

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REASSESSING DÉTENTE

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, as you are aware, there is growing concern among Americans over the administration's policies of détente.

It is increasingly apparent that these policies may be nonproductive, or even counterproductive to U.S. interests.

In this connection, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial published last week by the Hearst Newspapers, the text of which follows:

LET'S REASSESS DÉTENTE

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

As Cuban mercenary soldiers, directed and supplied by the Soviet military, conduct cleanup operations after "liberating" the former Portuguese colony of Angola on Africa's southwest coast, it behooves all Americans to take a closer look at our policy of détente with Russia.

Détente isn't working. Under it, Russia is expanding her colonization in strategic parts of the world, eroding American power and prestige, and creating military bases that have the potential of threatening America's vital supply routes for oil and other essentials.

Three American leaders and two other important world figures have criticized this country's compromising role under détente just within this past week and it is time we paid some heed.

This nation's highly respected and supremely articulate chief delegate to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, warned that it is the Soviet intent to "colonize" all of Africa. Said Mr. Moynihan:

"Any lessened expenditure of energy on military technology (under détente) will lead to an increased expenditure on what the Communists will see as an equally inviting, equally productive area of ideological conflict." And the Soviets, he said, are stepping up their ideological conflict.

Former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, who was fired by President Ford because his views on détente differ so widely from those in the White House and State Department, assessed détente as "continuation of confrontation in a different form." He said that détente requires the striking of "a delicate balance" between the twin objectives of reducing international tensions and maintaining "the requisite firmness." This, he said, we are not doing.

Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., the retired chief of naval operations, charged, in testimony in the House of Representatives, that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger had withheld information from President Ford about "gross violations" by the Soviet Union of the 1972 agreements on the limitation of strategic arms. Those accords placed limits on strategic weapons and restricted deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems.

Admiral Zumwalt said that Mr. Kissinger's lack of candor sprang from his personal and political commitment to the success of the détente policy, which made him "reluctant to report the actual facts."

When President Ford and Mr. Kissinger were in Peking this past week, China's peppy Deputy Prime Minister, Teng Hsiao-ping, spoke sharply against détente with Russia. He warned bluntly:

"Today it is the country which most zeal-

ously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war. Rhetoric about détente cannot cover up the stark reality of the growing danger of war."

The angriest outcry against détente came this past week from Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize-winning dissident Soviet writer, now in exile, in an article in the "New York Times." In a slashing attack on Secretary Kissinger, he criticized the secretary's defense of détente by pointing to the alternative of nuclear war.

"Mr. Kissinger is least of all a diplomat. 'Alter' in Latin means 'other' (of two). An alternative is a choice between two possibilities. This is a scientific concept. But even scientific situations often allow a much broader choice. But diplomacy is not a science. It is an art, one of the arts concerning the nature of man. To construct diplomacy on an 'alternative' is to put it on the lowest and crudest level.

"How many great diplomats of the past have won negotiations even with empty hands or backed by inadequate power, in circumstances of military weakness, conceding nothing and paying nothing, defeating the opponent only by intellectual and psychological means. That is diplomacy."

Détente, as practiced thus far, has given the Russians virtual domination over the routes on which we must convey our vital supplies of Mideastern oil. Russia's navy, newer and far superior to ours, patrols the Mediterranean and stalks our tankers and our own Sixth Fleet. From bases in Somalia on Africa's east coast, Russian naval vessels patrol the Indian Ocean through which must sail the supertankers that are too large to pass through the Suez Canal.

And now Soviet and Cuban troops are "assisting in the liberation" of Angola, the former Portuguese colony, on the west African coast, with the obvious purpose of establishing Russian bases there which would give other units of the Soviet navy and air force surveillance of the South Atlantic.

Once the Soviets have succeeded in "colonizing" Angola, the Middle East and all of Africa will be completely ringed by Russian naval and air power. And all of this, it must be remembered, has been achieved by the Soviets during our period of détente.

When Secretary of State Kissinger finally became alarmed over the activities of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola that is being engineered from Moscow with the use of Cuban mercenaries, he delivered a mild admonition—"continuation of an interventionist policy (by the Soviets) must inevitably threaten other relationships."

The reply came from "Pravda," the official Communist party newspaper. Détente, said Pravda, in no way inhibits support for "wars of national liberation," nor should it be regarded as freezing spheres of international influence.

The introduction of détente into our foreign policy was a natural consequence of the extremely wholesome efforts of President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger to halt the arms race with the Soviet Union. It was unrealistic, however, to expect what Moynihan has described as "wholesale relaxation of tensions." That might be our way of doing things, but not the Russians.

The pursuit of détente, and of peace, is the proper and morally correct objective of our foreign policy. Peace should be its goal. Peace, but not peace at any price.

A militarily soft American cannot hope to pursue peace, and as the leading nation of the Western world, it cannot, with a weakened military, offer the necessary security to the other democracies that depend on it.

Détente has caused the United States to

"halt the arms race," but except in the area of some missiles, it has not slowed down the Soviets. Under détente the Russians are gaining territory and military bases in ever-widening areas of the world.

China's Teng was right. I agree with him—it's time to take a long, hard look at this thing called détente. It seems to be causing us irreparable harm.

GOVERNMENTAL FISCAL POLICIES

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial from Nation's Business, December 1975, captioned: "Swarms of Officers To Harass Our People, and Eat Out Their Substance."

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

SWARMS OF OFFICERS TO HARASS OUR PEOPLE, AND EAT OUT THEIR SUBSTANCE

On July 4 of next year, we will observe the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

In that document, the distinguished representatives of the colonies listed a series of grievances against King George III. Among those grievances: "He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance."

Those words are being echoed today by America's middle-income taxpayers, who contribute the bulk of the money to finance government, as spending continues to rise at an alarming rate.

The federal budget for fiscal 1977, which begins Oct. 1, 1976, is likely to send federal spending beyond \$400 billion for the first time in the nation's history.

It wasn't until fiscal 1961, or 185 years after the Declaration of Independence, that federal spending reached \$100 billion. But it took only nine more years to reach \$200 billion; and then only five years to hit \$300 billion.

The jump to \$400 billion is taking only two years.

Projections by the Office of Management and Budget show the possibility of a \$1 trillion annual federal budget by the end of this century.

Budget forecasts, however, overlook a vital factor that cannot be measured precisely.

That factor is how long middle-income taxpayers will put up with the triple impact they suffer under present fiscal policies.

The triple impact is felt this way:

1. The government takes from middle-income workers a substantial amount of the money they earn. A recent congressional report points out the family outlay going up the fastest is not for food or energy, but for taxes.

2. The government then uses that tax money to pursue programs that feed inflation, causing further erosion of personal incomes. The average American lost purchasing power last year for the first time in 15 years.

3. Finally, most middle-income families are shut out of many programs they pay for, such as tax-financed college scholarships.

And so, after 200 years, the basic grievance

is the same—"Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance."

PRIVATE COLLEGES AVERT SETBACKS

HON. LARRY PRESSLER

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. Speaker, South Dakotans have a strong and continuing commitment in education, shown by the numerous public and private colleges which we have in our State. South Dakota has eight private, nonprofit colleges including: Augustana College; Dakota Wesleyan College; Huron College; Mount Marty College; Presentation Junior College; Sioux Falls College; Yankton College; Freeman Junior College. As a member of the Education Committee in Congress, I am particularly interested in our private colleges. The 94th Congress will have a unique opportunity to consider major pieces of comprehensive higher education legislation which will affect these and many other institutions of higher learning.

Knowing that my colleagues join me in believing that education is a foundation stone of our Republic and that the greatness of this country depends upon the education of our children, I believe it is our obligation to become as knowledgeable as possible about the problems now facing our Nation's educational systems. The Association of American Colleges has recently issued a study of accredited, private, nonprofit, 4-year institutions of higher education and I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article by Noel Epstein, printed in the December 7, 1975, Washington Post, concerning this report:

PRIVATE COLLEGES AVERT SETBACKS
(By Noel Epstein)

Private colleges and universities have not suffered the severe financial or academic setbacks predicted in recent years, and most of their presidents see better times ahead.

These are some of the surprising findings of a study to be issued this week by the Association of American Colleges, which represents most of the nation's private campuses.

The study, headed by Howard R. Bowen, a leading economist of higher education, attributes the widely held belief that private campuses are in peril to "evidence that is circumstantial, incomplete and out-of-date."

The report, based on a fall survey of 100 representative colleges and universities, does note "budgetary tightness" at independent campuses, increased rivalry with lower-tuition public universities, a decline in enrollment at some colleges and other problems to be faced.

But, far from sounding another note of alarm, on balance it portrays a private campus world that is generally healthy and guardedly optimistic.

The report shows, for example, an overall enrollment rise since 1970, a revenue gain that has outpaced inflation, a growth in faculty, scarcely any erosion of assets and a significant expansion in academic programs.

"One of the themes that recurs throughout this study is that the private colleges and

universities have enormous staying power," the report says. "They are still a viable and sturdy part of the American system of higher education."

Moreover, of the campus presidents surveyed, 76 per cent said they expect their college's prospects to improve or at least hold steady through this decade.

The report does not deal extensively with 1980, when the traditional college-age population will be in decline. Many campuses have begun efforts to lure older students with a theme of "lifelong learning."

The study, which surveyed campuses ranging from Dartmouth, Georgetown and Notre Dame to Williams, Fisk and Oberlin, is likely to have considerable impact because of its sponsorship by the private colleges' own association and the prestige of its chief author.

Bowen, an economics professor at California's Claremont Graduate School, a private school, has headed several prominent colleges and is president of the American Association for Higher Education.

Frederic W. Ness, president of the group issuing the study, said the findings will upset private college officials "who have been predicting major disaster" for independent campuses to congressional committees working on a broad higher-education bill.

But he suggested in an interview that the Bowen report also would buttress arguments that private colleges have been a sound investment for federal and state governments.

"There will be a continuing need for aid from public sources," Ness said. "There is a delicate balance, and it would not take much to turn the curve downward. That would be a serious blow to American higher education."

The Bowen study acknowledges the serious stresses at some campuses and the collapse of other four-year colleges. But it suggests that concentrating on these troubles obscures the basic strength of the private campus network.

The 16 accredited private colleges that have closed since 1970, it says, "represent a mortality rate of the order of 0.5 of 1 per cent a year, which is infinitesimal compared, for example, with mortality among small business firms."

The study adds: "One is also impressed by the smallness, newness, or obscurity that characterizes most of the institutions that have become defunct."

The researchers did find that 27 of the 100 campuses surveyed were in "serious distress" but said that "we are by no means predicting that 27 per cent of all private colleges and universities are headed for extinction." There are 866 private colleges out of a total of 2,400 colleges and universities in the United States.

While there are no comparable data for earlier years, the study says, "at any given time in the past, some private institutions have been in distress and there have been periods when distress was widespread."

"It is not known to what degree the present situation is 'normal' or 'exceptional.' Moreover, it is possible that some of the many institutions now apparently in trouble will achieve a turnaround," as several others have since 1970.

Judging by mortality rates alone, the report notes that 19 per cent of the 290 colleges founded between 1947 and 1970 had disappeared by 1970. "Thus we must be cautious in drawing the inference that the recent mortality since 1970 . . . was exceptional," the report warns.

Moreover, measured as a whole, the report paints a picture of private campuses holding up surprisingly well in a nation beset by hard times.

Their strength has been maintained, the report notes, amid donor anger at student protests, the depressed economy and stock market, soaring inflation, the gap between private and public college tuition, and "the

constant and possibly self-fulfilling allegation that most private institutions would soon be defunct."

Despite all this, the Bowen report found: Overall enrollment rose 7 per cent from 1969-70 to 1971-72, held steady for the next two years, then added another percentage-point gain. The most dramatic increases came at the graduate and professional levels, more than offsetting a slight decline in the total number of undergraduates. Federal and state student aid, as well as more recruiting, helped bolster enrollment.

Total revenue to finance current operations, after allowing for inflation and enrollment growth, increased slightly from 1970-71 through 1973-74. Though tuition and fees rose 25 per cent in that period, private colleges didn't—"despite much opinion to the contrary"—gain a greater share of their income from these sources, primarily because of inflation.

Predominantly black liberal arts colleges showed greater revenue gains than their white counterparts, chiefly because of increased government tuition aid to their students.

Outlays for instruction and research rose less than total expenditures from 1970-71 through 1973-74, while spending on administration and other services increased more. The rapid rise in administrative outlays was linked to increases in fund-raising, student recruiting and paperwork stemming from government regulations.

Faculty ranks grew by 5 per cent from 1969-70 through 1974-75, though salary boosts slipped behind soaring living costs. The colleges increased administrative and clerical staffs at more than double the rate of faculty growth, but cut back on blue-collar employees as one way of retrenching.

"New (academic) programs and expansion of existing programs are far in excess of deletions and contractions . . . Most institutions have not yet suffered financial reverses so severe that educational performance has been adversely affected."

COURT ACTION FOR DAMAGES AGAINST FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to allow certain individuals who were given or administered hallucinogenic drugs as part of experiments by the Armed Forces of the United States to bring an action for damages against the Government.

In recent months, the Nation has been shocked by revelations that over a period of years the Armed Forces and the CIA conducted drug experiments on human beings.

In the course of hearings conducted by the Health Subcommittee and the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, various individuals presented shocking testimony about their experiences during and following LSD and other drug experiments. These witnesses testified that in some cases these experiments were conducted without proper medical supervision, and in many cases these drugs were administered without the subjects' knowledge or approval. The tragic result was that many "subjects" were totally unprepared to

cope with the effects of the drugs. The graphic descriptions of the physical and psychological effects of these experiments on the victims is a horrifying story of Government malfeasance. In many cases, the result was death or attempted suicide by the victims.

Action is now being taken to see that these flagrant abuses never again occur. Legislation has been introduced to extend the jurisdiction of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of biomedical and behavioral research to cover all Government agencies. This is essential if such massive abuses of individual rights are to be prevented in the future. But we should not ignore what has happened to the people who became the unwilling victims of these experiments. The Government should accept legal responsibility for any damages suffered by the victims of these experiments.

Many of those involved in these experiments were military personnel at the time. Unfortunately, the Federal Tort Claims Act precludes these people from any legal redress for injuries. If these people have suffered damages as a result of negligence by the Federal Government, the Federal Government has a responsibility to see that they are properly compensated. My bill will simply waive any jurisdictional limitations and governmental immunity to suit and allow any individual who has a claim the chance to take his case to court.

AGE OF FISCAL MISMANAGEMENT

HON. JAMES ABDNOR

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. ABDNOR. Mr. Speaker, the big spenders of the Congress may think they are doing the people of this country a big favor with their record-breaking budgets, but there is increasing evidence that the American public is beginning to think otherwise. More and more, people writing my office are expressing their dismay at the increasing deficits and what it means to the future of this Nation and its free enterprise system. They are clearly worried about our future freedom.

Mr. C. B. Shroyer, of Mitchell, put it succinctly. I want to share his letter with my colleagues:

DECEMBER 8, 1975.

JAMES ABDNOR,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

To the Honorable Congressman ABDNOR: I would like to pass on my personal viewpoint on our U.S. Government spending levels. I believe that Congress is making a fatal error in their continued disregard for the need to match spending with income. Politics being what they are, it is far easier to "look good" by voting for additional government programs and increased spending levels than it is to cut back and match the government's income level. My prediction is that I will never see a year in my lifetime where our income equals our spending. I see no way for the U.S. Government to continue ad-infinitum with this practice and avoid

a serious, if not fatal financial collapse. I know alarmist talk like this is always dismissed with "it will never happen here." However, after seriously studying the New York (City and State) and Great Britain situations, it's my belief that it will happen here. Specifically, how many years away are we from the day when our debt service charges get too big to handle with ease? I'll bet we are closer than most people think. Whatever steps we take to ease the burden at that point are bound to have serious ramifications for our major banks. The steps from there to a full blown financial crisis are short ones.

In summary, I think it is a moral crime against our sons, daughters, and friends of the next generation to continue our present overspending policies. I think history will identify this era as the "age of fiscal mismanagement." I urge you to think seriously about this and take whatever steps you can to change our present direction and head off the inevitable "day of reckoning."

Sincerely,

C. B. SHROYER.

OIL BOOM RETURNS TO PENNSYLVANIA TOWN

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, practically the entire Pennsylvania oil fields are located in the 11 counties which comprise my congressional district, the 23rd District of Pennsylvania. One of the leading cities in the 23rd district is Oil City, located in Venango County just a few miles from the location of the world's first oil well. The Drake Well, drilled in 1859, started the oil industry of the world. This oil strike is the greatest discovery of natural resource in history, coming 10 years after the discovery of gold in California. Bill Richards, a Washington Post staff writer, visited Oil City recently and wrote an article about Oil City. On the eve of the 200th anniversary of our independence, I thought it would be interesting for others to read about Oil City as it is today. The Washington Post article of November 2, 1975 follows:

OIL BOOM RETURNS TO PENNSYLVANIA TOWN

(By Bill Richards)

OIL CITY, Pa.—It is not the place it used to be—and probably never will be again—but fortunes still rise and fall by the liquid barometer of oil here near the spot where it all began.

Just a couple of Allegheny foothills away, about 15 miles up a road now lined with fat, round, bulk oil storage tanks and the stacks of refineries, is the site of the world's first oil well—a 2,000-barrel-a-year producer when it was drilled in 1859 by an unemployed railway conductor, Edwin Laurentine Drake.

Since Drake's momentous find there have been good times and some bad times here. But now, with oil bringing more than \$12 a barrel, things are once again looking up in Oil City.

There is new construction under way, including a multitiered parking garage and a \$6 million building for the Quaker State Oil Refining Corp., one of two refineries with headquarters here.

Last year Quaker State drilled 444 wells in

a swath known as the Penngrade area, running from western New York to West Virginia and Ohio. Oil exploration and production have kept the unemployment level here at 6.7 per cent, less than either the state or national average, and orders are flowing in to local businesses for supplies.

A general air of optimism prevails as a result of the sprucing up in this grimy little city (population 16,000) nestled near a bend in the Allegheny River.

"This city," Chamber of Commerce official Richard Blouse proclaimed recently, "seems to be going through a revival."

The source of this optimism is the knowledge that locked in a bed of sandstone about 800 feet beneath the surface of the Penngrade area is a storehouse of millions of barrels of high-grade crude oil.

"They keep saying we're going to run out, but we keep finding more," said Quaker State Corp. President Quentin E. Wood, an enthusiastic petroleum engineer who has been with his company for 27 years. "The oil is there," he said. "Yes sir, it sure is there."

The oil that has drawn Wood's enthusiasm and the interest of other corporate and private drillers in the last few years here is a thin, greenish-colored substance that doesn't gush from the ground like it does from deep wells in Texas and Oklahoma.

Instead, it seeps into thousands of shallow wells that have been punched down through the hillsides and stands of white oak that surround this area, rising to the surface at an average rate of a quarter of a barrel a day.

Pennsylvania crude oil is high in paraffin and lubricants unlike Western oil, which is primarily composed of an asphalt base and is low in lubricants. Most Western oil goes into the production of gasoline, but here the oil usually ends up being refined as motor oil and machinery lubricants.

There are no million-barrel gushers here, raining down black gold on the heads of dancing wildcatters. Instead, oil wells discreetly scattered across the countryside are known as "strip wells," and they are tapped about the way a Vermont farmer taps his sugar maples—a trickle at a time.

Quaker State, the most active oil producer in the area, relies on these strip wells for more than 80 per cent of the 20,000 barrels it refines daily.

There have been advantages and disadvantages to this low profile.

When the big oil fields of the Southwest began to open up in the 1920s and 1930s, much of the action shifted away from here. The hordes of prospectors, speculators, lease buyers, drillers and general hangers-on that go with an oil boom drifted West. Big refiners such as Pennzoil moved their headquarters from Oil City to Houston.

Left behind was a slumping business dependent on low-volume wells that appeared to be drying up. The discovery in the early 1960s of a method of removing additional oil from wells believed to be almost worked out still left the problem of mounting production costs eating up the profits from the relative trickle of oil coming from the ground.

"There was a time when nearly everybody around here owned at least one oil well on the side," said Blaine Luke, a 59-year-old area native who owns 150 wells on his 350-acre farm.

Luke dropped out of the oil business full-time in 1970 because, he said, "oil was selling for \$3 a barrel and no matter how hard you try with the cost of things you just can't make her work at that price."

An unexpected advantage to the low profile occurred however, when the government's price regulations on oil—imposed after prices started climbing during the Arab embargo two years ago—excluded strip wells that produced fewer than 10 barrels per day.

Federally regulated oil, which includes oil from wells drilled before 1972, is currently priced at \$5.25 per barrel, while oil drilled

from newer wells and strip wells is selling for \$12.25 per 42-gallon barrel.

The federal regulations made the abandoned oil wells here more attractive to operate and spurred the drilling and exploration of new wells.

"There's no question that oil fever is around here again," said Alan McKissick, a professional pilot who formed a small syndicate that invested about \$30,000 in two new wells here last summer.

McKissick's wells haven't paid their way yet, he said, adding in classic gambler's fashion, "but we're going to drill more wells as soon as we get more money."

The prospect of all the unregulated oil money is even more attractive to others here who own the idle wells.

After work these days, Luke and his 20-year-old son, Clark, tinker with the rusty machinery that can pump eight wells simultaneously. For an hour each night the two run the pumps and watch as each well grudgingly gives up a single barrel of oil.

The painstaking process, Luke said, is paying off. In the last year the two have tripled their income from their part-time oil business to \$6,000.

"If the government just leaves the price alone," said the small gray-haired driller as he watched the long rusty push rods that connect the wells with the pumping engine squeaking back and forth, "I just may end up being able to retire with a little money after all."

"WOMEN'S WORLD PLAN OF ACTION": NATIONAL ACTION

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the "World Plan of Action," which was the working paper of the United Nations Conference on International Women's Year, has a section titled "National Action" which is particularly relevant to this body as well as to other public and private institutions.

Since the World Plan has not been widely distributed, I am inserting this section, paragraphs 26 through 48, so that my colleagues may have this information conveniently at hand:

I. NATIONAL ACTION

26. This Plan provides guidelines for national action over the 10-year period from 1975 to 1985 as part of a sustained, long-term effort to achieve the objectives of the International Women's Year. The recommendations are not exhaustive, and should be considered in addition to the other existing international instruments and resolutions of the United Nations bodies which deal with the condition of women and the quality of life. They constitute rather the main areas for priority action within the decade.

27. The recommendations for national action in this Plan are addressed primarily to Governments, and to all public and private institutions, women's and youth organizations, employers, trade unions, mass communications media, non-governmental organizations, political parties and other groups.

28. Since there are wide divergencies in the situation of women in various societies, cultures and regions, reflected in differing needs and problems, each country should decide upon its own national strategy, and identify its own targets and priorities within the present World Plan. Given the changing conditions of society today, operative mecha-

nism for assessment should be established and targets should be linked to those set out, in particular, in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade,¹ and in the World Population Plan of Action.²

29. Changes in social and economic structures should be promoted which would make possible the full equality of women and their free access to all types of development, without discrimination of any kind, and to all types of education and employment.

30. There should be a clear commitment at all levels of government to take appropriate action to implement these targets and priorities. Commitment on the part of Governments to the ideals of equality and integration of women in society cannot be fully effective outside the larger context of commitment to transform fundamental relationships within a society in order to ensure a system that excludes the possibility of exploitation.

31. In elaborating national strategies and development plans in which women should participate, measures should be adopted to ensure that the set targets and priorities should take fully into account women's interests and needs, and make adequate provision to improve their situation and increase their contribution to the development process. There should be equitable representation of women at all levels of policy—and decision-making. Appropriate national machinery and procedures should be established if they do not already exist.

32. National plans and strategies for the implementation of this Plan should be sensitive to the needs and problems of different categories of women and of women of different age groups. However, Governments should pay special attention to improving the situation of women in areas where they have been most disadvantaged and especially of women in rural and urban areas.

33. While integrated programmes for the benefit of all members of society should be the basis for action in implementing this Plan, special measures on behalf of women whose status is the result of particularly discriminatory attitudes will be necessary.

34. The establishment of interdisciplinary and multisectoral machinery within government, such as national commissions, women's bureaus and other bodies, with adequate staff and budget, can be an effective transitional measure for accelerating the achievement of equal opportunity for women and their full integration in national life. The membership of such bodies should include both women and men, representative of all groups of society responsible for making and implementing policy decisions in the public sector. Government ministries and departments (especially those responsible for education, health, labour, justice, communications and information, culture, industry, trade, agriculture, rural development, social welfare, finance and planning), as well as appropriate private and public agencies should be represented on them.

35. Such bodies should investigate the situation of women in all fields and at all levels and make recommendations for needed legislation, policies and programmes establishing priorities. Follow-up programmes should be maintained to monitor and evaluate the progress achieved within the country to assess the implementation of the present Plan in national plans.

36. These national bodies should also co-operate in the co-ordination of similar regional and international activities, as well as those undertaken by non-governmental

organizations, and self-help programmes devised by women themselves.

37. Constitutional and legislative guarantees of the principle of non-discrimination on the ground of sex and of equal rights and responsibilities of women and men are essential. Therefore, general acceptance of the principles embodied in such legislation and a change of attitude with regard to them should be encouraged. It is also essential to ensure that the adoption and enforcement of such legislation can in itself be a significant means of influencing and changing public and private attitudes and values.

38. Governments should review their legislation affecting the status of women in the light of human rights principles and internationally accepted standards. Wherever necessary, legislation should be enacted or updated to bring national laws into conformity with the relevant international instruments. Adequate provision should also be made for the enforcement of such legislation, especially in each of the areas dealt with in chapter II of the Plan. Where they have not already done so, Governments should take steps to ratify the relevant international conventions and fully implement their provisions. It should be noted that there are States whose national legislation guarantees women certain rights which go beyond those embodied in the relevant international instruments.

39. Appropriate bodies should be specifically entrusted with the responsibility of modernizing, changing or repealing outdated national laws and regulations, keeping them under constant review, and ensuring that their provisions are applied without discrimination. These bodies could include, for example, law commissions, human rights commissions, civil liberties unions, appeals boards, legal advisory boards and the office of ombudsman. Such bodies should have full governmental support to enable them to carry out their functions effectively. Non-governmental organizations could also play an important role in ensuring that relevant legislation is adequate, up to date and applied without discrimination.

40. Appropriate measures should be taken to inform and advise women of their rights and to provide them with every other type of assistance. Accordingly, the awareness of the mass communication media should be heightened so that they may offer their broad co-operation through public education programmes. Non-governmental organizations can and/or should be encouraged to play similar roles with regard to women. In this context, special attention should be paid to the women of rural areas, whose problem is most acute.

41. Efforts to widen opportunities for women to participate in development and to eliminate discrimination against them will require a variety of measures and action by society at large through its governmental machinery and other institutions.

42. While some of the measures suggested could be carried out at minimum cost, implementation of this Plan will require a redefinition of certain priorities and a change in the pattern of government expenditure. In order to ensure adequate allocation of funds, Governments should explore all available sources of support, which are acceptable to Governments and in accordance with Governments' goals.

43. Special measures should also be envisaged to assist Governments whose resources are limited in carrying out specific projects or programmes. The Fund for International Women's Year established under Economic and Social Council resolution 1851 (LVI), in addition to multilateral and bilateral assistance which is vital for the purpose, should be extended provisionally pending further consideration as to its ultimate disposition in order to assist Governments

¹ General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970.

² See *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3).

whose resources are limited in carrying out specific programmes or projects. Women in countries holding special financial responsibilities entrusted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies with a view to assisting developing countries are called upon to make their contribution to the implementation of the goals set in connexion with the governmental assistance earmarked for improving the status of women especially of those in the under-developed States.

44. It is recognized that some of the objectives of this Plan have already been achieved in some countries, while in others they may only be accomplished progressively. Moreover, some measures by their very nature will take longer to implement than others. Governments are therefore urged to establish short-, medium- and long-term targets and objectives to implement the Plan.

45. On the basis of this World Plan of Action the United Nations Secretariat should elaborate a two-year plan of its own, containing several most important objectives, aiming at the implementation of the World Plan of Action under the current control of the Commission on the Status of Women, and the over-all control of the General Assembly.

46. By the end of the first five-year period (1975-1980) the achievement of the following should be envisaged as a minimum:

- (a) Marked increase in literacy and civic education of women, especially in rural areas;

- (b) The extension of co-educational technical and vocation training in basic skills to women and men in the industrial and agricultural sectors;

- (c) Equal access at every level of education, compulsory primary school education and the measures necessary to prevent school drop-outs;

- (d) Increased employment opportunities for women, reduction of unemployment and increased efforts to eliminate discrimination in the terms and conditions of employment;

- (e) The establishment and increase of the infrastructural services required in both rural and urban areas;

- (f) The enactment of legislation on voting and eligibility for election on equal terms with men and equal opportunity and conditions of employment including remuneration and on equality in legal capacity and the exercise thereof;

- (g) To encourage a greater participation of women in policy-making positions at the local, national and international levels;

- (h) Increased provision for comprehensive measures for health education and services, sanitation, nutrition, family education, family planning and other welfare services;

- (i) Provision for parity in the exercise of civil, social and political rights such as those pertaining to marriage, citizenship and commerce;

- (j) Recognition of the economic value of women's work in the home in domestic food production and marketing and voluntary activities not traditionally remunerated;

- (k) To direct formal, non-formal and life-long education towards the re-evaluation of the man and woman, in order to ensure their full realization as an individual in the family and in society;

- (l) The promotion of women's organizations as an interim measure within workers' organizations and educational, economic and professional institutions;

- (m) The development of modern rural technology, cottage industry, pre-school day centres, time and energy saving devices so as to help reduce the heavy work load of women, particularly those living in rural sectors and for the urban poor and thus facilitate the full participation of women in community, national and international affairs;

- (n) The establishment of an inter-disciplinary

and multi-sectoral machinery within the government for accelerating the achievement of equal opportunities for women and their full integration into national life.

47. These minimum objectives should be developed in more specific terms in regional plans of action.

48. The active involvement of non-governmental women's organizations in the achievement of the goals of the 10-year World Plan of Action at every level and especially by the effective utilization of volunteer experts and in setting up and in running of institutions and projects for the welfare of women and the dissemination of information for their advancement.

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE MID-AMERICA REGION

Hon. Theodore M. (Ted) Risenhoover
OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. RISENHOOVER. Mr. Speaker, Oklahoma has produced no greater leader and innovator than the late Senator Robert S. Kerr. Today, Oklahoma and this Nation are fortunate that his son, Robert S. Kerr, Jr., inherited the father's imagination, courage, and dedication to public service.

At a public forum on domestic policy chaired by Vice President ROCKEFELLER at Austin, Tex., last November 11, Mr. Kerr, as president of Oklahoma Water, Inc., and the Water Development Foundation of Oklahoma, Inc., issued a proposal which demands national attention and has my full support and endorsement.

A plan for orderly development of mid-America—that expanse of our Nation from the Mississippi River to the Rockies—is dramatically sketched in the fascinating position paper by Mr. Kerr which I will furnish upon request to interested persons.

A summary of Mr. Kerr's proposals—including the idea of a mid-America development association—merits review by Congress. Therefore, I include it in the RECORD:

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE MID-AMERICA REGION—SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

(By Robert S. Kerr, Jr.)

The development of Mid-America represents the challenge to our nation throughout the balance of this century. As a matter of national interest, it is imperative that we adopt a policy of preferred growth such as I've proposed.

Continued growth is inevitable, but it can be controlled if proper planning is performed, and if proper methods are applied.

First, an incentive to encourage the natural migration pattern which is already evident is needed. Such an incentive could be extended by the Federal Government through investments in water and other resource programs which are badly needed in the Mid-America region. Not only would thousands of people be put to work in constructing resource projects, creating an immediate economic transformation in many areas, but the end result would be projects which would beneficially serve both present and future populations. In the case of water development, the benefits would be in the form of assured water supplies to support the new

population base; increased agricultural production from irrigated acreages; impetus for industrial expansion; flood control benefits; recreational opportunities; and the benefits to be derived from the development of navigable waterways.

A federal investment in water resource development would, then, begin paying dividends almost immediately. It would pay large returns through the creation of jobs, the stabilization of the economy and the encouragement of fiscal responsibility, and would act as a magnet for private investment. The federal program should "prime the pump", to create the infra-structure of a state-regional-federal cooperative effort.

To plan and initiate policy, a Mid-America Development Association should be established. This association should be composed of representatives of the various states of the region, specifically the governors of those states; representatives from the private sector and responsible representatives of various environmental and special interest groups. The association would eventually eliminate the need for the multitude of federal agencies which now control the strings of regional economic development.

The association would be the agency responsible for the development and implementation of preferred growth and economic policies for Mid-America. It provides the most viable method of assuring that the ultimate development of the region is controlled by the state, regional and local interests who have the most to gain—and the most to lose—from such development. Let me emphasize here that I am proposing a mechanism by which the states within the Mid-America region will recapture and retain control over their own destinies. The states themselves will be responsible for making their own plans and establishing their own priorities. The challenge of the Federal Government in this instance is to cooperate—rather than to regulate.

In essence, I concur with Senator Jacob K. Javits' remarks for Limits to Growth '75: "What the United States needs is a national policy on growth, a 'Balanced Growth Policy' that strives to meet our basic needs for decent housing, education, jobs, public services, a healthy and a better environment, and sets priorities in these areas and proposals for achieving these goals. We need to take into account the rapid exhaustion of our non-renewable resources—or of imported materials which are under monopoly control—and develop conservation measures that will conserve and use these resources wisely. We must find some means of reconciling a more mature growth rate with greater—not less equality of opportunity and a decent standard of living. And we must do this without sapping individual initiative and creativity, which has been the mainspring of this society. We can never permit a state in which we are all wards of the state."

I believe the program I've proposed will serve the dual national interests of helping to create a dynamic domestic policy and of making government more responsible to the people it serves.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

America today faces great challenges in developing a domestic policy for the future.

The development of the nation's natural resources presents the greatest challenge, and is the cornerstone of all other domestic policies.

Water resource development is the key to natural resource development because of the essential nature of water to all things.

The nation's population will continue to grow, and the challenge is to develop a policy of preferred growth to direct it to the areas which can best accommodate it.

The Mid-America region, with its many

inherent advantages, represents the most logical area. Immigration, in fact, is already occurring there.

The federal role should be to provide incentives to draw people into the region.

The region itself should determine the scope and substance of the development.

The most viable way to assure this is to create a private, autonomous association to plan for and direct the development of the region.

THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, I had the honor and privilege of being one of three judges to evaluate the Waterbury, Conn., entries in the Voice of Democracy contest and to select the local winner to go on to the next level of the competition. As I am sure my colleagues are aware, the Voice of Democracy program is a patriotic script writing scholarship competition sponsored each year by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, its ladies auxiliary, and the National and State Associations of Broadcasters.

Local posts of the VFW organize the programs in the communities, which are open to public, parochial, and private high school students in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. The competition I was invited to help judge was sponsored by the Wheeler-Young VFW Post No. 201 of Waterbury, under the chairmanship of Mr. Oscar Teubner, and was indeed an inspiration to all involved. My fellow judges were Waterbury mayor-elect Edward Bergin and Mr. Frank DeZinno, executive assistant to incumbent Mayor Victor Mambruno.

The theme for this year's contest is "What Our Bicentennial Heritage Means to Me," and the entries provided heartening proof that the young men and women in our high schools do take their great heritage seriously and look with clear-eyed optimism to the future. Reading or listening to the scripts prepared by these young Americans can give us all hope for an even greater country in the next 200 years, remembering past accomplishments and learning from past mistakes.

The three finalists in the local judging were Bruce Charpie, age 17, of 113 Clowes Terrace, Waterbury, a student at Wilby High School, Timothy J. Maloney, age 16, of 61 Rosemont Avenue, Waterbury, a student at John F. Kennedy High School, and William Gruber, age 16, of 19 Dewberry Road, Waterbury, a student at Crosby High School. All submitted outstanding entries, but we finally awarded first place to Bill Gruber, for his thoughtful and mature essay, which I offer for my colleagues' consideration:

WHAT THE BICENTENNIAL MEANS TO ME, A YOUNG AMERICAN
(By Bill Gruber)

America: A word that means many things. To some people it means everything.
America: A call. A shout. A way of life.

America: For Two Hundred Years, something men have died for, and lived for: with no other purpose than to protect the values and ideals for which it stands.

That is what the bicentennial means to me.

PART I

It is hard for me to talk about this country. I sustain the somewhat unpopular opinion that America is the greatest country in the world. People don't feel such dated emotions as patriotism anymore. Perhaps I am a bit naive in the minds of progressive thinkers, but I still hold great stock in such ideals as democracy and liberty-and-justice-for-all.

I feel this is a time to glance back at past accomplishments; There have been many. And past mistakes; we must be sure they do not happen again. Certainly it is a time to fly flags and have parades, but the important thing is to sit down and think. Where are we going? What can I do to help this country—my country?

No one really likes to talk politics, but we must. We must get involved in government. We don't have to run for office, but at least get off of our duffs and vote. After all, isn't that what government by the people is all about?

We must stop trying to tear apart government agencies. Everyone wants a perfect system. There is no such thing. Organizations such as the C.I.A. are vital to the preservation of the ideals which Americans hold dear. If, at times, they must do acts which may seem unconventional, let us consider them a necessary evil. By opening them up and destroying effectiveness, we are draining our own life blood.

This is a time to realize that we must accept a less than perfect system. It is run by people. They are not supermen. They will, from time to time make mistakes. Despite it's imperfection, I still think that the United States has the best form of government going. In this world, anyway.

PART II

How can I help?

For the average teenager, who cannot vote, and has little say in how the government is run, the means of contribution are limited. In my opinion, the thing to do is to take the country seriously. Stop to appreciate things that American youth take for granted. Begin to develop a positive attitude about this country of ours. And prepare ourselves to help out when our time comes.

As for myself, I am applying in the Spring of 1976 for a nomination to a United States Service Academy. I desire a career in the armed forces of the United States. I feel I can make no greater contribution. I am prepared to spend my life in the service of America. This country has been around for the last two hundred years, and from what I've seen in the last sixteen, I love it.

In a very short time, we young people are going to have the greatest country in the world dropped right in our laps. To others, that may seem an awesome and unfortunate responsibility. As for me. . . I can't wait.

VOTING RIGHTS

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleagues. I am today introducing legislation which if passed into law

will alleviate an inequity within the U.S. Postal Service affecting the voting rights of many Americans.

The U.S. Postal Service's current practice regarding absentee ballots with insufficient postage imperils the voting rights of any citizen who may avail himself or herself of this privilege to the extent of possibly denying franchise to such an individual. If the Postal Service receives an absentee ballot with insufficient postage, their current practice is to open said ballot to attempt to ascertain a return address thus risking the possibility of invalidating the ballot. If no return address is found, the ballot is offered to the addressee for delivery upon payment of the postage due plus a 10-percent fee. This practice places a financial burden on the addressee; namely, the auditor's office, which they may or may not be willing to assume.

In my correspondence with the Postal Service on this matter they assert that there is "no need to be unduly concerned." My assertion, Mr. Speaker, is that if this practice denies the franchise of just one American citizen then it must be altered.

The legislation that I introduce today will guarantee the delivery of these absentee ballots without denying the Postal Service their right to collect any postage due.

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVEY RESULTS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom over the past several years, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the results of a recent telephone poll I conducted among residents of the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania.

The poll dealt with the growing problem of financing the Federal social security program and participants were asked their opinion of a proposal to use general revenue funds to help offset the continued rising costs now borne by employers and employees. In short, they were asked if they wanted the Federal Government to assume a full one-third partnership in the social security program. The participants were furnished information "pro and con" on the proposal before being asked their opinion.

The results showed 1,184 of those contacted favored the proposal; 856 opposed it and 643 expressed no preference.

Mr. Speaker, there are approximately 3,000 persons who voluntarily participate in these periodic polls and based on the latest response from 2,683 of them it means an amazing 88 percent of those contacted demonstrated an interest in their Government. It makes me extremely proud to represent such people and appreciative of their willingness to share their views with me.