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a restriction; crude oil can be imported from anywhere.

I pointed out earlier that the major oil companies misled the Government and precipitated the current crisis; that is, I know, the view of Gen. George Lincoln, retiring chairman of the Oil Policy Committee. The irony is that the action taken by the administration last week will benefit the major oil companies most, for these companies are now permitted to import the massive quantities of No. 2 fuel oil that they have been accumulating abroad and supply their own marketing systems at the expense of the consumer.

I urge that the Government monitor the performance of the majors in the next few months to determine whether they are using imported supplies to reduce domestic refinery runs of No. 2 fuel oil and turn out more gasoline instead or are responding to present emergencies. The majors precipitated this problem; they should not be permitted to profit from it.

I should like now to turn to the long-term implications of the President's actions, their impact on fuel oil supplies in subsequent winters.

In brief, the proclamation of January 17 is not the formula for the instant panacea to New England oil problems. By reimposing controls on April 30 and reducing home heating oil imports to 1972 levels, the administration guarantees that the grim cycle of the current winter will be repeated next year. And it could be even worse in 1973-74.

First. Home heating oil demand will continue to soar, by 5 to 10 percent to at least 150,000 barrels per day.

Second. Gasoline demand will continue to rise—also by 5 to 10 percent.

Third. Domestic refining capacity will remain the same.

Fourth. Import levels seem destined to remain at 50,000 barrels per day.

A fourth grade mathematics student would easily conclude on the basis of these facts that there will be a fuel oil shortage next year and that it could be worse than the current one.

Given these facts, it is clear that action must be taken by April 30, at the latest, to assure that no homes or schools or hospitals are without heat during the winter of 1973-74.

We cannot permit the delays and the miscalculations that have caused the present crisis. And I wish to make clear that a prime objective of the New England delegation, and we will, I am sure, be joined in our effort by delegations from the rest of the east coast and Middle West, will be to assure that effective decisions on next year's heating oil import program are taken by April 30, 1973. We will take this winter's lesson and press for action in time to avoid runouts and crisis and disruption.

Our objectives are simple and they can be easily and promptly implemented by the administration:

First, continuation of the decontrol of No. 2 fuel oil on a permanent basis. District I is the area of the highest consumption of this product, and as imports move into our area, additional domestic

supplies will become available to the Middle West.

Second, complete and permanent removal of the Western Hemisphere restriction on all imports of No. 2 fuel oil.

Mr. President, fuel oil shortages need not occur. The crisis which now faces the east coast and the Middle West could have been avoided if the warnings of the past 8 months had been heeded. All of us who represent those areas must pledge now to our citizens to work to assure that the vicious cycle of the past year will never be repeated; and that the outdated bankrupt oil import restrictions that have contributed to the crisis will be completely and permanently removed.

HARRY S TRUMAN

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, Harry Truman had the responsibilities of the Presidency thrust upon him overnight. He was confronted with a series of tough, unprecedented decisions—with nothing less than the future security of the free world at stake. He never shrank from those decisions, despite the hostile environment of those postwar years. It can be said that his greatest decisions were made when the public polls gave him the lowest ratings. His courage, his wisdom, and his decisiveness in that period shaped the future course of the Western World.

I am proud to have served in the House of Representatives during the Presidency of Harry Truman and proud to have supported him in his efforts to maintain the security of the free world. With the passing of the years, his place in history—and in the hearts of his countrymen—is ever more assured. He will be known as he is already—as one of our country's greatest Presidents.

VIETNAM

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the recent indiscriminate bombing of North Vietnam, undertaken in the 2 weeks before Christmas, has aroused the indignation of thoughtful citizens across this country.

I believe that a recent editorial in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, which appeared on December 31, is one of the clearest and strongest expressions of opposition to the President's policy which has appeared in any of the print media. This editorial is yet another reminder of the dangers inherent in the bombing campaign of the President, and the need for quick and effective congressional action to reverse the drift of power from Congress to the President.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

UNITED STATES SHOULD GET OUT OF WAR—NOW

America, the world's wealthiest, most powerful nation, with a population of 200 million people, has for the past 10 days been engaged in probably the most massive sus-

tained bombing attack in the history of warfare.

The victims are the people of North Vietnam, a small, impoverished, underdeveloped rural Asian country with a population of 21 million peasants. In area, North Vietnam is much smaller than the state of Minnesota, having 61,000 square miles of territory compared with Minnesota's 84,000.

More than 10 million pounds of deadly explosives have been dropped on the heavily populated Hanoi-Haiphong area in a single day. On President Nixon's personal orders, without consultation with Congress, this holocaust has been in progress since Dec. 18. It is part of an American military policy which has wreaked havoc in North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos with more than 7 million tons of bombs since 1965.

Nixon told the American people that peace would come in 1972. Instead, even in friendly South Vietnam, 1972 produced more war victims than any previous year of the conflict—2 million new refugees, 200,000 or more civilian casualties with more than half of these being women and children. And this says nothing of what has happened in North Vietnam.

America's current annihilation campaign in the Hanoi-Haiphong area has brought a wave of moral revulsion in many parts of the world. Members of the West Germany Parliament from Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic party appealed to Nixon to stop the bombing. In Sweden the leaders of that country's five political parties joined in similar action. In Australia the shipping unions have banned further services to American vessels until the bombing ends. There are protests in France and Japan. Russia and China say friendly relations with the United States are threatened.

President Nixon, keeping himself in seclusion and avoiding direct questioning by the press, lets subordinates explain that the terror bombing is to force Hanoi officials to sign a peace agreement meeting his own terms. These terms are designed to perpetuate the near dictatorial rule of President Thieu in South Vietnam. This is an impossible goal, for the Vietnamese people themselves are divided by civil war and political dissension which will continue in the future, no matter what papers are signed by officials.

If present Washington policies continue, the main hope for American disengagement from the Indochina quagmire appears to be action by the United States Congress in the coming session to deny funds for continuation of this cancerous and futile war.

Such action was voted by the Senate last August but rejected by the House. A majority of members of the new Senate have stated their support for a new effort. A group of House Democrats has appealed to the Democratic National Committee to join a stop-the-war coalition with like-minded Republicans.

Some Republicans who formerly backed President Nixon on the war have shifted their position. One is Senator William Saxbe of Ohio, who said the President "appears to have lost his senses."

A military aid authorization bill is scheduled to come before Congress in the early weeks of the new session. This may become the vehicle for a new expression of antiwar sentiment in the Senate and House.

America has given President Thieu and his Saigon regime every reasonable support to enable it to stand on its own feet in Indochina for the future. Beyond that, the United States should not go. The time is long since past when there was any justification for continued American military action in that part of the world.

If it takes a congressional rebellion against presidential war-making powers to bring the White House to a disengagement policy, then that is the action which should be taken.

American participation in this misguided adventure in Vietnam should be brought to an end.

THE KRESGE FOUNDATION

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, nearly 50 years ago the Kresge Foundation was established by Sebastian S. Kresge, a giant in the merchandising field. Since then the Kresge Foundation has been of great assistance in many worthy causes in Michigan, in the Nation, and in the world.

The foundation is now under the leadership of the founder's son, Stanley S. Kresge, of Birmingham, Mich., who is one of Michigan's most distinguished citizens.

Mr. President, an excellent article about the Kresge Foundation, its leadership, and activities appeared recently in the Legal Advertiser of Oakland County. It was written by Stephen T. Spilos, a well known Michigan historian who, incidentally, is a member of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Spilos be printed in the RECORD.

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

KRESGE HAS DEEP ROOTS IN MICHIGAN (By Steve Spilos)

There is no greater proof that a great institution has a deep and abiding interest in humanity than the fine work of The Kresge Foundation which helps many worthy causes nationally, and internationally, and takes a special interest in Detroit area projects.

In philanthropic circles, it is known as a "bricks and mortar" foundation, giving assistance to already established institutions and non-profit organizations when they have a need for additional facilities.

The amazing factor—although it is a phenomenal achievement—is not in the construction of these Kresge buildings, which number into the hundreds, but what goes on inside of them once they are completed.

Good examples are the Kresge Eye Institute of Wayne State University, the Kresge Hearing Center at the University of Michigan, Children's Village, world-renowned for its service to children from broken homes, and what to some may seem a remote endeavor—yet vital to the people it serves—a training center for flying doctors at Nairobi, Kenya, where there is about one doctor for every 40,000 persons.

Since it began nearly 50 years ago, the Kresge Foundation has helped many colleges and universities—510 in all, by the latest count. This is a significant and coincidental number indeed, considering the business of the founder, Sebastian S. Kresge, who opened his first "five and ten" cent store in Detroit in 1899.

Kresge's variety store chain developed very rapidly, and his wealth far exceeded his expectations. Inheritance taxes were not a compelling factor when he established his Foundation "to better serve humanity" on June 11, 1924, during the 25th anniversary of the S. S. Kresge Company.

Including his initial gift of \$1,300,000, Kresge made 14 separate endowments to the Foundation for a total of \$60,577,183. Today the assets of the Foundation are nearly \$900 million. The increase is largely credited to the Kresge stock that was held by the Foundation.

However, apart from stock holdings, the two operations—the Company and the Foundations—are not related in any way.

During its existence Foundation grants have added up to more than \$109 million. In response to 700 applicants requesting \$150 million in 1972, appropriations were \$28 million, indicating there are always more requests for money than there are funds available.

S. S. Kresge worked out his plans for the Foundation with his lawyer, Paul W. Voorhies, who was president of the Foundation for 28 years. Voorhies also served as attorney general for the state of Michigan and trustee of Albion, the first college to receive a sizable grant from the Foundation.

When Voorhies died in 1952, he was succeeded as president by Sebastian's son, Stanley S. Kresge, who is now chairman of the board. Sebastian died Oct. 18, 1966, at the age of 99, and in the next annual report of the Foundation his son expressed a very strong conviction.

"This world will not be greatly improved," he said, "until and unless the teachings, experience and spirit of Jesus Christ are more fully understood and applied in our lives and promoted throughout the land."

The work of those who labored for the purposes of the Foundation throughout the years has been distinguished by harmony and a fine spirit of dedication to the aims of the founder.

Donald F. Valley, who retired in 1971, and the late Howard C. Baldwin also served with distinction, and they were both directors of the S. S. Kresge Company. Baldwin served until his mandatory retirement March 15, 1963, three months before he died. He was succeeded in both positions by his son, William H. Baldwin, president of the Foundation.

Other members of the board of trustees are Amos F. Gregory, treasurer, Wilbur K. Pierpont, George Russell and Bruce A. Kresge, M.D. Additional officers include Wesley R. Baker, secretary and assistant treasurer, and Alfred H. "Ted" Taylor, Jr., vice president of administration.

A competent secretarial staff—Florence M. Johnson, Virginia M. Jeffrey and Shirley A. Mueller—perform the daily functions of the office, keep the officers on schedule, and in 1971 alone sent out approximately 8,000 pieces of correspondence.

The Foundation offices are located at 1500 N. Woodward Avenue in Birmingham, Michigan. Formerly they were situated in the Detroit Bank and Trust Company Building on west Ford Street.

The Foundation was started in the original Kresge Building, now the Kales Building, at Park and Adams. Next spring the Foundation will move to the Standard Federal Savings and Loan Association Building in Somerset Mall on Big Beaver Road in Troy, Michigan.

Although the work of the Kresge Foundation spans many years, a brief summary of its activities shows the variety and magnitude of the projects that concern and interest the Foundation, which serves millions of people in all walks of life.

Foundation grants are as diverse as the activities of the people they reach, ranging from aid in the early days for refugee Chinese intellectuals to present construction of adobe schools by Indians themselves in the pueblos of the southwest.

Detroit and Michigan area grants alone include gifts to the Interlochen National Music Camp, where students from all over the world receive training in music, arts and drama; support of the Artrain of the Michigan Council for the Arts, funds for Camp Oakland—an extensive youth program that provides a summer vacation for 500 underprivileged children every year—libraries for both Wayne State and Oakland Universities, a Medical Center for the University of Michigan, an Art Center for Michigan State University, and substantial contributions to the Meadow Brook Music Festival and Baldwin

Memorial Pavilion, where thousands of people every season enjoy the best in music.

Recent citations presented by the Detroit Historical Society and the Detroit Institute of Arts to Stanley S. Kresge praise the Foundation's gift to the Cultural Center, including a Ford-Kresge building for the new Center for Creative Studies—a project of the Detroit Society of Arts and Crafts—renovation of an old mansion to provide a new library for Merrill Palmer Institute, a Kresge Court and a new wing for the Art Institute, sponsorship of the annual Family Book Fair at the Detroit Public Library, a Kresge Exhibit Hall for the Detroit Historical Museum, and the Science Library at Wayne State University.

Many Detroit organizations have received helpful assistance from the Kresge Foundation—the YMCA and YWCA, Friends School, Salvation Army, Lutheran School for the Deaf, Goodwill Industries, League for the Handicapped, World Medical Relief, Michigan Cancer Society, United Foundation, and others.

In its special consideration of Detroit, the Kresge Foundation has made great contributions to New Detroit, Inc., and to the new Medical Center, where Children's Hospital got its start in 1886 with a ward of 12 beds in old Harper Hospital.

Mrs. Gerard Slattery, chairman, has served Children's Hospital for many years. When the Kresge Foundation donated funds for four classrooms and a medical library for student nurses, interns and staff physicians, she was elated.

"Stan and Dorothy Kresge are two of the finest people I know," she said. "They gave us \$400,000 from their own funds for an auditorium—on their 40th wedding anniversary."

The auditorium serves many useful purposes. It has a seating capacity of 350 and is used by a great number of medical groups, and for "battered children" conferences, which are attended by parents of these unfortunate youngsters, as well as doctors, lawyers and social workers.

NEW YORK TIMES SALUTES EASTERN WILDERNESS BILL

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Senators JACKSON and BUCKLEY have introduced a bill, S. 316, to add 19 new areas of Eastern wilderness to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

I was proud to cosponsor this measure, and am happy to note that the New York Times endorsed the bill and its need in an editorial entitled "The Wild East," published on Monday, January 22, 1973.

Because it provides such an excellent explanation of the purpose of the bill, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Jan. 22, 1973]

THE WILD EAST

If the word "wilderness" were mentioned in a word association test, most people in the eastern United States would immediately respond with the matching word, "West." It is natural to think of the towering Grand Tetons in Wyoming or the rugged Alpine beauty of Glacier National Park. It takes reflection to realize that many stretches of genuine wilderness still exist within a day's drive of the crowded cities of the East.

Senators Jackson, Washington Democrat, and Buckley, New York Conservative-Republican, have reintroduced a bill they sponsored in the last Congress to protect eleven wilderness areas in the East, scattered from