral reserves by rapid industrial growth; second, to determine the availability and security of access to various imported materials; third, to develop strategies for stockpiling some vital commodities; and fourth, to identify minerals which can be substituted for ones which become scarce.

It is scarcely conceivable that the present administration's policy of extensive metal stockpiles disposal, announced last April as a way to fight inflation and balance the budget, might fit into such a preventive strategy. The General Services Administration is now disposing of all 252,000 tons of copper in the U.S. Government defense stockpile—a move that is hardly likely to serve the country in good stead against the threatened export restrictions by the CIPEC countries.

As Harry B. Ellis, business-financial correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* has written:

Much is heard of the growing energy shortage, because of its impact on every American who drives a car and heats a home. It now develops that Americans need to be just as concerned about shortages of minerals of whose presence is countless products they may scarcely be aware.

U.S. MINERAL RESOURCES—WHERE DO WE STAND?

[To: All Members of MCPL]

(From Congressman SAM GIBBONS, Chairman, World Trade and Development Committee)

The Steering Committee of MCPL recently asked me and our Committee staff to provide some facts and figures on where this country stands in its mineral resources relative to growing demand and to dependence on foreign sources.

Using the recently released Department of the Interior study "United States Mineral Resources," as our basic reference, we have put together this paper which we hope will be helpful to you and your staffs.

Energy fuels are of course in the spotlight these days and while there are gaps in our data on U.S. oil and petroleum reserves, work on them is now getting underway. There are a large number of other basic mineral resources, however, which are vital to our economy. The U.S. is presently moderately too heavily dependent on foreign sources for the following materials:

1. Aluminum and Bauxite (mainly Jamaica, Surinam, Australia and Guinea)
2. Antimony (South Africa, Mexico and Bolivia)
3. Chromium (USSR, South Africa, Rhodesia and Turkey)
4. Copper (Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire)
5. Fluorine (Mexico, Spain, and Italy)
6. Gold (South Africa)
7. Manganese (Brazil, Gabon, South Africa, Zaire, and Ghana)
8. Nickel (Canada)
9. Oil and Gas (Canada, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Persian Gulf States, Venezuela, and Nigeria)
10. Tin (Malaysia, Thailand, Bolivia, Brazil, and Zaire)
11. Titanium (Australia)
12. Tungsten (Canada, Australia, Bolivia, Peru, Portugal, and South Korea)
13. Zinc (Canada, Peru, Mexico and Australia)

As Fred Bergsten of the Brookings Institution has pointed out, the United States already depends on imports for over half of its supply of six of thirteen basic raw materials. Interior Department projections suggest the number will rise to nine by 1983. Bergsten notes that four countries (Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire) control more than 80% of the world's copper; that two countries account for more than 70% of tin exports, that four countries control more than half the supply of natural rubber, and that four countries possess over half the reserves of bauxite. Recent experience with the cartelization of oil-producing countries into OPEC might soon be followed by similar moves by the tin (Malaysia, Thailand, Bolivia) and bauxite (Jamaica, Surinam, Guinea, perhaps Australia) producing countries. This is not to mention producers of agricultural products like coffee, tea, rubber, and jute.

Elburt Osborn, former Director of the Bureau of Mines, warned shortly before leaving office last year that if present trends continue, the U.S. deficit resulting from mineral imports (currently \$6 billion yearly) could approach \$100 billion a year. Carroll Kirkpatrick points out in the Washington Post (Jan. 14, 1974) that:

"The U.S. now imports all or nearly all of its platinum (used to make jewelry, laboratory containers and as a catalyst in chemical processes), mica (electrical equipment, insulation), chromium (metallurgy), strontium (flares and fireworks), cobalt (tool steel, magnets), tantalum (electronic equipment), manganese (metallurgy), and bauxite.

"It imports more than half its fluorine (refrigerants), titanium (paint, rubber, aircraft parts), nickel (metallurgy), columbium (stainless steel, other metallurgical processes, and antimony (metallurgy, certain plastics).

"The nation also imports more than a

third of its iron ore, up from 8 per cent in 1960."

What follows are highlights of the Interior Department's study which will provide you and your staffs with some details of our dependence on foreign suppliers of these minerals.

The countries listed above as primary foreign sources, with few exceptions, are all in Asia, Africa or Latin America—the Third World.

It has been suggested that cooperation is the corollary to the growing interdependence of nations. The alternative, international economic and political chaos, is a price we need not pay if we are willing to accept the logic of focusing on the needs and aspirations of the suppliers, the Less Developed Countries, as well as upon our own. The OPEC situation, tied as it is to the Middle East, is perhaps an area which presents American policymakers with more problems than opportunities. But in dealing with nations supplying other essential materials in Africa, Asia and Latin America, we can certainly try to make our trade and development assistance policies toward those countries more responsive to their needs than they have been in the past. U.S. foreign policy objectives and Third World goals can and, indeed must, become more accommodating of each other if we are to have economic and political peace in the 1970s and beyond.

UNITED STATES MINERAL RESOURCES

(Geological Survey Professional Paper 820, Department of the Interior, 1973)

I. IS OUR SUPPLY OF MINERALS RUNNING OUT?

A. Distinction between resources (reserves plus other mineral deposits that may eventually become available—either known or unknown) and reserves (known, identified deposits of mineral-bearing rock, from which minerals can be extracted profitably with existing technology and under present economic conditions).

B. "... because reserves are the only part of the total resource that is immediately available, they are of paramount concern to the mineral industry, and reserve estimates for most mineral commodities are generally available and are undergoing constant revision. For most minerals, however, current reserves are only a small part of the total resource. The remainder of the total—the potential resources—are by far the most important for the long term..." But they are NOT reserves and in most cases are NOT readily available in the near future.

II. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS OF STUDY

A. Mineral Potential: Where do we Stand—Table (see attached page)—Potential U.S. resources of some important mineral commodities, in relation to minimum anticipated cumulative demand (MACD) to year 2000 A.D.

III. SELECTED MINERAL RESOURCES

A. Aluminum and Bauxite: Imports, mainly from Jamaica (over half our bauxite (Reynolds & Kaiser are major investors there), Surinam (almost one-fourth of our bauxite), and Australia (over 50% of our aluminum imports) supply about 87% of U.S. manufacturing requirements. Remaining 13% supplied by bauxite mined in Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama. Barring unforeseen political developments, the growing requirements of the aluminum industry in the United States will be met by imports (added emphasis) on increasing amounts of aluminum metal and alumina rather than bauxite ore." U.S. domestic resources of bauxite: about 40 million tons reserves plus 250-300 million tons potential resources are inadequate to fulfill long term demand. However, U.S. has virtually inexhaustible potential resources of aluminous materials other than bauxite. Detailed information on potential U.S. non-bauxite aluminum resources is inadequate. A

meeting of aluminum ore-producing nations is scheduled now for February—Guinea is organizer.

B. Antimony: U.S. consumes 40% of world supply; U.S. deposits provide only 15% of U.S. needs. Most imported from South Africa, Mexico and Bolivia. Principle world resources in China, Bolivia, USSR, South Africa and Mexico (in that descending order). A strategic commodity used in manufacture of ammunition, visual range-finding shells, and tracer bullets as well as in alloy-hardening processes and paint manufacture.

C. Chromium: 1968-73 U.S. consumed 7 million long tons (about 28% of world production); has mined none since 1962 (all U.S. resources low grade). Since that year, all U.S. chromite supply imported from Eastern Hemisphere; since 1968, 45% of our chromium needs supplied by USSR. Only minable reserves in Western Hemisphere are (perhaps) in Cuba and Brazil. Most of Eastern Hemisphere resources in Rhodesia and South Africa; some also in Turkey, Finland, Malagasy Republic, smaller deposits elsewhere.

Indispensable industrial metal. Required for stainless steel, hardening and toughening of metal alloys (especially ferroalloys). Strategic commodity, especially for defense-related, scientific, medical, automotive production.

D. Coal: estimated U.S. total resources 3.2+ billion tons (49% identified, 51% hypothetical). U.S. total resources estimated at about 20% total world resources and larger energy source than combined U.S. domestic resources of petroleum, natural gas, oil shale and bituminous sandstone. Coal is a widespread and abundant fossil fuel in the U.S., although other fuels are cleaner burning and easier to handle.

E. Columbium (Niobium): Important in metallurgy, electronics, chemical and nuclear uses. Most of world's resources lie outside the U.S. We depend almost entirely on foreign imports although low grade U.S. deposits could be utilized in national emergency. Worldwide resources more than adequate to supply projected needs to year 2000. At present, although domestic deposits have been identified, none presently commercially productive. Columbium is principally imported from Brazil, Canada, Nigeria and other African countries in mineral concentrate form and from Brazil in form of ferro-columbium. Primary use is in manufacture of high-strength low alloy steels.

F. Copper: U.S. share of identified world copper resources is 19%. Currently known world resources estimated sufficient to last 50 years at current rates of production. Other producing countries: Chile, Peru, Zaire, Zambia, and USSR. Domestic U.S. production plus re-used old scrap have produced the bulk of U.S. needs. 6% of copper used in 1971 was imported. Advancing industrialization of other countries will, however, increase their copper needs and global demand and prices. (There is probably as much unidentified copper in the U.S. as we already have found, especially in western states and Alaska). Chile, Peru, Zambia and Zaire have agreed to restrict exports of their copper if the present favorable international price structure threatens to collapse.

G. Feldspar: Used in glass and ceramic industries. Domestic U.S. reserves considered adequate for anticipated demand.

H. Fluorine: U.S. produces only 20% of its present requirements. The other 80% is imported mainly from Mexico, Spain, and Italy. An essential for steel (as fluorspar) and aluminum metal (as aluminum fluoride and synthetic cryolite) manufacturing; also used in refrigerants, aerosol propellants and solvents (as fluorocarbons). Fluorine consumption in the U.S. and world has increased greatly since 1945 while fluorine production in the U.S. has remained static. World reserves of fluorspar are estimated at 190 million short tons, of which 25 million

are in the U.S. Speculative resources in the world are probably very large.

I. Gold: Most of world reserves in South Africa (about 3/4) with most of remainder in USSR. U.S. not self-sufficient as deposits are small and generally low grade.

J. Iron: U.S. has sufficient reserves and potential resources of iron ore to meet its needs for many decades but imports about 1/3 of the ore it consumes—primarily from Canada and South America. U.S. reserves are about 9 billion tons and total identified U.S. resources are 100.6 billion tons.

K. Manganese: Known reserves and resources irregularly distributed throughout world. U.S. has almost no domestic reserves. One potential source lessening U.S. dependency on imports would be exploitation of manganese nodules found on ocean floors. But unilateral exploitation could create international problems until agreement is reached on a Law of the Seas treaty at the United Nations. Principal suppliers of manganese ore to U.S. (1971) were: (in order of importance) Brazil, Gabon, South Africa, Zaire and Ghana. Of ferromanganese: South Africa, France and India. Manganese is essential to steel manufacturing.

L. Nickel: Most of non-communist world resources in Canada and New Caledonia. Small resources in U.S. (since 1966, about 26 million pounds produced per year). U.S. imports most of its nickel requirements (97%) from Canada and is almost completely dependent on foreign sources. The world supply exceeds demand.

M. Nuclear Fuels:

1. Uranium: current U.S. demand moderate but near-future needs expected to be great. Domestic resources sufficient to last into 1980s. After that needs will be much higher and tremendous exploration efforts will be required. U.S. not currently dependent on imports.

2. Thorium: current demand small. Future use as nuclear generator fuel may be much greater. U.S. has large resources in Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia; other lower grade resources in Wyoming and Michigan.

N. Oil and Gas: All current estimates of petroleum and natural gas resources depend on prior exploration results and are unreliable.

Oil: U.S. proved reserves of crude oil (1972) are 400 million barrels. World proved reserves (1972) are 650 billion barrels.

O. Oil Shale: Oil shale yields substantial amounts of oil by destructive distillation and occurs in large amounts in the U.S. and in other parts of the world. Production is significantly more costly than oil production from wells. Shale is an enormous resource of oil. Identified U.S. resources are 2 trillion barrels of oil in shale (which yields 15 or more gallons per ton). Most U.S. resources in U.S. deposits (about 30 gallons per ton of shale) in western Colorado. Shale oil has been mined in Scotland, USSR, China and in lesser amounts in France, Sweden, Germany, Spain, South Africa, and Australia. Operations were to begin in Brazil in 1972.

P. Tin: The U.S. consumes almost 30% of the non-communist world's annual production of primary tin. Nearly half of this goes into tin plate, primarily for the manufacture of tin cans. Many of these uses could be met by substitutes such as tin-free steel, aluminum and plastics. Current U.S. production is negligible. Domestic reserves mainly in Alaska, are sufficient for only 1/4 of one year's needs. Largest foreign conditional and undiscovered resources are in Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Burma), Brazil, China, Bolivia, and Zaire. Since the U.S. uses such a great proportion of the non-communist world's annual tin production and yet produces almost none, tin is a strategic commodity and is stockpiled by the Defense Department accordingly.

Q. Titanium: Extracted principally from rutile, ilmenite and titanium slag made from ilmenite. The U.S. is dependent almost en-

tirely on foreign sources, mostly Australia, for rutile but has substantial reserves and production of ilmenite. Annual demand in 1970 was 490,000 short tons. It is expected to exceed 1 million short tons by the year 2000. U.S. titanium reserves in 1970 were estimated to be about 25 million short tons, mostly in ilmenite.

Primary uses of titanium metal include aerospace production (in which its light weight and strength make it particularly desirable in aircraft and spacecraft structural components) and in the chemical industry. Hypothetical resources of considerable amounts are calculated to exist in Africa.

R. Tungsten: U.S. reserves estimated at 15 million short tons. This is about 6.8% of known world reserves (of which about 60% are in China). The U.S. has the potential for adequate tungsten production into the foreseeable future. We will have to pay the price, however, in research, exploration and processing of high-cost and low grade ores. Tungsten has the highest melting point (next to carbon) and the highest tensile strength of all metals. It is used extensively in the production of alloy steels, non-ferrous alloys, and chemicals. These products are essential in many manufacturing industries, including tools, turbines, structural materials used in nuclear and space activities and lamp filaments. U.S. production has met only 75% of domestic demand. We are thus a net importer of concentrates, mostly from Canada, Australia, Bolivia, Peru, Portugal, and South Korea. 80% of known and estimated world reserves are in Communist countries.

S. Zinc: The fourth most important metal in world trade. The U.S. produces about 9% of total world production (5 million metric tons). However, we consume three times our output. Total world identified and undiscovered zinc resources are estimated to be about 5 billion metric tons. Six leading countries (Canada, Russia, the U.S., Peru, Mexico and Australia) produce more than 60% of the world's total U.S. production has not kept up with demand. Cheaper imported materials have been growing in use to make up the gap. World resources are sufficient to last several decades and certainly into the next century although world consumption in the period 1960-80 will probably equal all production before 1960.

POTENTIAL U.S. RESOURCES OF SOME IMPORTANT MINERAL COMMODITIES, IN RELATION TO MINIMUM ANTICIPATED CUMULATIVE DEMAND (MACD) TO YEAR 2000 A.D.

[ST=short tons; LT=long tons; lb=pounds; Tr oz=Troy ounces]

Identified resources: Includes reserves, and materials other than reserves that are reasonably well known as to location, extent, and grade, that may be exploitable in the future under more favorable economic conditions or with improvements in technology.

Hypothetical resources: Undiscovered but geologically predictable deposits of materials similar to present identified resources.

I. Domestic resources (of the category shown) are greater than 10 times the minimum anticipated cumulative demand, 1968-2000.

II. Domestic resources are 2 to 10 times the MACD.

III. Domestic resources are approximately 75 percent to 2 times the MACD.

IV. Domestic resources are 35 to 75 percent the MACD.

V. Domestic resources are 10 to 35 percent the MACD.

VI. Domestic resources are less than 10 percent the MACD.

Commodity	MACD, 1968-2000 ¹	Identified resources	Hypothetical resources
Aluminum (ST).....	290,000,000	II	(2)
Asbestos (ST).....	32,700,000	V	VI
Barite (ST).....	25,300,000	II	II
Chromium (ST).....	20,100,000	VI	VI
Clay (ST).....	2,813,500,000	III	II
Copper (ST).....	96,400,000	III	III
Fluorine (ST).....	37,600,000	V	V
Gold (Tr oz).....	372,000,000	III	(2)
Gypsum (ST).....	719,800,000	II	I
Iron (ST).....	3,280,000,000	II	I
Lead (ST).....	37,000,000	III	IV
Manganese (ST).....	47,000,000	III	(2)
Mercury (flasks).....	2,600,000	V	(2)

Commodity	MACD, 1968-2000 ¹	Identified resources	Hypothetical resources
Mica, scrap (ST).....	6,000,000	II	I
Molybdenum (lbs).....	3,100,000,000	I	I
Nickel (lbs).....	16,200,000,000	III	(2)
Phosphate (ST).....	190,000,000	II	I
Sand and gravel (ST).....	56,800,000,000	III	(2)
Silver (Tr oz).....	3,760,000,000	III	III
Sulfur (LT).....	473,000,000	I	I
Thorium (ST).....	27,500	II	(2)
Titanium (TiO ₂) (ST).....	38,000,000	II	II
Tungsten (lbs).....	1,100,000,000	IV	IV
Uranium (ST).....	1,190,000	II	III
Vanadium (ST).....	420,000	II	(2)
Zinc (ST).....	57,000,000	II	II

¹ As estimated by the U.S. Bureau of Mines, 1970.

² Not estimated.

³ For thorium, maximum anticipated cumulative demand 1968-2000, which assumes commercial development of economically attractive thorium reactors by 1980.

Source: U.S. Mineral Resources, Geological Survey Professional Paper 820, Department of the Interior, 1973.

PUBLIC FUNDS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, newspapers of February 6 published an excellent column by John Chamberlain pointing out some of the weaknesses in the plan to provide public funds for political campaigns.

Mr. Chamberlain maintains that besides unjustifiably using tax funds for high-priced campaigning, this proposal could result in serious distortions in the American political process.

We must recognize, however, that reform is needed in the way in which we finance the campaign expenses of candidates. I think that it is essential that Congress approve a tight ceiling on the expenses of candidates and on the donations by individual contributors to campaigns.

I ask unanimous consent that the column by Mr. Chamberlain be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WHY RAID THE U.S. TREASURY?

(By John Chamberlain)

Chamberlain would limit private funds for political campaigns without putting up public money for anybody.

John Gardner's own high-level pressure group, the uncommon organization known as Common Cause, thinks a "new era" of honesty in public life can be touched off if only Congress will vote to pay for the cost of political campaigning out of the U. S. Treasury. Mr. Gardner wants to force you and me, as taxpayers, to foot the bill for the TV appearances of candidates whom we might prefer to see starved for funds. A better solution might be to limit private campaign funds without putting up public money for anybody at all.

The President's man, Patrick Buchanan, who is against public funding of federal political campaigns, has taken issue with John Gardner's panacea. Maybe, as a Nixon lieutenant, Pat Buchanan is not the most advantageously placed individual to oppose even the most obviously fallacious campaign-expenditure reforms. Nevertheless, Pat is

correct when he says that outlawing or severely limiting private contributions, while at the same time compelling the taxpayer to fund a multiplicity of candidates by a compulsory levy, would drastically limit the freedom of most individuals to take part in the political process.

What would happen, so Pat Buchanan predicts, is that still another federal agency would be created to allocate the tax-seized money. The agency would be staffed by the kind of \$30,000-a-year bureaucrat who supports Common Cause. We would be paying the salaries of the police force that would have to be created to see the money was spent as prescribed.

But this is only a small part of the story. The fact is that the sort of reform proposed by Common Cause would throw future elections to any candidate endorsed by the AFL-CIO's George Meany. Labor has its finetuned organization that is always ready to make the telephone calls, to transport people to the polls, to spread literature, to canvass whole neighborhoods, to provide baby sitters, and to provide poll watchers, without making big cash contributions that can be identified as such. The cost of labor politicking is hidden; it appears on the union books as ordinary salary expenditures for maintaining locals that are ostensibly devoted to such nonpolitical things as collective bargaining with employers and making pitches for new members.

I could go along with the idea of limiting campaign monetary contributions if there were only some way of giving the middle condition of men and women, most of whom have no organizations to conduct "political education" campaigns for them, an election-day clout comparable to that exerted by the union operators of telephone banks and car pools. But most of us middle-condition people are not organization prone. Nor can we take time off to do our own stamp-licking, our own protracted canvassing. We have to make our livings. If we are not to be allowed to make cash contributions to political parties to do our telephoning and our house-to-house visiting for us, it means that the college students (conveniently excused from classes) and the labor union hierarchy must have unfair advantage.

Besides, there are those among us who might see no choice between candidate Tweedledum and Candidate Tweedledee. What about our rights in this event? Must we be taxed to pay for the campaigns of politicians of both major parties whom we might prefer to boycott on election day? Must our money be used against us?

My idea of a healthy common cause (no capital letters here, please) is one that tries to create a distrust of all politicians who think the government should support the people instead of vice versa. Instead of putting my money into political campaigns I prefer to support movements designed to increase the scope of voluntary non-state action. Under any reasonable conception of freedom, that should be my right.

Of course, I do happen to make small political contributions and I do vote. But I try to throw my support to the politician who will do me the least harm. If I am not to be permitted to steer my money to such a politician, it must surely mean that any influence I have will shrivel away while the Common Cause-supported bureaucrats take over.

THE AGRICULTURAL MIDDLEMAN

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the so-called middleman in the food industry—that

group of people who are the link between the farmer and the consumer—have been accused of many things, but very seldom are their remarks heard. So that my colleagues may have a better understanding of the marketing situation I am submitting a copy of a speech presented by Mr. Larry Taber, secretary-treasurer of the Cannery League of California, to the California Assembly Select Committee on Agriculture, Food, and Nutrition:

THE AGRICULTURAL MIDDLEMAN

Madam Chairwoman and members of the Committee: My name is Larry Taber. I am the Secretary-Treasurer of the Cannery League of California whose members produce approximately 80% of the canned foods processed in California. The Cannery League is particularly pleased to appear today before the Assembly Select Committee on Agriculture Food and Nutrition. We welcome the opportunity to give this committee an overall picture of the canning industry—its functions, size, structure, and economic characteristics. I will also present an illustration of the canning industry from purchase of raw product to sale of the finished product. Hopefully, this information will serve to clarify some common misconceptions about this very important and complex industry.

FUNCTIONS

The middleman functions of the canning industry are:

- I. Production:
 - (a) Buying (contracting) raw product.
 - (b) Grading standards.
 - (c) Field operations—assisting growers.
 - (d) Agricultural research—development of improved varieties and seed.
 - (e) Scientific research.
 - (f) Purchase supplies.
 - (g) Processing and packaging.
 - (h) Quality control.
- II. Marketing:
 - (a) Transportation and storage.
 - (b) Selling, merchandising, and advertising.
 - (c) Risk taking.
 - (d) Marketing research and market information.
 - (e) New product research.

SIZE AND STRUCTURE

In a typical year the California canning industry packs well over 200 million cases of canned fruits and vegetables—more than one case for every citizen in the United States. This enormous pack has a factory value of over \$1 billion. Approximately 57 companies with over 85 canning plants employ upwards of 75,000 workers during the peak processing season. California produces a substantial portion of the total U.S. pack of canned fruits and vegetables. In California there are 23 different fruits and vegetables which are commercially processed. Recent indications are that the California canning industry will continue to grow and account for even more of the total pack in the coming years.

For a clearer understanding of the canning industry, it is important to point out that, with few exceptions, all canned foods produced are shipped in interstate commerce. It is therefore necessary to grasp the size of the U.S. canning industry since competition is nationwide and, in some products, worldwide.

In the United States there are about 1,200 canning companies operating approximately 1,600 processing plants in 49 states. The total factory value of the canned fruits, vegetables, juices, specialties, meat, poultry, and seafood produced in 1973 will be about \$9 billion. Considering only fruits, vegetables, juices, and specialties, the factory value of the products produced in 1973 is approximately \$6 billion. This production requires the employment of 120,000 workers with a

payroll of over three-quarters of a billion dollars.

In structure, the canning industry is marked by every type of business enterprise. There are grower-owned cooperative canneries. There are independently-owned canneries. The latter group includes partnerships, small family-owned corporations, and large publicly-owned corporations with thousands of shareholders.

Small, medium, and large sized canners buy from small, medium, and large sized growers and sell to wholesalers, vendors, brokers, retailers, hospitals, restaurants, manufacturers, and government units.

In describing the structure of the industry it is not meaningful to talk in terms of the tomato processing industry, or the peach canning industry, or the pineapple industry. To understand the canning industry and its effect on the economy, it must be viewed as a single entity.

SALIENT ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

I will now discuss some of the salient economic characteristics of the canning industry.

1. In any given region, most canning crops are planted and harvested only once a year. The canning season for a particular crop may range from several months to only a few weeks or days. After that, you're through for the year—and if your pack is short, well, better luck next year. Seasonality controls virtually every important decision and operation and complicates the recruitment and utilization of labor. Costly plants and equipment can be employed for only short periods, yet they must be maintained throughout the year for ready use in the next season. Incidentally, there is constant effort to increase utilization of plant and equipment by finding new crops for canning whose harvest period either precedes or follows that of the plant's primary canning crop. As an additional means of lengthening the processing period, and achieving higher quality, canners have developed early and late maturing varieties of the crops they are presently using.

2. Canners are very large users of short-term financing. The peak requirement comes in October and November, when most large packs are complete and inventories are highest. In recent years the low point of cash demand has been from mid-April to July. Success in canning is dependent on receiving an adequate supply of quality raw products. Growers are promptly paid. In California, for example, growers are paid weekly throughout the harvest period. In addition, large sums must be available to meet seasonal weekly payrolls and to pay suppliers. All this occurs several months before the income is realized from sale of the finished products. Consequently, a strong line of credit must be continuously available. Interest costs are substantial.

3. Over the past four or five decades—and particularly since the end of World War II—the canner has gradually assumed many of the inventory risks formerly borne by the wholesaler and the retailer. Traditionally, the canner packed fruits and vegetables during the season, then sold and shipped his product immediately to the trade. After the packing season, the canner could close the plant, relying on the wholesaler to store and distribute the merchandise to the retailers throughout the year. Conditions are much different today. Modern wholesale and retail store managers are reluctant to tie up capital in heavy inventories. To increase their rate of stock turnover, they buy only a few weeks supply at a time—leaving the major risks and burden of inventory maintenance to the processor-distributor. The canner carries the economic risk of uncertain demand for his products, season-to-season carryovers of stock if he is unable to sell his production, and of the impact upon his sales prices of excess production in his own or in

other competitive producing areas. He also bears the risk of any changes in consumer purchasing power or in business conditions from the time he makes his commitments at the beginning of an operating year to the time he can sell the finished canned product. Indeed, buyers are often afforded price protection on orders shipped to them. That is, if the canner lowers his trade prices after the order is placed, the buyer gets the lower "sale" price. It is a striking characteristic of this industry that, in the essential job of assuring an abundant supply of a wide variety of canned foods, practically all of the major economic risks between the harvest and the purchase of the finished product by the consumer are borne by the canner.

4. Another important factor is that the character of the canning industry varies from region to region, from state to state, and, often in marked degree, within particular states. There are variations in practically every industry activity. These variations exist among regions, often within the same commodity, and in the various forms and styles of pack of a commodity. To a considerable extent, historical patterns underlie these variations. The point is that in dealing with this industry, there is a major hazard in attempting to generalize about any particular detail of operation, method, or technique.

5. The canning industry is both capital and labor intensive. Substantial sums of money are required for plant and equipment. Substantial short term capital is required to finance the canning operation. Despite the development of new and more sophisticated equipment, a great deal of labor is still required to produce and distribute canned foods.

6. Another important economic characteristic of the canning industry is its dependence on large quantities of energy and water.

Fields must be plowed and maintained. Water must be pumped for irrigation. Crops must be harvested the moment they reach maturity and trucked to the cannery as rapidly as possible. Enormous amounts of energy are needed to fire the cannery boilers and operate the many other machines used in the canning process. Additional energy is needed to move finished product into the distribution system. We know that some traditional forms of energy will not be available in the future. Costs of converting to an alternative fuel will be very expensive.

Canneries require a large, dependable supply of pure, fresh water. Water is needed to wash the raw product several times, to flume the fruit or vegetable in the cannery, to generate steam for the canning and cooking process, and to wash down the equipment and floors for safety and sanitation. The product itself must contain a prescribed amount of water or syrup to aid the cooking and sterilization process.

7. I come now to an aspect of the canning industry which is of special interest to the consumer—prices. The market for canned foods is extremely price sensitive. In a highly competitive market characterized by stable demand, the manufacturer's and the retailer's primary selling tool is pricing. When demand is slack and you want to stimulate sales, you mark the product down to a "special" price. And so we see frequent and sometimes perplexing variations in prices—from market to market and time to time—as merchants take advantage of "trade allowances" (discounts from the processor's list prices) to feature one product or another. But—and I think this is a critical point—the average price of most canned foods has remained remarkably constant over the years.

Last spring, for example, the U.S. Department of Agriculture published an interesting table of food prices which I'd like to share with you. On Table No. 1 you'll note a list of nine common grocery items and their average prices in 1952 compared with their

average market price in February, 1973. Notice that a typical can of peas has risen from 21¢ to 26¢. This gain of 24 percent over a 21-year period is one of the lowest percentage gains in our hypothetical grocery list. Now look at the last column on the right. If the price of canned peas had kept pace with the rise in average wages in this country, it wouldn't cost 26¢ today—it would cost 50¢—according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Over the years, our records indicate that canned food prices have consistently lagged behind the rise in prices of retail foods in general, other living expenses, and the consumer's spendable income. Even during the current period of inflated food prices, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show canned food prices registering only modest increases.

On Table No. 2 you'll note the comparative rise in various wholesale price components from the beginning of price controls in August, 1971 to October, 1973. For that 27-month period, canned fruits, juices, vegetables, and specialties were up 13.8 percent; processed foods in general up 28.4 percent—and farm products in general up 66.4 percent.

Competition and improved production efficiency—more than any other factors, including price controls—have been responsible for the remarkably slow rise in canned food prices over the years.

8. Finally, I come to the economic feature of the canning industry which is most critical to us—profits. Table No. 3 is prepared by the National Canners Association. It shows the profit margin of 32 representative canning companies over a ten-year period beginning in 1961. It's especially worth noting that the smaller canners—those with less than \$100 million in annual sales—registered net losses in the last two years of the study period, 1969 and 1970. Earnings figures from the larger canning companies reflect the same cyclical pattern. Incidentally, judging from published financial statements from the leading publicly-owned canning companies, it would appear that the downturn in industry profit margins has continued unabated to the present time. In 1970 the average pre-tax profit margin for the 32 representative companies was 2.7 cents on the dollar. That figure has undoubtedly declined in the last three years. On balance, then, we're talking about an industry whose return on sales is less than half that of comparable manufacturing industries.

In terms of return on invested capital, another key index of earnings vitality, the canning industry is not much better off. During the period of the National Canners Association study, the average reported return on equity was 6.7 percent. This is generally considered an unacceptably low rate of return on risk capital. During four of the ten years, 10 or more of the 32 companies actually reported net losses. And even the most successful companies in our industry have seen their return on equity decline to a level where it has become more difficult to obtain additional risk capital from the investing public.

I think that these figures go a long way toward explaining the frequently voiced criticism that our industry is "dragging its feet" in complying with various consumer demands—or that it is not moving ahead rapidly enough in the area of environmental controls. It is not difficult to take a forward-thinking, socially-responsible position on consumer and environmental issues when profits are skyrocketing and your profit margins contain a comfortable cushion to provide for the added costs these measures would require. But to a large and growing number of canners, each additional cost increment created by a new consumer or environmental regulation which he is not able to pass on to the ultimate consumer drives him closer to the point of no return.

ILLUSTRATION

We believe it will become clear to the Committee that in any examination of the so-called spread between the farmer and the consumer, there is a wide range in cost between what the grower receives for his crop and the ultimate retail price. We will graphically illustrate this point in a moment. Between the grower and the consumer there is a vitally important processing and distributive structure and function, which necessitates large investment and operating costs. With the blessing of nature, the grower can produce tomatoes in California and be assured of payment for them. The canner must process them with a large additional cost and the assumption of most of the market risks. At this time it might be helpful to illustrate the middleman function of this industry with an example. Each of you has been given a diagram showing the picture of a can of tomatoes and the breakdown of the costs involved. Step by step, I would like to describe each of the canning industry cost factors involved in this 29¢ can of tomatoes.

Raw tomatoes—3.4 cents

Most canning crops are supplied to the processor on contract. It is important to the processor that he have an adequate supply of quality raw product for canning, and it is equally important for the grower to be assured of a market for his crop. An elaborate system of production planning is employed by the processor to determine his raw product needs.

The end purpose of production planning is to provide enough stock for a canner to maintain a planned share of the market and continuous in-stock supply without excessive inventory carry-over. Hence, the first input comes from the marketing staff, which establishes the volume of each item needed to satisfy estimated trade movement for the following year. This estimate is based on a review of past sales of the product, with consideration given to anticipated raw product availability, competitive activity, desired share of market, and consumer buying trends. Projected requirements are developed for every size and style of pack. Pack planning for the next season generally begins immediately after the current season's pack is completed.

Having estimated his raw product requirements, the canner must then determine where this supply shall come from. Grower and processor jointly evaluate the history of each field as to crop quality and yield, fertilization, weed control, irrigation, and soil. Orderly delivery of the crop during the season must be arranged. The grower's ability to arrange for delivery of the crop, the help to be furnished him by the processor, and many other factors must be agreed upon by negotiation throughout the year.

These arrangements cannot be postponed until planting or harvest time. As a result, contracts are often signed long before the grower begins preparing the fields for the coming season. During these negotiations the processor discusses contracts with other growers, and the growers may negotiate with other processors, and consider alternative crops in case no agreement is reached.

Throughout the growing season, the processor's field men will be in close contact with the grower. They assist in the treatment of pest, weed, and disease control, help with irrigation and fertilization problems, and estimate maturity dates.

All of these activities lead up to the time when the grower harvests his crop and sells it to the canner. It is at this point that the processor takes possession of the raw product, pays the grower an agreed price, and transports the raw product to the cannery.

Processing and container—12.8 cents

The processing operation begins with the unloading of the crop from the truck into cannery flumes, which convey the newly har-

vested raw product into the cannery. There it is inspected, sorted, peeled, sliced, and otherwise mechanically prepared for canning. Once the product is ready, it is filled into the container; the container is hermetically sealed and conveyed to a cooker or retort where it is heat sterilized. The container is then labeled, cased, palletized, and moved to a storage area.

The major processing costs are for direct labor and labor benefits and for the container itself. Other direct-cost items include ingredients such as salt and spices, various other supplies such as caustic soda used for peeling, fibre packing cartons, labels, and fuel, light, power, and water. Another significant cost factor is the increasing expenses required to comply with new environmental laws and regulations.

There are also a number of year-round overhead costs which must be recaptured. These include the substantial investment in building and equipment, regular maintenance thereon, scientific research, agricultural research, and salaries for year-round employees.

At this point in our illustration the processed and preserved tomatoes are at the end of the canning line ready for movement into the distribution system. Value added by manufacture has increased its cost to 16.2¢, but it is a long way from the grocer's shelf.

Processor's distribution expense—3.8 cents

As I explained earlier, retailers and wholesalers place heavy emphasis on reduced inventories and increased stock turnovers. Thus, most of the production from a particular canning season is transported into storage warehouses from which the product will be shipped throughout the year to wholesalers and retailers.

Direct costs involved in this part of the process are heavy expenditures for transportation to the storage warehouse, handling costs, warehousing and carrying charges, and the expenses of reshipping to the trade when the product is ordered out. Other direct expenses are for selling, merchandising, and advertising. Many canned foods, particularly "private label" brands bear little or no advertising costs—and even the major advertised brands spend less than a half a cent a can, average, on advertising.

Indirect costs include the overhead charged back against the product for myriad general and administrative expenses which include marketing research, inventory control, billing, collection of accounts payable, payment of interest on loans, payment of taxes, and numerous other business expenses.

Processor's profit—0.4 cents

After all supplies are paid, all salaries and wages paid, there is less than 1/2¢ per can left over as a profit for the processor. Out of this, the processor must pay income taxes to the government, and pay the owners of the company whether it be a sole proprietor, shareholders of a corporation, or grower owners of a cooperative canning company. Enough must be saved out of this profit to replace worn or obsolete machinery and to expand the business to keep up with increasing demand.

In our example of the 29¢ can of tomatoes, the wholesaler or retailer takes possession of the product at his receiving dock. The value of the can at this point is 20.4¢. Considerable value, however, must yet be added to this product before it is finally in a position for the consumer to conveniently pick it off a grocery store shelf and take home whatever quantity she desires.

Let me close with one last reference to our simple "can of tomatoes" diagram which is really analogous to all the products we produce. Looking only at the canner's cost you have 3.4¢ worth of raw product, 12.8¢ worth of labor, materials, and overhead, and 3.8¢

worth of distribution cost. After paying all these costs, the processor is left with 4/10ths of a cent profit. All it takes to liquidate that small margin of profit is about a 12 percent increase in raw product cost—or a 2.5 percent increase in total production costs. It's simple arithmetic, but it's something we sometimes fail to recognize when considering the impact of legislation which would increase the middleman's cost of doing business.

ADM. THOMAS MOORER

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the distinguished columnist, Holmes Alexander, has published an article in the February 4, 1974, issue of the Aiken Standard newspaper in Aiken, S.C., reference the outstanding service Adm. Thomas Moorer has rendered our country.

The thoughtful remarks of Mr. Alexander deserve the attention of the Congress and the Nation.

Admiral Moorer has served our country throughout his entire adult life with distinction and honor. His sound advice to our last two Presidents has been invaluable to the conduct of our national defense and combat operations in Vietnam. He is a man of character and competence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent this editorial be published in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

ADMIRAL MOORER: AN IMPORTANT NAVAL PERSON

(By Holmes Alexander)

In Admiral Thomas Moorer there is just about as little strut and vanity as can ever be found in a leader of armed men.

As chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, the extremely knowledgeable but self-effacing Moorer holds the highest post in our military forces, and for the most part this position has not been one that glittered.

Only Gen. Max Taylor and Adm. Arthur Radford came anywhere matching such a booted, spurred and oracular Caesarean figure that we had when Douglas MacArthur was Army chief of staff. Indeed, the act of 1949 which unified the armed services, at least in the top echelons, seemed to contemplate something other than an image of glory. Significantly, the first chairman was Omar Bradley, known in World War II as the GI's general, a reserved, plainspoken man with a map-of-integrity face. Designedly or not, Bradley became the prototype for his successors who have been chosen to preside over the service chiefs and to advise the civilian authorities.

Admiral Moorer is just about the perfect product of the tradition that was set in the postwar period when much—perhaps too much—care was taken to walk wide of the Prussian model. In his second term as chairman, Moorer is best known for the firm and accurate testimony he gives to committees of Congress, and for the unobtrusive, businesslike manner in which he does his important job without drawing undue attention to himself.

All this supplies an incongruity to the disagreeable publicity into which the Admiral has been drawn. In the dragnet investigation of presidential affairs, it appears that intrigue is accepted as the normal way of life, and that even the servants now get in on the act. A loyal Navy yeoman, working in the National Security Council within the White House complex, thought it his duty to swipe some information and carry it across the Potomac to the Pentagon.

How the carbon copy sheets reached as high an official as Admiral Moorer, and why he bothered to receive material which he says would have reached him by normal channels in due time, would not concern this busy capital very long in ordinary circumstances. But in the present atmosphere of scandal and suspicion, the ordinary event is magnified into an ominous one, and the casual footfall is heard as the tramp of doom.

It is a gross distortion to treat this insignificant episode as having any place in Moorer's exemplary career of public service. He is not formed to be a spymaster, nor a dissenter to the rule, which is as old as the nation, that officers in uniform are subordinate to their civilian leaders. But what makes it particularly untimely for Admiral Moorer's reputation to be dangled over the pit of the administration's credibility gap is that we have a special need to believe in the importance and wisdom of our naval persons.

Disarmament groups sit in several of the fashionable meeting places of Europe. It is quite within the reach of the negotiators to bring off a thinning out of ground forces without altering the balance of power. Israeli and the Arabs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, are more or less in equipoise along the main fronts. We have to look seaward to perceive where the imbalance is broken. One passage in the current issue of the magazine *Seapower* says it all:

"The only significant change to the strategic equation during the past quarter of a century is that the Soviet Union has now achieved, for all practical purposes, equality at sea with the West."

This equality, however, is only measurable in ships, guns and numbers of sailors. Any comparison of leadership and performance is another matter. We have a present need for the prestige of our naval power, and much of that resides in the ranking Navy officer, Thomas Moorer. It would be a major loss if the Admiral's good name were injured by those who are heedlessly trying to pull down anybody near the President.

CONGRESSMAN BILL CLAY SAYS:
"NIXON WOULD MAKE NIGGERS
OF US ALL"

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, in a recent speech in Boston, Congressman BILL CLAY pointed out with vivid irony one of the ways President Nixon has achieved his goal of bringing all Americans back together again:

When you deprive one group of liberty, you deprive us all.

Robert Healy, of the Boston Globe, has written a thoughtful and incisive commentary on Congressman CLAY's speech. I call it to the special attention of all my colleagues in the House:

**WHEN YOU DEPRIVE ONE GROUP OF LIBERTY,
YOU DEPRIVE US ALL**
(By Robert Healy)

Congressman William Clay (D-Mo.) is a black, the most influential member of the congressional Black Caucus. He is an outspoken critic of President Nixon.

Last week he was in Boston and he made a stinging case against the President. It is one with which many people will not agree. But what he said was that liberty could not be selective, that when a government or a President denied freedom to one segment of society, in fact it or he denied to all the nation.

Clay began by saying that the nation is more divided now than perhaps at any other time since the Civil War.

"President Nixon is the chief architect of the division that exists," said Clay. "He finds security in the past and popularity among those who relish 18th Century ideas. He has not distinguished himself by appealing to the worst in our people, by killing social programs, by stalling school integration, by tampering with the Constitution, by attempting to sabotage the 1965 voting rights act, by appointing reactionaries to the courts or inflaming deep-seated biases with his racist stand on busing. Mr. Nixon may not have distinguished himself by spearheading a program to return blacks to their previous condition of involuntary servitude but he certainly enhanced his political position and standing in this racist country."

"I am personally convinced that the overwhelming majority of that 61 percent who elected him President was motivated primarily by one factor—President Nixon was going to put the niggers in their places. Well, people whose thinking is that shallow never see the whole picture. The same was true in Nazi Germany—the Catholics, the trade unionists, the intellectuals did not realize that Hitler could not deny Jews basic rights without affecting the basic rights of all the others. And Nixon likewise could not enslave 25 million blacks without jeopardizing the rights of 150 million whites."

"The problem is basically one of definition. You can't define niggers in terms of color because skin pigmentation in the black case runs the gamut of the rainbow. So color cannot become the criterion of definition. It has to be something else—like attitude, life style, actions. That then becomes all-inclusive. Anything or anybody that's personally objectionable to the powers that be—becomes a nigger."

"Long haired white kids become niggers. Students at Kent State, protestors against the war, chaplains at Yale, psychiatrists who treat intellectuals all become niggers, opposition political parties and their headquarters all become niggers."

"That, my friends, is the danger of hatred becoming the deciding factor in determining leadership," said Clay.

That of course is the special function of a President, the Congress and the courts. It is to protect everyone's freedom.

In the last week, there has been an effort in some quarters to equate Egil Krogh's law violation in the leadership of the White House plumbers' group to break into the home of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist with Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers.

Those who make this equation leave out the most important element which is that Krogh was acting in the capacity of the government. He had all the agencies of government behind him. He could call in the FBI, he had access to the CIA and the IRS. He was acting for the President and with all this power he did not have to act outside the law.

Ellsberg was attempting to change the policies of a government, policies which were based on faulty judgments. All these judgments were clearly spelled out in the Penta-

gon Papers, not in an editorial fashion, but in an objective manner, based on memos and other government communications.

There has been much discussion about the Pentagon Papers since they were released but no one yet has shown that our national defense establishment suffered one bit.

No one is trying to make a hero out of Ellsberg or a heel out of Krogh. But it is essential to understand that each man was operating from a different power base. One had the force of government behind him and the other was operating against the policies of his government.

If the day comes that one cannot speak out and show the mistakes of government, then our system will really be in trouble.

That's what freedom in this country is all about. It is not remote. It is not abstract. It is, as Clay said in his speech, a case of when you take it away from any person, you take it away from everyone.

**LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE
COMMEMORATED**

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, February 16, marked the 723d anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian State and the 56th anniversary of the founding of the modern Republic of Lithuania.

This proud, centuries old heritage of independence was interrupted in 1940 when Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union. Although their native land is now in the "Captive Nations" bloc, the hearts and souls of Lithuanians the world over are not "captive."

The human desire to be free and self-determining is unquenchable. It can never be held captive. Alexander Solzhenitsyn demonstrated this unmistakably over the past year of political détente.

The human spirit in essence is not political. It is not bounded by geographic lines, by governmental organizations. Nor is it confined within any limits of oppression.

We in this country and in the Congress must support the efforts of Lithuanians here and behind the Soviet umbrella for free exchange of goods between families, travel and communication with their loved ones—civil liberties we in the United States take for granted.

We must not allow our natural desire for progressively better relationships with the Soviet Union in Russia blind us to the plight of the Lithuanians who seek reinstatement of their country's independence.

Let us take this occasion, Mr. Speaker, to offer our support, our continued vigilance, and the reaffirmation of our belief in the rights of individuals to live free from oppression to the Lithuanian citizens of this country and to their family members behind the Soviet arm.

Let us thank again the Lithuanians who have made such an important contribution to the heritage of our United States. And let us not relax our vigilance and support for self-determination for the captive nations of the world.

**WHAT ABOUT JOHN DEAN'S
CREDIBILITY?**

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a flurry of publicity recently about former White House Counsel John Dean's veracity. This has prompted the Special Prosecutor's Office to go beyond the call of duty, so to speak, in efforts to bolster and prop up Dean's stature—evidently eyeing him as a prospective government witness. The Congress has an interest in this because of pending impeachment charges.

Quite obviously Dean's former assignment in the White House would qualify him as a useful witness concerning matters within the purview of his own knowledge. His willingness and eagerness to testify before the Senate committee does not necessarily reflect upon his credibility, although his eagerness does raise questions regarding his motivations. And since in law the truthfulness of a witness is always related to one's motivations, this aspect of John Dean's testimony becomes relevant.

In evaluating any testimony, it is always proper to probe the witness's incentives to prevaricate. Is a witness moved to tell it like it is, or does he have an ulterior ax to grind?

Having listened to Mr. Dean's televised testimony before the Senate select committee, I have been troubled by his performance. Perhaps this can be attributed to an intuition growing out of my several years as a district attorney when I dealt with many witnesses under all sorts of circumstances. Let us avoid emotionalism for a moment and take a cold look at some of the facts which give rise to these reservations.

CONFLICTS AND OMISSIONS

As pointed out by William Safire in a column entitled "The Veracity of John Dean," there appear to be documented conflicts in Dean's Senate testimony and other statements.

Another conflict developed when two White House aides—Egil Krogh and Richard Moore—told of conversations each had with John Dean on March 20, 1972, in which the latter purportedly revealed to them the pertinent coverup facts of which he had knowledge, and assured them the President "just doesn't know what's been going on." Later, in his Senate committee testimony, Dean claimed he had told the President a few things at an earlier date which he omitted from his conversations with Krogh and Moore.

In his March 20 talk with Richard Moore, Dean confided for the first time to Moore about coverup maneuverings and Dean's own involvement, along with assurance the President had been kept in the dark. Moore urged Dean to reveal all he knew to Mr. Nixon immediately. That meeting was held the next day—March 21—following which Dean told Moore the President showed surprise.

It must be assumed that Dean in his

two separate conversations on March 20 with two close friends filled them in on all pertinent facts of which he had knowledge, as related to any knowledge the President had received about cover-up, which led to Dean's conclusion expressed to them that the President "just doesn't know what's been going on." His later testimony at variance with this smacks of conflict, and naturally raises questions about his credibility.

Although glossed over by the press, Dean admitted to an unauthorized withdrawal of \$4,850 from a Republican political fund entrusted to him, for use on his honeymoon last year. On advice of counsel months later he restored the shortage. Does this incident serve as an alert warning concerning credibility?

DID FEAR OF PUNISHMENT FIGURE?

But let us go back a little further in a search for John Dean's motivations for a change in attitude and an apparent new militancy toward the White House.

There is very compelling evidence that Dean's strategy from and following March 21 has been to escape punishment himself, at any cost. It appears that Dean's defense plans and grand strategy to escape prison began to jell after one of the top Watergate convicted burglars, James McCord, wrote a letter to Judge Sirica in which McCord charged that others were involved in the scandal. Dean knew that could include him, in the alleged coverup.

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE NOTED

At about that time, according to Time, the White House counsel developed a fear H. R. Haldeman was backpedaling, and Dean "was beginning to protect his flanks." A written report on the Watergate melee, requested by Haldeman, was partially completed by Dean but withheld while he secretly sought legal advice. At that point while still at the White House, the record reveals he frantically began a series of secret meetings with the Justice Department prosecutors, hoping for immunity in exchange for testimony.

The real payoff appears to have come on April 17 when President Nixon announced there would be "no immunity" for any White House people involved. Earlier, at the March 21 meeting, the President reportedly told Dean the latter should go before the grand jury without immunity. Dean, according to Newsweek, took all of that as a threat to him personally and 2 days after April 17 vowed to the press he would "never be made a scapegoat."

Two weeks later Dean was fired, and his grand strategy to escape punishment was accelerated. He readily embraced and decided to exploit the role of Judas in the official White House family. That was his own business, but it calls for close scrutiny of the course of action he chose to follow in pursuit of his designs.

A TRADEOUT FOR IMMUNITY?

The press reported that following his dismissal Dean returned to the Justice Department, again offering to incriminate others as a tradeout for immunity. But the prosecutors apparently felt they had the goods on him and his involvement and declined his offer.

John Dean had another recourse open to him. The Ervin committee had opened public televised hearings and was on the lookout for witnesses. In apparent desperation, Dean responded. He rushed to Capitol Hill where he went into a huddle with Ervin committee staffmen—seeking immunity. In accordance with committee practice, he had to first outline his proposed testimony, what he had to offer that would justify the committee to take the extraordinary action of granting immunity from prosecution. The committee had been searching in vain for evidence which would link the President to knowledge that some sort of a cover-up had taken place. Dean was very much aware of the committee's dilemma, and he proceeded to make the most of it. The committee promptly accepted his offer and immunity was granted.

It is in that backdrop that we must evaluate the widely publicized testimony which followed. It will be recalled that Archibald Cox, the Special Prosecutor, took a dim view of the immunity offer, and tried in vain to block the testimony lest it and the publicity might interfere with the Government's case against Dean and others. But the chairman insisted that exposure was of primary interest to the committee. The stage was set for Dean's appearance, amid klieg lights and an abundance of fanfare. The committee's star witness was to be heard.

DEAN'S ANTIPATHY REVEALED

In appraising John Dean's motivations, it should be kept in mind that he made no secret of his obsession against going to prison. One Washington press report stated Dean feared his youthful appearance would make of him a special sex target at the hands of fellow prison inmates.

Another aspect of Dean's motivations that should not go unnoticed was an obvious bitter attitude he had developed toward the President and some of Dean's former coworkers. Whether from his standpoint that attitude was justified or not, evidence of his venom must be reckoned with in adjudging his credibility.

Now, in what way was that antipathy revealed? On the eve of Dean's departure from the White House he seems to have collected an abundance of copies of all the memos and other documents which he might be able to use to embarrass the White House. Some may say that was fine, that it may have enabled evidence to be adduced which might not otherwise have been discovered, regardless of the ethics of the acquisition. Perhaps a look at some of Dean's testimony will throw light on his designs, and hence his credibility.

With the help of two lawyers he prepared an elaborate 245-page statement, obviously carefully tailored to achieve his objectives, and expertly designed to maximize its usefulness for TV coverage. During his testimony he produced 50 exhibits which he had purloined or otherwise acquired before his hasty departure from the White House. Many of these bore no remote relationship to the Watergate scandal, but they provided juicy tidbits for the media to devour.

DEAN'S NON-WATERGATE TIDBITS

For example, taking advantage of freedom to talk about anything or anybody, accorded him by the committee, whether related to Watergate or not, Dean produced an informal list of 200 names put together, according to the witness, in 1971 by a White House staffman, which Dean claimed "the White House staff" considered to be the administration's prime domestic enemies. There was no claim the President had in fact ever seen the list or approved it, though Dean clearly wanted to leave that impression. But it made top billing for the TV audience and the press, and the names were publicized.

Although prepared more than a year before the Watergate burglary, and could have no remote connection with factual information relating to the burglary and alleged coverup, it did afford Dean a rare opportunity to vent his spleen toward the White House and at the same time court the favor of the press. Time described the "enemy" list as "the most bizarrely captivating document" that Dean turned over to the committee.

The resourceful Dean felt impelled to let the world know that in the White House he picked up a piece of gossip from some undisclosed source that periodic surveillance of Senator EDWARD KENNEDY was surreptitiously ordered by somebody—as if that had any remote relationship to the Watergate scandal which was supposed to be the subject of the committee hearing. Actually, there was no surveillance, but the witness had again rung the bell.

For some reason which made no sense at all, Dean told of an occasion when the President saw a man parading with a placard in front of the White House and ordered "thugs" to be gathered to take care of the protester. If anything like that happened it had to be a big joke because for years protesters with placards have appeared in front of the White House with regularity. Yet, the sky being the limit the witness was free to talk about anything or anybody under the comforting aegis of committee immunity. Totally unrelated to Watergate, this disclosure served only to reveal Dean's purpose to "get even" with somebody at the White House.

Again, what was John Dean's purpose in relating so many non-Watergate news-catchers which might embarrass his former boss who had befriended him with a high position? The answer, I think, is self-evident: He was trying to ingratiate himself to the committee and to Judge Sirica who would some day be expected to adjudge his guilt and assess his punishment.

Even Newsweek recognized John Dean's desperate plight and reported "he is equally concerned with staying out of prison." Then added:

His chances now depend heavily on his making such a splash before the committee that he will at least be granted immunity by the Watergate prosecutors—or, alternately, that his case will be thrown out of court because of publicity.

Another motivation for Dean's proclivity for sensationalism may have been

money—a possible vision of wealth from writing a book about his White House capers. Could it be that the witness saw a chance to cash in on the committee's proffer of nationwide exposure and publicity, which he may have hoped would catapult him into celebrity status and enhance the sale of any writing he might want to sell? It goes without saying that dull, routine, factual material would hardly suffice if he entertained such thoughts.

Credence for the book-selling idea which may have lurked in the back of Dean's mind is revealed in recent disclosure of negotiations by Dean's agent with a New York publisher. The press reported the agent was asking \$250,000 for rights to a forthcoming book.

A number of other newsy non-Watergate gems were included in the witness' 245-page grand slam offering. Although fuzzy and inconclusive, Dean's testimony implied the President did know something of "what's been going on" regarding the post-Watergate burglary, thereby retreating from the opinion he had expressed to Egil Krogh and Richard Moore on March 20.

CREDIBILITY DOUBTFUL

Mr. Speaker, it is not easy to probe the mind of a witness. We do know that in this instance the witness had a rather extreme obsession against going to prison. We do know that he developed a bitterness toward the White House. We do know that he desperately sought immunity, and we are left to wonder what price he was willing to pay for it. We know he is an admitted participant in a surreptitious scheme to prevent the public from learning more about Watergate involvements, prior to the time his own guilt was discovered. We do know that at some time along the way he made plans to cash in on his anti-White House exposures.

From all of this we can make our own deductions about John Dean's credibility.

I would say that as a former prosecutor myself I would hate to think that as a prosecutor I would have to depend upon John Dean's testimony in order to make out a case against any Watergate-connected defendant.

CONGRESSIONAL COUNTDOWN ON CONTROLS

HON. ALAN STEELMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. STEELMAN. Mr. Speaker, I find it intolerable that prices today are rising at almost twice the 1972 rate.

Since I introduced a congressional countdown on controls, a series of 1-minute speeches calling for hearings on the repeal of the Economic Stabilization Act by the Banking and Currency Committee, or administration cessation of controls, 29 of my colleagues have joined in the fight to scrap wage and price controls.

It is quite apparent that the current controls have contributed to and resulted in galloping inflation, severe shortages, chaotic disruptions, and crippling strains on the economy.

Apparently the administration has now seen the wisdom of discontinuing controls. It has been announced that controls will come off all industries, except oil and health, by April 3. I applaud and support this move, but do not feel it to be thorough enough. With the support of my colleagues, I plan to continue the congressional countdown on controls until all controls, including energy and health, have been lifted and we have returned to a free market economy.

Joining me in this effort are the following Representatives: BILL ARMSTRONG, ROBIN BEARD, CLAIR BURGNER, JOHN N. "HAPPY" CAMP, THAD COCHRAN, PHIL CRANE, RON DELLUMS, BILL FRENZEL, BEN GILMAN, TENNYSON GUYER, JOHN HAMMERSCHMIDT, HENRY HELSTOSKI, MARJORIE HOLT, ROBERT HUBER, JAMES JOHNSON, WILLIAM KETCHUM, CARLETON KING, DAN KUYKENDALL, CLARENCE LONG, TRENT LOTT, STAN PARRIS, JOEL PRITCHARD, JOHN RARICK, JOHN ROUSSELOT, SAM STEIGER, STEVE SYMMS, DAVID TRENN, VICTOR VEYSEY, and BILL YOUNG.

ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, February 24 marks the 56th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Estonia. Thirty-four years is a long time for the people of one country to be under the domination of another against their own desires for independence and sovereignty. Yet, it is appropriate that we again call to the attention of all Americans and peoples of the world the sad plight of the people of Estonia, a nation occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940 and still held under the harsh and brutal yoke of Communist domination.

The brave people of this Baltic country proclaimed their independence from Russia in 1918. They repulsed the Red army, and in 1920 concluded a peace treaty with Russia.

The courageous Estonian people then drew up a constitution which was a mature example of human rights and dignity, but it served them only until 1940. In that year, the Communists attacked and occupied Estonia and soon thereafter illegally and forcibly incorporated that heroic nation into the U.S.S.R. Since then the people have been systematically denied their most basic human rights and freedom of expression, in addition to their just aspirations to self-determination in liberty and justice.

During their brief glimpse of freedom, the Estonians achieved a remarkable awakening. Scientific research, as well as art, music, and theater, attained a

high level and the country earned the admiration of the free world. The Republic of Estonia was the first in the world to have effectively solved its problems of minorities, by granting them a wide national and cultural autonomy with the Cultural Autonomy Act of 1925.

The Soviet regime is continuing its attempts to intimidate the Estonian people by massive settlement of Russians in Estonia and a corresponding dispersal of Estonians to other parts of the Soviet Union. According to census figures for 1970, Estonians constituted only 68 percent of the population—as opposed to 88 percent in 1939.

Today the Estonians continue unabated their noble fight against subjugation. They have suffered much aggression in defense of their rights over their own land, but their glorious spirit of independence has not been broken.

It is in this spirit that the members of the Estonian Society of Chicago are celebrating this 56th anniversary commemoration with ceremonies at the Latvian Community Center at 4146 North Elston Avenue.

Taking part in the commemoration ceremonies are Harld Raudsepp, editor in chief of the Pre-Estonian World, a New York weekly newspaper, who will be the independence day speaker, an Estonian men's choir, along with Harmon Animati, a soprano soloist, and young people who are soloists on the cello and violin.

The president of the Estonian Society of Chicago is August Parts, and the regional director of the Estonian American National Council for the Midwest is Alexander Koepp, two men who are doing outstanding work as officers in Estonian organizations in Chicago.

I extend my greetings to the fine members of the Estonian Society and their officers as they celebrate the 56th anniversary of the independence of Estonia, because this significant event remains a symbol of hope for repressed people all over the world who continue to aspire to human dignity and freedom.

The United States has never recognized the legality of the occupation and incorporation of Estonia by Russia. The Soviet regime in this Baltic State lacks any legal basis and must be regarded only as a temporary military occupation. Because we are a leader of liberty in the free world, we have an obligation to our friends behind the Iron Curtain. We must support the Estonians in their struggle.

It was for this reason that I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 431 expressing the sense of Congress concerning recognition by the European Security Conference of the Soviet Union's occupation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The text of my resolution follows:

H. CON RES. 431

Whereas the three Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been illegally occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II; and

Whereas the Soviet Union will attempt to obtain the recognition by the European Security Conference of its annexation of these nations, and

Whereas the United States delegation to the European Security Conference should not agree to there cognition of the forcible conquest of these nations by the Soviet Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States delegation to the European Security Conference should not agree to the recognition by the European Security Conference of the Soviet Union's annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and it should remain the policy of the United States not to recognize in any way the annexation of the Baltic nations by the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, in keeping with sacred principles carefully guarded, the United States continues to recognize the independent Estonian Government and affirms her right of self-determination. I proudly join with Americans of Estonian descent in my own 11th District, in the city of Chicago, and all over this country as they share with Estonians everywhere the fervent prayer that their bravery and strength of character will soon be rewarded, that right will triumph over injustice, and that Estonia will be free once more.

EQUALITY FOR BLACKS— OR SPECIAL FAVORS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very thought-provoking article by Father Andrew M. Greeley, a distinguished sociologist, in the New World of February 1, publication of the Catholic Archdiocese, comments on the subject of academic standards as they may apply to students of different races.

Father Greeley has earned the reputation among his associates as a recognized authority on the urban area.

The article follows:

EQUALITY FOR BLACKS—OR SPECIAL FAVORS?

(By Father Andrew M. Greeley)

Martin Kilson, the distinguished black scholar, recently argued in a vigorous article in the New York Times Magazine, that blacks should be judged by the same academic standards as whites. His point was that other practices are little more than a sophisticated form of racism since such quotas assumed that blacks couldn't make it in a college unless they were given special favors.

Blacks, Kilson seemed to be arguing, have the right to be treated like full-fledged American citizens—no better and no worse than anyone else. Kilson—who is scarcely an Uncle Tom—has taken the same position as a number of tough young black scholars, such as economist Thomas Sowell, who want no favors from anyone.

I find such toughness admirable and am delighted at the plight of the white liberals who find the ground cut out from under them by such blacks as Kilson and Sowell. For in the liberal mythology of the black who needs special favors if he is to make it, white liberals have created a caricature and a racial stereotype as degrading as the minstrel show end man and all the other previous creations of the bigoted and guilty white conscience.

Unfortunately, not all blacks are immune to the effects of the seductive condescension of the white liberal. There was a time, not so long ago, when there scarcely could be a meeting on anything in the United States which would not be disrupted by a handful of blacks demanding confessions of guilt for all white people present. Blacks who permitted themselves to be caught in such stereotypes were merely doing what the white liberals present wanted them to do. They were one more product of white caricature.

Curiously enough, such black disrupters almost always worked for white funded organizations. I remember one meeting in particular that was disrupted by a black cleric dressed in the hippest of clothes. A number of black political leaders in conservative garb sat quietly and discreetly by until the militant left to disrupt another meeting.

Without ever mentioning what had happened or explicitly refuting "the brother," one of the political leaders proceeded to say exactly the opposite thing than the militant had. When I pointed this out during a coffee break, the black politician said with ill-concealed anger, "That man was never elected to anything in his life, and never will be. I've been elected by tens of thousands of people in my district. Why are you white people more interested in listening to him than to me?"

It is now clear, I think, that most whites are much more interested in listening to blacks who have constituencies than blacks who have anointed themselves as spokesmen. But at least some of the disrupters have found a new audience. According to a recent issue of the Thomas More newsletter, Overview, Dr. James Cone, so-called black "theologian," did a splendid job in disrupting the consultation in Geneva, insisting on being called "Herr Doktor," and saying, "Well, why should I cooperate with you? I don't know you. Shouldn't you let me decide whether you qualify as an ally? Maybe the time has come when whites wait around until we let them help us."

Let us overlook the blatant racism of Cone's behavior. Let us also overlook that such clownish cavorting is a disgrace to American blacks. Let us rather ask one simple question: Who ever elected Prof. Cone to speak for anyone? When he speaks of "we" and "us," who are the "we" and "us," he has in mind? What is his constituency? Who has authorized him to claim to speak for the American black population or for the American black experience? By what right does he claim that his particular kind of theological posturing represents anyone's experience but his own?

The available survey data suggests that Cone speaks for only a segment of the American black population, and a very small segment at that. Come to think of it, it's very difficult to conceive of a tenured faculty member of Union Theological Seminary as being the victim of oppression. Most American blacks would dearly love to have it so good.

Ah, comes the reply from the white liberal, but Cone and indeed all other American blacks have been subjected to horrendous psychological pressures and have incurred grave psychological damages because of the injustices of oppression and racism. Cone is merely more conscious than most blacks are of how much the whole people have suffered and of what grave psychic damage has been done to them because of their "victimization."

It all sounds very plausible though, again, what it really is is the crypto-racism of the liberal. That blacks have been oppressed, treated with awesome injustice is beyond doubt but it does not follow that they have been so psychically wounded that somehow

or other they are inferior in self-confidence and ego strength to whites. The psychically wounded black is—at least according to most of the research on the subject currently being done—just one more white stereotype.

The World Council of Churches may still be interested in paying Dr. Cone's plane fare to travel around the world playing the role of an end man with a Ph.D., but the role is becoming obsolete in the United States.

Still, one suspects there are many white liberals who would prefer Cone. If you can seduce a black into adolescent behavior which forces you to abase yourself before him, you can still feel secretly superior to him—as one always feels secretly superior to charming and outrageous savages—but tough, smart men who demand to be treated like adults and ask for no favors from anyone—ah, they must be treated like equals—and who wants to treat a black like an equal?

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 93D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION: REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE 4TH DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, while visiting in my district prior to the reconvening of the 2d session of the 93d Congress and over this last weekend, I was impressed by the responsible attitude and concern of my constituents regarding the current issues and problems confronting our country. Many, however, have questioned the efforts and the record of the Congress. Therefore, as has been my practice in the past, although belatedly, I take this opportunity to summarize the accomplishments of the 1st session and to highlight the major issues that need to be resolved in the 2d session of the 93d Congress.

There is no doubt that my record will not totally please each and every constituent. However, in representing the people of the Fourth District of Wisconsin I have followed the dictates of my conscience and sincerely tried to work in their best interest and for the security of our Nation.

Congress has established a respectable record which could have been even more dramatic if the will of the 10 Presidential vetoes were reversed. The Congress has responded to the immediate problems confronting our Nation, thereby meeting its obligation as the national legislative body of the American people. With renewed strength resulting from internal reforms, Congress last year has reasserted its constitutional authority in formulating legislative policy and in fulfilling its obligation to curb abuse of authority by the executive branch.

REASSERTION OF CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY

The most dramatic example of Congress insisting on its constitutional responsibilities was evidenced by the enactment of the War Powers Act over the President's veto. As the floor manager of this historic legislation, I submit the War Powers Act provides a reasonable compromise by properly balancing the

need to keep the warmaking authority firmly in the control of Congress while allowing the President flexibility in responding effectively and quickly when the security of our Nation is threatened.

Of great significance in the enactment of this legislation is the fact that many Republicans joined in providing the more than two-thirds majority of the Congress to override the President's veto.

Other significant areas characteristic of the renewal and the reassertion of the constitutional authority of Congress were in internal and procedural reforms and budget reform.

Responding to a rapid erosion of public confidence in the Federal Government, the 93d Congress initiated sweeping reforms of its internal procedures. While the executive branch has been growing more closed and secretive with its excessive claims of executive privilege, the Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, has opened up its proceedings to closer inspection by the public. As a consequence, only when absolutely necessary have committee meetings and deliberations been closed.

Another major action in reform was achieved in the area of congressional budgetary responsibilities by passing the Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1973. This legislation offers substantive progress in two crucial areas: Overhauling congressional handling of the budget to enable the Congress to exercise its power of the purse more effectively; and providing procedures through which Congress can control unwarranted impoundments of appropriations by the President.

ECONOMY AND INFLATION

Notwithstanding administration rhetoric that "Next month things are going to be better," the American economy last year experienced its worst round of inflation in a generation.

The Nixon administration has not only failed to stop inflation—but the administration's economic policies have actually contributed to the unprecedented price spiral. For example, the administration erred in judgment by authorizing the removal of interest ceilings from certificates of deposit. The Congress reacted by passing appropriate remedial legislation.

In the area of food prices, Congress adopted new farm legislation removing all limitations on the domestic production of food. There is no denying, however, that much needs to be done to keep future price increases within reasonable levels and to control persistent inflation. Other legislative programs to cope with our economic problems have and will receive the attention of Congress. However, the Congress cannot administer anti-inflation programs. That responsibility lies in the hands of the executive branch.

There is no doubt that the serious energy-related problems facing our country today will require extensive cooperation between the Congress, the Executive, and the public. Some of the necessary legislative groundwork for resolving our energy problems was initiated last year.

The Congress adopted legislation authorizing fuel allocation programs, energy research and development, and needed energy conservation. Specifically, Congress has passed the Alaskan pipeline legislation, mandatory petroleum allocation legislation, and on an experimental basis, year-round daylight saving time. Considerable congressional hearings and investigative efforts were also devoted toward examining oil company practices and expanding exploration and research of new energy sources to meet our Nation's long-term needs.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND VETERANS BENEFITS

In meeting the basic financial needs of some 30 million Americans, Congress acted twice last year attempting to keep social security benefits in line with rising prices. Measures were also adopted to encourage emergency medical services and health maintenance systems, as well as to improve overall veterans' benefits.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

After 3 years of extensive study and debate, Congress during the first session of the 93d Congress passed the already-mentioned historic war powers resolution into law.

New legislative proposals which reformed and restructured U.S. economic assistance to developing countries were also included in the enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. Under this new approach, American aid to de-

veloping countries will be concentrated on projects that most directly benefit the poorest majority of the people in those countries. By emphasizing the allocation of aid in the areas of food, nutrition, population growth and health, and education, this legislation should increase economic growth and social justice for those people most in need.

In addition, as part of my subcommittee's long-established record of interest in the POW/MIA issue, during the first session I chaired extensive hearings on this matter. In an effort to allay the growing concerns of MIA families, my subcommittee sought to clarify the position of our Government regarding an alleged policy of establishing presumptive findings of death and again urged the executive branch to exert every possible effort in learning the final fate of our MIA's. It is my goal to have my subcommittee continue these efforts regarding the status of our MIA's until complete satisfaction of their fate is obtained.

THE 2D SESSION OF THE 93D CONGRESS

While the efforts of the first session have been significant and constructive, there is important new and unfinished business to be considered and acted upon during the second session.

In the domestic areas, congressional action should be pursued in the following areas: tax reform; national system of health insurance; campaign reform; pension reform; mass transportation; veterans' benefits; housing; minimum wage; and reversal of the unfortunate Supreme Court decision last year on abortion.

On the international scene, I intend to pursue the goal of obtaining a full and complete accounting of our MIA's; to monitor our country's policy and efforts affecting the strategic arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union; and to initiate a major in-depth study of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agencies with objectives at making ACDA more effective. Finally, constructive and objective measures must be taken at the international level to enable our country to meet our foreign trade and energy requirements.

The following is a summary of my position and status on some of the major issues considered during the 1st session of the 93d Congress:

Position	Issue	Status	Position	Issue	Status
NATIONAL ECONOMY			CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES		
Voted for.....	Extension of President's authority to control prices, rents, wages and salaries, and other provisions to combat unemployment and inflation.	Became law.	Sponsored.....	Legislation reasserting Congress' constitutional role in the warmaking areas.	Became law over President's veto.
Do.....	Legislation encouraging domestic food production and eliminating subsidies in times of high market prices.	Do.	Cosponsored.....	Legislation prohibiting impoundments unless approved by congressional action.	In conference.
Do.....	Extension of interest equalization tax to stem outflow of dollars.	Do.	Do.....	Legislation improving congressional control over the Federal budget including reform of budgetary process.	Pass by House.
Do.....	Federal assistance to areas suffering from high unemployment and underemployment.	Do.	Voted for.....	Confirmation of Gerald R. Ford as the 40th Vice President of the United States.	Became law.
Do.....	Extension of unemployment insurance benefits.	Do.	Supported.....	Investigative hearings into the activities of the President to determine whether or not grounds exist for impeachment.	Pending in House.
Supported.....	Legislation to develop flood control programs and demonstration projects to prevent shoreline erosion.	Do.	Do.....	Legislation to establish criteria covering and restricting the use of executive privilege.	Do.
Voted for.....	Limits on interest rates for FHA mortgages and VA guaranteed loans.	Do.			
Supported.....	Extension of programs of urban housing, water and sewers, and other community developments.	Pending in House.			
Cosponsored.....	Tax reform legislation to close tax loopholes and provide additional Federal revenues.	Do.			

Position	Issue	Status	Position	Issue	Status
ENERGY, NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT					
Voted for.....	Legislation authorizing a variety of emergency measures to conserve and allocate available energy resources and to implement energy conservation measures.	In conference.	Do.....	Extension of environmental education in elementary and secondary schools, and community education programs.	Passed by House.
Do.....	Construction of the Alaska pipeline.....	Became law.	Do.....	Legislation approving job training bill and developing comprehensive manpower training policy.	Became law.
Do.....	Reorganization and consolidation of national energy research development projects.	Passed by House.	Do.....	Legislation expanding legal services to a greater number of blue collar and middle-income working Americans.	Do.
Do.....	Legislation temporarily placing the Nation on year-round daylight saving time in an effort to conserve energy.	Became law.	Do.....	Liberalizing eligibility requirements for railroad retirement and extending benefit increases.	Do.
Do.....	Legislation to curb discharges of oil from ocean-going vessels and to regulate oil tankers.	Do.	Do.....	Extension of school- and community-based programs of drug abuse, alcohol education, and training programs.	Passed by House.
Do.....	Legislation to reduce gasoline fuel consumption by reducing national speed limit to 55 miles per hour.	Do.	Sponsored.....	Provision for tax credit up to \$400 for tuition paid for nonpublic elementary and secondary education.	Pending.
Do.....	Extension of the protection of fish and wildlife species in immediate danger of extinction.	Do.	VETERANS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE		
Do.....	Increased coverage of national flood insurance for communities designated as floodprone areas.	Do.	Voted for.....	Comprehensive veterans' health care legislation and health manpower training programs for veterans.	Became law.
Do.....	Legislation to control the sale and production of potentially harmful chemicals.	In conference.	Supported.....	10 percent increase in the monthly pension payments to single and married veterans.	Do.
Do.....	5-year moratorium with regard to licensing and construction of water research projects affecting certain water and river systems.	Passed by House and Senate.	Cosponsored.....	Elimination of reductions in veterans' pension and compensation resulting from social security increases.	Pending.
Do.....	Extension of solid waste disposal systems and waste recycling programs.	Became law.	Voted for.....	Increase in veterans' funeral and burial allowances and the establishment of a national cemetery system.	Became law.
Do.....	Legislation providing for the construction and preservation of public works on rivers, lakes, and harbors for navigation and flood control.	Passed by House.	Do.....	Tax relief for military and civilian POW's returning from Vietnam.	Do.
Supported.....	Reimbursement to communities for full amount of Federal assistance authorized for sewerage control treatment between 1966 and 1972.	Became law.	Voted against.....	Excessive cuts in manpower, research and development, and construction funds affecting our national security.	Do.
SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH			Cosponsored.....	\$1 billion cut in the military weapons procurement and research development systems.	Reduced in conference.
Cosponsored.....	11 percent in social security benefits, rising by 7 percent in March 1974 and an additional 4 percent in June 1974.	Became law.	TRANSPORTATION AND CRIME CONTROL		
Supported.....	Reforms in social security, medicare, medicaid, and welfare programs.	Pending.	Supported.....	3-year extension of interstate highway system and allocation of funds for urban mass transit by 1976 from the highway fund.	Became law.
Sponsored.....	Reduced social security benefits for retirees at age 60.	Do.	Voted for.....	Legislation offering deficit-ridden urban mass transit companies Federal subsidies for operating expenses to supplement revenues derived from passenger fares.	In conference.
Supported.....	Supplemental national health insurance programs.	Do.	Do.....	Increased airport development grants and construction moneys.	Became law.
Cosponsored.....	Establishment of a House Select Committee on Aging.	Pending in House.	Do.....	Establishment of a new railroad corporation to replace the bankrupt railroads in the Northeast.	Do.
Voted for.....	Extension and expansion of programs to assist the elderly.	Became law.	Do.....	Increased Federal assistance to local law-enforcement officials including training and equipment.	Do.
Do.....	Establishment of a National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.	Do.	Do.....	Extension of the Watergate grand jury of the District of Columbia.	Do.
Do.....	Assistance to domestic volunteer programs including senior volunteers and foster grandparents.	Do.	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS		
Do.....	Increase in minimum payments for the needy, blind, disabled, and aged.	Do.	Sponsored.....	Legislation to establish Joint Committee on National Security.	Pending in House.
Do.....	Legislation to establish an independent corporation to replace the OEO's legal services program to assist the poor.	Passed by House.	Do.....	Restrictions on the use of emergency military assistance to Israel in excess of \$1.5 billion.	Became law.
Do.....	Establishment of health maintenance organizations and providing for more preventative medicine.	Became law.	Supported.....	Resolution calling for complete and full accounting of our MIA's in Vietnam.	Pending in House.
Do.....	Legislation providing Federal aid to areawide systems of emergency medical care.	Do.	Voted for.....	Continued operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Liberty.	Became law.
Cosponsored.....	1-year extension of public health programs, comprehensive health services, migrants' health programs, and community health centers.	Do.	Do.....	Participation by the United States in the U.N.'s environmental program.	Do.
Voted for.....	Increased Federal assistance against lead-based paint poisoning.	Do.	Sponsored.....	Legislation reforming and restructuring U.S. economic assistance to developing countries.	Do.
EDUCATION AND LABOR			Voted for.....	Extension and revision of U.S. economic and military aid programs.	Do.
Voted for.....	Legislation increasing minimum wage and extension of minimum wage coverage to 7 million workers.	Vetoed by the President.	Sponsored.....	Resolution calling for collection of overdue debts to the United States.	Pending in House.
Do.....	Educational rehabilitation for the handicapped.	Became law.	Voted for.....	Legislation granting the President new flexibility to control exports of scarce materials and commodities.	Passed by House.
Do.....	Increased aid to school nutrition programs to offset rising food costs.	Do.	Sponsored.....	Resolution on U.S.-oceans policy at the Law of the Sea Conference.	Do.
Do.....	Increased individual grants to 1st year, full-time college students.	Do.			

ROLLCALL RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, 93D CONG., 1ST SESS.

	Yeas nays	Quorum calls	Re- corded votes	Grand totals
Number of calls or votes.....	307	185	234	726
Present responses (yea, nay, present, present-paired for or against).....	304	179	233	716
Absences (absent, not voting, not voting-paired for or against).....	3	6	1	10
Voting percentage (presence).....	99.0	96.7	99.5	98.6

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESSMAN HAROLD D. COOLEY

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1974

Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I desire to share with my colleagues the contents of a resolution in-

troduced in the North Carolina House of Representatives by Representatives John Ed Davenport, Julian B. Fenner, A. Hartwell Campbell, Larry P. Eagles, and Thomas E. Gilmore, paying well-deserved tribute to the late North Carolina Congressman Harold D. Cooley. I wish to also share individual statements by Representatives Gilmore, Davenport, and Fenner, honoring the life and memory of Congressman Cooley. The resolution and statements follow:

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
1973 SESSION

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1406

JANUARY 23, 1974.

A joint resolution honoring the life and memory of Harold Dunbar Cooley, former member of the United States House of Representatives

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley the son of the late Roger A. P. Cooley and Harriett Davis Cooley, was born in Nashville, Nash County, North Carolina, on July 26, 1897, attended the public schools of Nash County and the Law School of the University of North Carolina and Yale University; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley served his nation as a member of the Naval Aviation Flying Corps during World War I; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley was a distinguished and effective attorney; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley was elected a member of the 73rd Congress on July 7, 1934, and served as a member of Congress for over 32 years; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley was chosen as the first member of the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives from North Carolina in over one hundred years; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley became Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture in 1948 and served as Chairman of that Committee longer than any Chairman in the history of our nation; and

Whereas, during the course of his career, Harold Dunbar Cooley championed the farmers, not only of North Carolina, but of the entire United States, and introduced or actively supported every piece of major farm legislation passed by Congress for a period of 32 years, including the Rural Electrification Act, The Farmer's Home Administration Act, the Tobacco Program, the Wheat Program, the Cotton Program, the Food for Peace Program and many other important acts; and

Whereas, legislation introduced by Harold Dunbar Cooley benefited the people of his district, and people of the entire United States and the world; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley served as a delegate to the Interparliamentary Union for many years and served as its President; and

Whereas, Harold Dunbar Cooley was honored by the governments of Italy, Japan,

Korea, France and other countries and many farm organizations for his service to Agriculture and as a statesman of the world; and

Whereas, the North Carolina General Assembly desires to express its appreciation for the long and distinguished career, and the fruitful life of Harold Dunbar Cooley, and desires to express its sympathy to his wife, Madeline Strickland Cooley, and to other members of his family; and

Whereas, this desire can best be expressed in words to his family:

"Thank you for sharing Harold Dunbar Cooley with North Carolina, the United States and the world."

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

SECTION 1. That the North Carolina General Assembly does hereby express its grateful appreciation for the useful and dedicated life of Harold Dunbar Cooley.

SEC. 2. That the General Assembly extends its sympathy to the family of Harold Dunbar Cooley for the loss of its distinguished member.

SEC. 3. That this resolution shall become a part of the public record of the 1974 Session of the General Assembly of North Carolina, and a copy shall be duly certified by the Secretary of State and forthwith transmitted to the family of Harold Dunbar Cooley.

SEC. 4. This resolution shall be effective upon ratification.

THOMAS O. GILMORE

(Member of North Carolina House of Representatives; resident of Greensboro, N.C.)

Harold D. Cooley was a friend of the nation's farmers and a person to whom agriculture is very deeply indebted. He was the first North Carolinian to be chosen as a member of the Agriculture Committee of the United States House of Representatives in over one hundred years, and he served as chairman of that committee longer than any chairman in the history of our nation. In this capacity, he championed the farmers, not only of North Carolina, but of the entire United States. Through his many efforts he served not only the people of his district and his state, but all the people of his nation. Harold Cooley was indeed a great American whose leadership is badly needed in this time of crisis. I hope that we who serve in government will use his life as an example to follow.

JOHN ED DAVENPORT

My association with Harold Dunbar Cooley has been close since my birth. I was born next to his birthplace. For a number of years, we shared adjoining law offices. I participated in his campaigns, so I feel a deep sense of personal loss.

In spite of the feeling of loss, I am thankful for the farm legislation which he authored and promoted. Harold was instrumental in the enactment of the Rural Electrification Act and establishing of the Farmers Home Administration. This legislation has benefited thousands of people of every race, color and creed in rural America. Time and again Harold displayed his interest in tobacco farmers, cotton farmers, wheat farmers and dairymen.

As Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the United States House of Representatives and President of the Interparliamentary Union, he walked among the important people of the world. During all of this time, to the people at home, he remained "Harold". He kept the common touch.

On one occasion, I heard him say that "thoroughbreds never cry". Therefore his friends should not mourn but celebrate and give thanks for an active and useful life of dedication to the people of his state, his country and the world.

JULIAN B. FENNER

(Member of North Carolina House of Representatives; president of Fenner's Warehouse, Inc; resident of Rocky Mount, N.C.)

Harold Dunbar Cooley, a close friend and neighbor, who represented North Carolina's Fourth Congressional District for 32 years, was the outspoken champion of legislation helping the American farmer, as well as farmers all over the world.

As chairman of the House Agriculture Committee for many years, he sponsored many landmark pieces of legislation which today continue to help the American farmer in the production and marketing of his crops. His interest in people was so far-reaching that he sponsored the legislation launching a World War on Hunger through the Food for Freedom Program.

Much more can be said about this outstanding public servant, but suffice it to say that those of us in the area he served, and especially those as myself who are farmers and are connected with the tobacco industry, are proud of his record and grateful for the services he has given to mankind.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, February 19, 1974

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. Rabbi Ben Zion D. Schaffran, Brooklyn, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

Honorable Members of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, you represent not only the various people of this country, but also their problems and the hopes and endeavor for solutions thereto. The Founding Fathers of this great Nation set a precedent for you as Representatives and the people of this country, acknowledgment of the great divine providence, and a constant search for divine guidance—so much so that every governmental assembly is opened with a prayer and even the currency of this country bespeaks trust in G-d. A nation which is cognizant of its reliance on the Almighty will surely weather the storms which have befallen it. Let us verbalize the prayer of a people who stand before G-d seeking his guidance. "Great are the needs of Thy people, yet their understanding is incomplete. They are unable to enumerate their

wants and desires. Please grant understanding to them prior to their calling, great powerful and awful Lord."

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

RABBI BEN ZION D. SCHAFFRAN

(Ms. HOLTZMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend her remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Ms. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct pleasure for me that Rabbi Ben Zion D. Schaffran has given the benediction to the Congress today. At a time when Congress is confronting such dif-

ficult and complicated problems, I hope that his words will provide a source of guidance for us.

Rabbi Schaffran, who is a constituent of mine, is a distinguished member of the Crown Heights community, and is associated with the Lubavitcher Movement, the worldwide headquarters of which are located within my district.

He does not minister only to the spiritual needs of his neighbors, but has taken an active role in working to alleviate many of the urban problems besetting the Crown Heights community.

Rabbi Schaffran has done important work with young people, both as a lecturer on college campuses and as a teacher at the Hadar Hatorah Institute. He serves as the executive vice president for Concerned Help To Augment Services for Inner City Dwellers. He has worked diligently with Brooklyn groups to seek new and fruitful approaches to uniting and improving their communities.