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remain unrelenting. To a midget in a crowded elevator the whole world smells differently. Beside the pressure groups there are practical political problems. Senator Muskie who authored the Act needs a graceful way to retreat, and the exit is not readily apparent. He will stall for time by calling for a National Academy of Science study. But others on the Senate Committees are more realistically concerned with the consequences of doing nothing. Hopefully the Chairman will moderate his position and do the right thing. Being right is one way to be President, although recent events would indicate it is certainly not the only way.

Without such changes there is no way that coal, our most abundant resource, can play the meaningful role it is expected to play in meeting our future energy needs. Nor is there enough low sulfur fuel available anywhere to meet the demand under present standards without massive imports. Nor can we afford to delay further exploration or development of promising areas off-shore or the North Slope.

Concurrent with a necessary companion for compromises in the environmental field is a quantum jump in research and development and massive federal funding for this purpose. Such an effort is needed to accelerate the development of technology that will in fact permit us to achieve the desirable goals of clean air and clean water. Such an effort is required to improve our techniques for discovery and winning the mineral resources that we need and to utilize them more efficiently. Research and development will be directed toward the removal of pollutants, more efficient underground mining methods, more efficient combustion of fuels, the development of synthetics, the use of energy sources not now in common use such as oil shale, solar, and geothermal, and in the nuclear field the breeder and ultimately the fusion process.

To accomplish these research and development goals, a further change in the government setup has been proposed. An Energy Research and Development Administration has been proposed to assume the present research activities now conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission and the research functions of the Department of Interior. A new and separate Nuclear Energy Commission would deal with the non-R&D functions of atomic energy. The concentration of research into a single agency makes very good sense organizationally but, like all proposed government reorganizations it will meet resistance. Both the creation of ERDA as well as the Department of Energy & National Resources (DNER) which subsumes most energy functions of the Interior Department and requires more than 35,000 employees and \$3 billion of budget from other departments such as Commerce, Transportation, and the Army are bound to meet opposition from those departments and from the Congressional committees which oversee these activities. Power in Washington is prized and never easily surrendered.

In solving our energy crisis I would expect that the great thrust will be made in increasing and utilizing domestic supplies but there will also be legislation that will affect demand. This will take three broad forms. First will be legislation designed to force the conservation of energy by eliminating wasteful uses. Second will be standby legislation to ration supplies in emergency situations. Third will be legislation or regulation to channel certain fuels to their best use and to prohibit the use of certain fuels for certain purposes. Where a reasonable alternative exists, natural or synthetic gas will be barred as boiler fuels and channeled into direct use for space heating and residential needs. A higher percentage of our energy

needs will be supplied by electricity and coal and uranium will be used primarily for this purpose. Liquid fuels will be channeled to transportation uses where solid fuels cannot be utilized.

The energy situation can only be solved if the production of coal and uranium is increased very sharply. Coal has a critical and obvious role to play. The coal is there. It is a versatile raw material which with advancing technologies can be utilized directly as a fuel and also to supply synthetic gas and synthetic crude as a substitute for imported oil. Nuclear energy must supply a greater share of our electrical output and the production of uranium must rise and rise very rapidly to meet the accelerating demand. Unlike coal much of the uranium that will be required is yet to be discovered but the geological prospects are good. The breeder reactor and ultimately the fusion process are promising long-range solutions to much of our energy needs and will be pursued as research projects of high priority. The mining industry will be challenged to produce the coal and uranium required, and this will necessitate heavy investment in new facilities as well as a substantial recruitment and training of the necessary manpower.

There will also be significant changes on the economic side because such changes are essential to stimulate domestic discovery and development. The price of new supplies of natural gas will be allowed to reach its true value in the market place. The prices for other domestic fuels will rise to induce supply, to cover the increased cost of discovery and development of new mineral resources, and to put the natural resources industries in a financial position that will permit them to raise the massive amounts of capital that will be required. Other incentives—direct and indirect—will stimulate the development of improved transportation facilities private research and development expenditures, more rapid investment in supply-producing ventures. On the negative side, there will be less adverse legislation that would thwart or blunt the objective of increasing our domestic energy base. Changes in the tax laws will more likely be helpful than harmful. Surface mining legislation will hopefully be realistic enough so that the mining industry can live with it.

If we take these steps promptly, the energy crisis can be reduced to manageable proportions by 1985. By then we could be saving the equivalent of 7 million barrels of oil daily through conservation methods. Additional supplies equivalent to 9 million barrels daily could be forthcoming through new oil and gas wells, through vigorous pursuit of conversion of coal to synthetics and expanded coal production, production from oil shale. By this time new technologies for cleaning stack gases will be available and in place.

On this basis we could reduce our need for imported oil to 2 million to 4 million barrels daily by 1985. In constant dollars but even after allowing the cost of imported crude to rise from \$3.75 to \$6 a barrel, the drain on our balance of payments would be from \$4 billion to \$8 billion, compared to \$3 billion in 1970.

This assumes, of course, that we attack the problem promptly and vigorously as I have suggested. Failure to do so could cause us either to incur a \$32 billion deficit for imported oil in 1985 or to face the consequences of underemployment, a reduced standard of living, and all the sacrifices in life values that are the handmaidens of an energy-starved society.

The stakes are large. The time is short. The matter is of the highest urgency. We have had a period of temporary insanity but the time has come to get on with the job. Private enterprise and Government, working together, can get the job done. So let's go do it.

SENATOR MONDALE'S STUDY OF THE STATE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, I am sure my colleagues have had the same disquieting thought that has plagued me for many months now. In all the furor over the pressing issues of the moment—from Watergate to inflation to food and fuel shortages and back again—are we in the Congress, and the opinion molders outside the Congress, being distracted from those chronic social maladies that in the long run may be far more portentous?

For my part, I have long felt that a good many of our problems stem directly from rampant urbanization, a phenomenon that has taken an even greater psychic toll than its cost in crime, pollution, impossible traffic congestion, and street violence.

While we direct attention and funding to the specific symptoms, we stubbornly refuse to face up to the fact that these are, after all, just the surface evidence of an illness that can only be cured by a revolution in thinking about where and how people should live and make a living and how to restore that all important sense of community to the American milieu.

Now Mr. President, I grant that it is most difficult to keep the long view in perspective when we are bombarded day by day with crises, but a few of our colleagues, very few, have managed to do just that.

So today I want to salute the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, the Honorable WALTER F. MONDALE, for his rejection of the crisis mentality and his determination to look beneath symptoms to underlying causes.

For Senator MONDALE is piercing through the need for a restoration of an American sense of community to reach and examine an even more elemental need—a restoration of the American sense of family.

Mr. President, the September 29 issue of the Christian Science Monitor editorialized on our colleague's study of the "State of the Family," declaring that "no subject is of greater long-term importance for the Nation."

As the Monitor so rightly points out:

All the national issues impinge on the family. The state of the family tempers or aggravates all the national issues. It affects all Americans, including those who couldn't care less about the national scene.

So I salute the senior Senator from Minnesota, and I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the Christian Science Monitor editorial printed in the RECORD to focus attention upon and to encourage support for his efforts.

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

STATE OF THE FAMILY

Sen. Walter Mondale said no, he didn't think the state of the American family was the stuff presidential issues are made of—not compared to living costs, taxes, etc. But he was interested in the family anyway and

looking forward to hearings on the subject by a subcommittee he heads.

That was last June. Since then Mr. Mondale has been spoken of more and more as a potential Democratic candidate for president. The developing issues are economy, energy, environment, governmental integrity, almost anything but the family.

Yet Senator Mondale's subcommittee has now held those hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures." And, in a fundamental sense—presidential issue or not—no subject is of greater long-term importance for the nation.

All the national issues impinge on the family. The state of the family tempers or aggravates all the national issues. It affects all Americans, including those who couldn't care less about the national scene.

The Mondale subcommittee made a thoughtful start with Robert Coles, a Pulitzer Prize winner this year for his books on the minority and backwoods families whom the nation tends to forget. Dr. Coles and others reportedly told the committee that unemployment was the most critical problem for many families. He made a penetrating observation about the possible psychological echoes within such a family:

"A jobless man's situation becomes a wife's mood, a child's feeling about what is in store for him or her, too."

This mental and emotional realm is what Americans must consider in addition to legislative measures to combat unemployment and poverty.

Reducing economic pressures is only one step toward family stability. Numberless families are unstable without such pressures. And Dr. Coles's books show the pride and family feeling that can survive even in circumstances which, to the middle American outsider, would seem reduced indeed.

With the best will in the world, subcommittees cannot supply the affection, responsibility, selflessness, and other human qualities needed to make the family relationship work. These depend on the individual, no matter what the shape of the family—small and "nuclear," large and "extended," or any of the 57 varieties seen as possibilities for the future.

If society cannot create these qualities by fiat, it can provide an atmosphere of expectation for the qualities that cement family life rather than shatter it.

In the go-ahead land of America, keeping up with the Joneses has always meant keeping up with what the Joneses can afford to own. The time is overdue to redefine the Joneses—not as people whose possessions are worth matching but as people whose lives are worth matching. Such a change could come only as members of families, and society in general, display the actions and attitudes to reinforce sound values.

The Mondale hearings made no big splash. But their very existence was encouraging in that they virtually cried out with—and for—something that has been muted lately: a government's concern for its people. And concern is itself a family quality for the Joneses to keep up with.

CAPITULATION IN VIENNA

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the Vienna government's capitulation to Arab terrorists, closing the borders of Austria to Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union en route to Israel, is terribly distressing.

Austria has yielded to pressure and so invites greater pressure, if not upon her-

self, then upon other nations. No fire can be extinguished by pouring more fuel upon it.

The Austrian decision beckons further violence in Europe, and discourages moderation on both sides of the Arab-Israeli dispute. It was an act of weakness in a crisis which called for strength.

As long as Austria offered itself as a way station to freedom for Jews leaving Russia, it earned the respect and gratitude of free men everywhere. One hopes that the Austrian Government will reconsider its lamentable decision, and reopen its gates to people who seek only a temporary refuge, a gathering place from which they may reach their promised land.

IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention section 21 of S. 2335 emphasizing the fact that the agreements reached for termination of hostilities in Vietnam and in all of Indochina will be effective only if they are faithfully observed by all the signatories. The section also declares that it is the sense of Congress that the United States should not furnish economic or military assistance to any parties violating the agreements.

I originally introduced a separate bill, S. 848, calling for a mandatory prohibition on rendering such assistance to violators of the peace settlement. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee subsequently incorporated the bill in its present modified form as a provision of S. 2335.

I believe the mandatory nature of my original proposal would have been more compelling in influencing all parties to abide by their treaty obligations in order to assure a lasting and just settlement in Vietnam. To this end, therefore, I call upon the administration to give full weight to the sense of Congress as expressed in section 22.

In calling upon the application of the section equally to any violator, I would particularly remind the administration of the continuation of the agonizing uncertainty of the families of those brave and dedicated Americans missing in action and of the failure of Hanoi to honor its agreement to facilitate the search for determining their fate. Certainly we have an obligation to employ every means at our command to assure that the North Vietnamese honor this obligation vital to the peace of mind of many American citizens.

We must also be insistent that the Saigon Government stand by its obligations, especially in the light of section 20 of the bill which declares that it is the sense of Congress to deny economic or military assistance to governments which practice the internment or imprisonment of citizens for political purposes. We must be impartial in coming to the defense of human rights wherever violations occur in Vietnam, in the Soviet Union, in Chile—wherever.

NO VICTORY FOR TERRORISM

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, the prospect that a free and humane government may capitulate to the demands of terrorist thugs in Austria is appalling to all people who honor peace, freedom, and human dignity. It is my earnest hope that this will not come to pass, and that the gangsters who perpetrated last week's terrorism in Austria will be denied any semblance of a victory.

Last week's attack on a train in Austria by Arab gunmen and the kidnaping of three Jewish emigrants from Russia, was a brutal, criminal act. It was of the same genre as the airplane hijackings and the tragic, cold-blooded murder of Israeli athletes at Munich, which have condemned Arab terrorists to the scorn history reserves for pirates. The only way to combat this armed blackmail is for the nations of the world to stand firm in refusing to accede to its demands.

Reports that the Austrian Government agreed to halt the use of that nation as a processing center for Jews emigrating from Russia to Israel were most discouraging. They gave the appearance, at least, of capitulation to the terrorist demands. Among certain Arab groups the kidnapings were hailed as a victory for terrorism, and one newspaper in Beirut declared they represented:

The first . . . act of piracy (to achieve) a precise and concrete result.

Mr. President, if the appearance of capitulation to the terrorists was employed only to secure the safe release of the hostages, then it was certainly a step which can be understood. But if the Austrian Government actually intends to accede to the arrogant demands of these criminals, then it would be a sad act indeed.

The Austrian people, and the Austrian Government, have a proud history of justice and compassion. I very much hope they will not now blemish that record by handing the terrorists a victory which would encourage them to new, criminal acts. To do so, as Israeli Premier Golda Meir has stated, would be for Austria to "betray her own greatness."

HEARINGS ON "AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES"

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this week the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, which I chair, has been holding overview hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures."

During these hearings we have received extremely valuable testimony from a variety of individuals and groups concerning the needs of families and children in America, the extent to which governmental policies are helping or hurting families, and what kinds of support systems should be available.

In order that these recommendations be available to the Congress and to the public, I ask unanimous consent that the prepared statements of the witnesses who appeared at the third day of our hearings be printed in the RECORD.