

also, you Mr. Cohen, you Mr. Chumbris, and you Mr. Bangert for the courtesies and the help that you have extended to us.

I am tempted, as a lawyer might be, to recap these entire hearings, in the manner of a "closing argument," but I'm not a lawyer and I find myself more in the shoes of a jurymen who can scarcely remember the name of the first scheduled witness. So I will refrain from that temptation. I do think that this Subcommittee is to be commended for the excellent record that has been compiled and for the depths which you have explored.

Let me if I may, confine my remarks to several of the major issues and debates, if you will, which I see emerging from the entire record of these hearings. I do hope that the questions I have asked throughout the hearings will, upon reading, be relevant to these major issues.

I view the two major questions that face our Federal government with respect to oil shale development as being "when?" and "how?" I say Federal government because I believe, and I am sure that you would agree, that this is a question which involves not only this Subcommittee, but many Committees of the Senate and House, as well as the entire Congress and several of our major Executive Departments. I say Federal government also because this is a question which does involve all of the people of our country and it is our Federal government which is charged with properly representing our people. Lastly, I say Federal government because I am firmly convinced that without the formulation of a positive development policy on the part of our government we will pass into the 21st century and this resource will remain in the ground where it is of no benefit to our Nation.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, you would ask the questions of "when?" and "how?" in the reverse order. But I believe that unless the urgent demand for the formulation of a government policy is made clear to the country, no one will ever bother to seriously consider the "how."

Secretary Udall testified before you, but unfortunately neither the Subcommittee nor the Secretary had the benefit of his Department's proposed leasing program which was still being formulated for the Secretary's approval. Last week the Secretary indicated that this proposed program was nearly ready to present to the Congress and to the public for scrutiny and for comment, suggestions and objections from all quarters. I am hopeful that this tentative program will be released before the end of this week. That would then bring us to the question of "how?"

I am sure that the Subcommittee would agree that any debate on a matter so large as public vs. private development of this resource would extend far beyond the bounds of this Subcommittee's purview. My strong faith in the merits of the private enterprise system does not need to be repeated here. If this resource is to be developed by private enterprise, and I see no reason why it should not, or, indeed, how it could be developed otherwise, then I believe that you and I, Mr. Chairman, are in basic agreement on the need to foster healthy competition in this new industry.

I agree that this Subcommittee's principal concern should be to encourage the entry of as many parties as possible into this new industry. This simplification is qualified, of course, to the extent that the industry must pass through a variety of stages, not all of which can be foreseen at this time. I would emphasize my use of the word "*possible*" while taking into account the high cost of entry if it proves that shale oil can only be produced by traditional mining and above ground retorting techniques. In addition, it is obvious that any entrant into the field of commercial shale oil production must first be prepared to sustain a major long-range research and development program.

Further, I would remind this Subcommittee, as I have tried to do often throughout the conduct of these hearings, that it is not enough to speak merely of competition among participating parties in an oil shale industry. We must recognize, and by we I mean all of the American people, that on this matter the United States is in competition with the world. As has been pointed out to the Subcommittee, the province of Alberta, Canada, will be pumping crude oil from the Athabaska Tar Sands into United States and world markets by September of this year. In my maiden speech on the Senate floor, which is a part of this record, I tried to outline some of the dangers which flow from this country's reliance upon foreign sources of oil.

It is not a matter to be taken lightly, that the only private company in the United States which now expects to have a 50,000 barrel a day shale oil operation