

Americans now rely on foreign oil for more than 50 percent of their needs, and there are no signs that this upward trend will abate. Before the Persian Gulf war, the United States obtained about 45 percent of its oil supply from foreign countries. During the Arab oil embargo in the 1970's, foreign oil accounted for only 35 percent of America's oil supply.

Anybody else interested in restoring domestic production of oil—by U.S. producers using American workers? Politicians better ponder the economic calamity that will occur in America if and when foreign producers shut off our supply, or double the already enormous cost of imported oil flowing into the U.S.—now 7,635,000 barrels a day.

Mr. President, Joseph J. Romm and Charles B. Curtis wrote in the April 1996 Atlantic Monthly an extensive analysis of the impending crisis due to U.S. dependence on foreign oil. The article, "Mideast Oil Forever?" is very thorough and detailed—and I commend it to Senators and staff. At the very least, I hope Senators will read several paragraphs from this article under the subheading "The Coming Oil Crisis." Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Atlantic Monthly, Apr. 1996]

MIDEAST OIL FOREVER?

THE COMING OIL CRISIS

Given that the most recent war America fought was in the Persian Gulf, let's start by examining the likelihood that an oil crisis will occur in the coming decade. Forecasting is always risky, especially where oil is concerned, but consider what a variety of experienced energy hands from every point on the political spectrum have said in the past year alone. Donald Hodel, who was a Secretary of Energy under Ronald Reagan, has said that we are "sleepwalking into a disaster," and predicts a major oil crisis within a few years. Irwin Stelzer, of the American Enterprise Institute, says that the next oil shock "will make those of the 1970s seem trivial by comparison." Daniel Yergin says, "People seem to have forgotten that oil prices, like those of all commodities, are cyclical and will go up again." James Schlesinger, who was the Secretary of Energy under Jimmy Carter, has said, "By the end of this decade we are likely to see substantial price increases." In March of last year Robert Dole, the Senate majority leader, said in a speech at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, "The second inescapable reality of the post-twentieth-century world is that the security of the world's oil and gas supplies will remain a vital national interest of the United States and of the other industrial powers. The Persian Gulf . . . is still a region of many uncertainties. . . . In this 'new energy order' many of the most important geopolitical decisions—ones on which a nation's sovereignty can depend—will deal with the location and routes for oil and gas pipelines. In response, our strategy, our diplomacy, and our forward military presence need readjusting." The chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, not known for being an alarmist, in testimony before Congress last July raised concerns that a rising trade deficit in oil "tends to create questions about the security of our oil resources."

Concerns about a coming oil crisis have surfaced in the financial markets as well. Last October, in an article titled "Your Last Big Play in Oil," Fortune magazine listed several billionaires and "big mutual fund managers" who were betting heavily that oil prices would rise significantly. The magazine went on to suggest an investment portfolio of "companies that are best positioned to profit from the coming boom."

Fundamental trends in oil demand and supply underlie this emerging consensus. First, the world will probably need another 20 million barrels of oil a day by the year 2010, according to the Energy Information Administration (EIA). The International Energy Agency projects an even greater growth in demand, following the inexorable tide of population growth, urbanization, and industrialization.

Second, the world's population is expected to increase by 50 percent by 2020, with more than half those additional people born in Asia and Latin America. And as farm workers move to the city, much more energy and oil will be needed. The fundamentals of urbanization—commuting, transporting raw materials, constructing infrastructure, powering commercial buildings—all consume large amounts of oil and electricity. At the same time, fewer farms will have to feed more people, and so the use of mechanization, transportation, and fertilizer will increase, entailing the consumption of still more energy and oil. An analysis by one of the Department of Energy's national laboratories found that a doubling of the proportion of China's and India's populations that lives in cities could increase per capita energy consumption by 45 percent—even if industrialization and income per capita remained unchanged.

Finally, industrialization has an even greater impact on energy use. As countries develop industries, they use more energy per unit of gross national product and per worker. Crucial industries for development are also the most energy-intensive: primary metals; stone, clay, and glass; pulp and paper; petroleum refining; and chemicals. In the United States these industries account for more than 80 percent of manufacturing energy consumption (and more than 80 percent of industrial waste).

As Fortune has noted, if the per capital energy consumption of China and India rises to that of South Korea, and the Chinese and Indian populations increase at currently projected rates, "these two countries alone will need a total of 119 million barrels of oil a day. That's almost double the world's entire demand today."

Barring a major and long-lasting worldwide economic depression, global energy demand will be rising inexorably for the foreseeable future. The Persian Gulf, with two-thirds of the world's oil reserves, is expected to supply the vast majority of that increased demand—as much as 80 percent, according to the EIA. Within ten to fifteen years the Persian Gulf's share of the world export market may surpass its highest level to date, 67 percent, which was attained in 1974. The EIA predicts that in the face of increased demand, oil prices will rise slowly to \$24 a barrel (1994 dollars) in 2010. If, instead, they remain low, the Gulf's share of the world export market may rise as high as 75 percent in 2010.

Although non-OPEC nations did increase production by almost 15 percent from 1980 to 1990, they increased proven reserves of oil by only 10 percent. The net result is that the remaining years of production for non-OPEC reserves has actually fallen from eighteen years to seventeen years. On the other hand, while OPEC increased production by 20 percent in the 1980s, it increased its proven re-

serves by 75 percent. As a result, OPEC's reserves-to-production ratio doubled to ninety years.

The growing dependence on imported oil in general and Persian Gulf oil in particular has several potentially serious implications for the nation's economic and national security. First, the United States is expected to be importing nearly 60 percent of its oil by ten years from now, with roughly a third of that oil coming from the Persian Gulf. Our trade deficit in oil is expected to double, to \$100 billion a year, by that time—a large and continual drag on our economic health. To the extent that the Gulf's recapture of the dominant share of the global oil market will make price increases more likely, the U.S. economy is at risk. Although oil imports as a percent of gross domestic product have decreased significantly in the past decade, our economic vulnerability to rapid increases in the price of oil persists. Since 1970 sharp increases in the price of oil have always been followed by economic recessions in the United States.

Second, the Persian Gulf nations' oil revenues are likely to almost triple, from \$90 billion a year today to \$250 billion a year in 2010—a huge geopolitical power shift of great concern, especially since some analysts predict increasing internal and regional pressure on Saudi Arabia to alter its pro-Western stance. This represents a \$1.5 trillion increase in wealth for Persian Gulf producers over the next decade and a half. That money could buy a tremendous amount of weaponry, influence, and mischief in a chronically unstable region. And the breakup of the Soviet Union, coupled with Russia's difficulty in earning hard currency, means that for the next decade and beyond, pressure will build to make Russia's most advanced military hardware and technical expertise available to well-heeled buyers.

The final piece in the geopolitical puzzle is that during the oil crisis of the 1970s the countries competing with us for oil were our NATO allies, but during the next oil crisis a new, important complication will arise; the competition for oil will increasingly come from the rapidly growing countries of Asia. Indeed, in the early 1970s East Asia consumed well under half as much oil as the United States, but by the time of the next crisis East Asian nations will probably be consuming more oil than we do.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, on Friday February 23, 1996, the Federal debt broke the 5 trillion dollar sound barrier for the first time in history. The records show that on that day, at the close of business, the debt stood at \$5,017,056,630,040.53.

Twenty years earlier, in 1976, the Federal debt stood at \$629 billion, after the first 200 years of America's history, including two world wars. The total Federal debt in 1976, I repeat, stood at \$629 billion.

Then the big spenders went to work and the interest on the Federal debt really began to take off—and, presto, during the past 2 decades the Federal debt has soared into the stratosphere, increasing by more than \$4 trillion in 2 decades—from 1976 to 1996.

So, Mr. President, as of the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, April 17, 1996, the Federal debt stood—down to the penny—at \$5,146,356,518,536.99. On a per capita basis, every man, woman

and child in America owes \$19,445.43 as his or her share of that debt.

This enormous debt is a festering, escalating burden on all citizens and especially it is jeopardizing the liberty of our children and grandchildren. As Jefferson once warned, "to preserve [our] independence, we must not let our leaders load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude." Isn't it about time that Congress heeded the wise words of the author of the Declaration of Independence?

THE 12TH ANNUAL TUFTONIA'S WEEK CELEBRATION AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, next week Tufts University in Medford, MA, will hold its 12th Annual Tuftonia's Week Celebration. Tufts alumni from around the world will gather to honor their outstanding university. This celebration has special meaning for me because my daughter, Kara, is a graduate of Tufts, and I am proud to count myself as a member of the Tufts family.

Tufts was founded in 1852, and it now has over 8,000 students from all 50 States and more than 100 foreign countries. The university offers degrees in a wide range of disciplines, including Liberal Arts, Engineering, Occupational Therapy, Nutrition Science and Policy, Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine, and Law and Diplomacy.

This year, the theme of Tuftonia's Week is community service. The occasion will honor the large number of Tufts graduates across the country who are volunteering in their communities and helping to improve the lives of others in their neighborhoods through the TuftServe program. Last year, Tufts alumni contributed more than 19,000 volunteer hours, and an even higher level of participation is anticipated this year. Tufts deserves great credit for its leadership among universities in emphasizing the value of service learning and providing opportunities for students to combine community service with their academic curriculum.

I am honored to take this opportunity to congratulate Tufts' President, John DiBiaggio, and the others in the Tufts community for their impressive accomplishments.

THE TEAM ACT

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I recently became a co-sponsor of S. 295, the Teamwork for Employers and Management Act, a bill that is scheduled for markup today in the Labor Committee and which the Small Business Committee, on which I sit, will consider tomorrow. This bill is very important to small businesses. It is important to all business but, with 98 percent of Montana's businesses considered small, those are the folks I'm hearing from.

Many of the businesses that have contacted me were in shock. They had

no idea that the committees they had formed with their employees were in violation of the law. As far as they were concerned, they were just good business practice. The committees kept the employees involved in operations and improved customer satisfaction.

But according to the National Labor Relations Act, employee involvement is illegal. The intent of the law, established in the 1930's, was to prevent employers from dominating a labor organization. And labor organization is defined as a group of employees that discusses terms or conditions of employment with the employer. That may be well and good as far as collective bargaining is concerned—at the time, the NLRB wanted to stop employers from establishing these company unions to keep independent unions out—but the law is being interpreted to mean that discussions of safety, productivity, and quality are considered conditions of employment. That's causing more than a little heart burn.

Let me give you an example. There is a Montana company I have heard from, and I will not name them since, understandably, many small businesses are afraid of having their practices brought to the attention of the NLRB. But this company, with diversified interests, has formed a committee on safety—safety not only of employees who work with a variety of equipment but of the thousands of visitors who use their facilities every day. This committee gives the employees ownership of their surroundings and results in a safer workplace for everyone.

This same company also has a committee on customer satisfaction. The employees survey the facilities periodically and decide on changes in decorations, improvements in the surroundings, how to make the area more customer friendly—basically how to draw business in and keep it. Once again, this is not only a good business practice, it is a way to keep the employees energized about their work conditions. How can this possibly be against the law? That is not only the question they are asking, it is one we should all ask.

Yet, if the National Labor Relations Board learned about these employee involvement teams, according to the law, they could penalize the employer. And in a number of cases, they already have. That does not even make sense.

Now, I know that the Government is famous for not making sense—and that is what our regulatory reform efforts are about—but here is one specific place we can make a difference. By passing this bill, the Teamwork for Employees and Management Act, without any taxpayers dollars, without any new volumes of paperwork, we can let business get back to business without fear of the heavy hand of Government coming down on them.

By simply amending the National Labor Relations Act, we can allow teamwork to continue, and allow businesses to form teams to safeguard

working conditions, improvement productivity and efficiency, and boost the quality of their products. This does not just benefit the employer and the employee, it helps our economy.

Mr. President, this provision of the law may have served its purposes 60 years ago, but it is not necessary today. Small businesses need all the help they can get to survive in today's competitive market and being flexible is vital to that success. Small business owners need the input, the advice, the cooperation, and the labor of their employees. To prohibit that involvement is to squash innovation and prosperity, the very ideals that make up the American Dream.

I strongly support this legislation, Mr. President. I hope we can bring this to the floor quickly and relieve the stress on our small businesses around the Nation who have learned of their allegedly "illegal" business practices. Let us get the government off their backs once again, and let business do what they do best—create jobs and produce high quality goods and services for the world to enjoy.

THE INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES EDUCATION ACT REAUTHORIZATION

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, an important bill was recently reported out of the Senate Labor Committee and I hope it will make its way to the Senate floor quickly. This is a bill that was designed with not only children in mind—and that is foremost—but with the needs of teachers, administrators, and parents of children with disabilities. That can be a delicate balance, but I think it was achieved.

S. 1578, the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act reauthorization, ensures that children with disabilities have access to a free appropriate public education. At first, that may sound like something we would assume is a guaranteed right of any American citizen. And it is. But many children with disabilities have special needs—needs that neither the parents nor the schools can meet without sacrifice. And it seems that when this bill was first enacted in 1975, the burdens on some were increased. And 21 years later, we have the opportunity to make some positive changes.

Let me just highlight a few of the changes that are proposed that prompted me to sign my name on this bill. To begin with, S. 1578 reduces the bureaucratic maze that schools have been required to fight their way through. Right now, State and local education agencies must submit a plan or application every 3 years. Now, they will only have to prepare that plan once, unless they institute substantial changes. And the data they are required to collect is cut in half.

Some may say, "But how will that affect my child's education?" As I've visited with school administrators and teachers around Montana, it has