

Morris K. Udall Addresses Public

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Introduction to the Series

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- Demonstrate proficiency with research tools and relevant technology for this subject along with appropriate scholarly material
- Communicate scholarly information to a group of peers
- Develop an appreciation of the culture, history, and art of the region

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Introduction to the Document

The following recording is a speech and Q+A session conducted on May 31, 1977 by Arizona Representative Morris "Mo" King Udall to a group at Western Carolina University. Udall represented Arizona's 2nd Congressional district. He was a Democratic politician who served in the House of Representatives for thirty years, from 1961 until he was diagnosed with Parkinson's Disease and was forced to step down due to complications. Throughout his tenure, Udall was a vocal advocate for environmental conservation and consensus building. This speech was the capstone of a bus trip taken by congressman Udall and other local politicians to promote recreation and to discuss federal expenditures for Parkway upkeep and to purchase land for an extension of the Parkway in Georgia. Also in attendance on the bus tour were Joe Brown, superintendent of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Jeff Muskrat, superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Agency, George Olsen, supervisor of the U.S. Forest Service in North Carolina, and Boyd Evison, superintendent of the Great Smokey Mountains National Park.

The speech was attended by the current congressman V. Lamar Gudger, who was elected in 1976, members of the public, and press. Udall begins the speech by complimenting the work of his predecessor, Representative Roy Taylor, who served for Western North Carolina's 11th district from 1960-1977. Udall also discusses stories from his 1976 campaign to be the Democratic nominee for President. The speech also mentions some of the measures he has implemented as the Chairman of the House Interior Committee his advocacy for the land conservation, his commitment to renewable energy, and his concerns about America's energy independence. Udall supported initiatives such as the Surface Mining control and Reclamation Act and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, the former of which would be passed in August of 1977 and the latter

which would be introduced in 1979, but which was already in the works at the time of this recording.

At the end of the recording there is a question and answer period with the congressman in which he discusses his recent visit to Alaska, a trip which influenced his advocacy for Alaskan conservation. He also discusses his opinion on President Jimmy Carter's energy plan and how to convince American voters to tighten their belts in the face of the ongoing oil crisis. He also discusses the feasibility of retrieving shale oil from the ground in Colorado.

The recording was made by John Parris for use by the Asheville Citizen-Times. Parris was a journalist from Sylva who wrote for the Citizen-Times. Parris' work, particularly his series "Roaming the Mountains" extensively examines the history and culture of Western North Carolina.

Transcription

Mo Udall: public servant. I'm particularly proud to be here with the present and the past congressman from this district. I don't know of any place in the country that seems to produce a higher quality, better, more able Congressman than you do right here. It's kind of an old reunion to be back with Roy Taylor¹. [applause].

Mo Udall: You didn't have to reopen all those wounds of 1976². I had just been able to forget about it and get it behind me. A year ago tomorrow was the Ohio primary. We finished this whole process: Ohio and California and New Jersey only a year ago. Sometimes it seems like 10. Maybe I can share with you my favorite story out of that great adventure, which not many people have had participate in the national presidential campaign. You know, if you come to Congress, as Roy suggested, if you come to Congress as a United States Senator, the day you arrive, you are presumed to be a presidential candidate if you're under 65 and not under indictment or living in sin with Jimmy Carter³. Jimmy Carter found some...but here I was a House member announcing for President in New Hampshire. The television cameras were there. The New York Times. We got in the car and dashed off to visit five little towns before the sun went down. Sure how strong we were. In the first little town the car got stuck in the snow in the parking lot. The woman in charge said,

¹ Roy Taylor was a congressional representative who served for Western North Carolina's 11th district from 1960-1977. Taylor served as the chair of the House Subcommittee on National Parks as well as a member of the House Interior Committee. He advocated for many conservation bills including the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. He also oversaw significant growth in the National Park system.

² The Democratic Party primary of 1976 was considered contentious, with attacks levied against Udall based on his Mormon religion and its historical ties to racism, claims that Jimmy Carter refused to denounce.

³ During the 1976 Democratic Party primary, Jimmy Carter was criticized for an interview he gave to Playboy magazine in which he describes looking at "a lot of women with lust."

“Go on in while we’re getting this car out, go in that barber shop and say hello to that old man. His mouth goes all the time. He’s very influential,” unlike barbers down here, I suppose. And I put my head in kind of timidly. I had only been a candidate, presidential candidate for 30 minutes, and was only a House member and 3000 miles from home in the snow, and all these old men were sitting around. I said,

“Excuse me, sir, Mo Udall running for president.” He said,

“Yeah, we know we’ve been laughing about it this morning.”

But things got a little better after that, Jimmy Carter and I were the only two to survive the full primary process. But if you can’t be president in this day and age, the next best thing to do, as far as I’m concerned, is to be chairman of the House ~~litter~~ Committee, because we’re on the front line of the kinds of decisions that are going to affect our lives very dramatically in the years ahead. And what a pleasure it is to serve with Congressman Gudger and to carry on the great tradition of Roy Taylor⁴. Roy Taylor loves the land, and people who don’t respect the land and love it and respect it and take care of it, don’t respect themselves. I don’t know any man in my time in Congress who’s done more to protect the wilderness, to give us a sound forestry industry, to help set up Wild and Scenic Rivers, I guess, by the millions of acres, we have added to the units of the national park system during the administration of this good man, Roy Taylor⁵. And I want to carry on that tradition. He comes from a long line, you know, if you take all of the state, I don’t think there’s one that can come anywhere close to North Carolina in its concern and care about the beautiful resources it has. It was your state, not the federal government, that took the lead in getting a Cape Hatteras put in the national park system⁶. It was the people from this area who cared about these gorgeous mountains and wanted to preserve them and wanted

⁴ Congressman V. Lamar Gudger represented North Carolina’s 11th congressional district in the United States House of Representatives from 1977 to 1981.

⁵ The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act was passed in 1968. Roy Taylor was a key figure in the Act’s implementation.

⁶ Cape Hatteras was authorized by Congress in 1937 and officially established as the nation’s first national seashore on January 12, 1953

people to see them, and created the Blue Ridge Parkway and a great smokies, and Roy Taner was in that tradition.

There has been, in American life, kind of a conservative impulse that says, go slow, save the old values, and a progressive impulse competing at the same time that says, Yeah, but we've got to change. And sensible sound constructive change. And I think Roy Taylor, in his service in Congress and in his attitude toward conservation best epitomizes the marriage, the blending of the best in the conservative and in the progressive tradition. And I know this isn't a Roy Taylor rally, but I wanted to say that down here in his area, among his friends, I'm glad so many of you came today. You've put together you and Congressman Gudger and your great assistant here have put together the leaders of this entire area, and I'm very proud that you would all come out and spend a little time with me today. You brought everybody but the sheriff to protect me and the tax collector to see that I paid my share around here, but I'm delighted that all of you came, and I'd like to spend just a few minutes, if I can, suggesting where I think we're going, in a couple of areas of resource development and conservation. And then if we have a little time, I'll take questions from the friendly press (or the unfriendly press) you can't trust these guys up in Washington. Down here, they're honest and friendly, straight questions and everything like that. You know, I read in the paper the other day it had a moonshine raid up here where Virginia touches the Carolinas⁷. And remembering one of Alben Barkley's old stories about this kid who was hitchhiking late at night up in the hills in moonshine country⁸. An old man came around the pickup, gave him a ride, and they jogged along, bounced along the ways, and the old man said, "Son, there's a jug under that seat. Get it out." And the boy took the jug out, and he said, "Have a drink."

And the kid said, "I don't really care for any, thank you very much, sir."

⁷ There was a widely publicized moonshine raid in Suffolk County Va in February of 1977.

⁸ Alben Barkley was the 35th vice president of the United States serving from 1949 to 1953 under President Harry S. Truman.

And the old man pulled a gun out of his pocket, held a pistol on him, said, "Have a drink." And the boy said, "Well, under those circumstances, don't mind if I do."

And he took the top off the jug, and he took a big swig of this thing, and it felt like his teeth were coming loose and his esophagus burned. The ends of his toes curled up and gasping, the old man put the top back on the old man hand him the gun and said,

"Now you hold the gun on me, and I'll take one from it."

I tell that to make the point. I think that in these difficult days that lie ahead of us, we're all going to have to hold a gun on each other, because this country has very tough choices to make. We have 36 billion barrels of oil known reserve. That's what we've got. There's more to be found off the coast and in Alaskan places, but all the proven reserves today are 36 billion barrels of oil. We will use 6 billion this year, and we will use 6 billion next year. And the good news and the bad news is that 3 billion of that six will come from Saudi Arabia and other unreliable and fairly unreliable foreign sources, so we've only got a little time to make the adjustments from an economy based in an industry based on oil and gas to one that's based on new and different kinds of energy resources. And how we make that change, and how we go about it is going to be very important, because there are those who say, Well, we got to choose. We got to choose between clean air, between clean water, between protecting the land and the environment and holding our jobs and holding our standards of living. If we're smart, we won't have to make that true choice, and we're on the firing line in the Congress now trying to make some of these tough and difficult decisions.

One of them is finally behind us that doesn't affect your area immediately. That affects Appalachia more than any other area, and that's strip mining⁹. We need more coal. We are producing 600 million tons this year. A switch to coal is central to the Carter energy

⁹ Strip mining is a surface mining method that removes horizontal layers of soil and rock (called overburden) to access mineral deposits near the Earth's surface. It can cause severe environmental damage, including the destruction of habitats and ecosystems, severe soil erosion, and long-term water contamination from acid mine drainage.

program¹⁰. It buys time to sort out nuclear and solar and these other technologies. It helps get the pressure from the OPEC countries off our back¹¹. We've simply got to expand the production of coal, and a lot of that's got to come from the surface mining. And so we have finally written a bill, and we had key help from Roy Taylor, and we've had key help this year from Lamar Gudgeon and trying to write a bill that says we're going to do three things, we're going to we're going to get the coal out, increase production, and a lot of it's going to be surface mine coal. But we're smart enough to put the land back¹². We're not going to leave those hills in Appalachia with acid drainage and what used to be beautiful trout streams destroyed and landslides down the mountain. That kind of stuff will be here 1000 years from now, a reproach to the kind of mining practices that we had. So we said we're not going to do that anymore this time. Secondly, we're going to put the land back. We can do it right. And thirdly, we're setting up a fund to begin to repay our debt to mother nature to begin the 40-or-50-Year program of restoring the hills that have been destroyed and ravaged by strip mines. That bill has passed both the House and Senate. I think I hope to be at the White House, the signing ceremony. I've waited five long years for it sometime in the month of June this year. So we're going to put that one to bed, and that's good news for everyone. And I think the news is that we can have more coal production and we can have sound environmental concerns as well.

Let me talk secondly about Alaska. You know, if you go to Europe. It. You never will participate in the creation of the National Park if you live in Europe for 300 years because the land patterns are set. It's all done. Your forests are there. Your parks are there. There aren't going to be any new ones. In the United States, we're in the process of rounding out

¹⁰ Jimmy Carter's Energy Agenda began with the National Energy Act of 1978 which sought to set standards for Energy production that sought to balance economic incentives with environmental protection.

¹¹ The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is an intergovernmental organization of oil-producing nations that coordinates the petroleum policies of member states to influence the global oil market.

¹² This refers to the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977.

the national park system. Roy Taylor, more than any American in my time played a part in putting the pieces together. We've added millions of acres, but most of the choice areas are done. We got Cape Cod and Padre Island in Texas, and the Boundary Waters in Minnesota, and the North Cascades in Washington. And Roy can tick off all the ones that we put together. But that pattern is pretty well set. We're going to finish up probably in this Congress. Most of the wilderness designation, some of the timber people are worried that we're grabbing 8 million this year and 10 million next year. We're about to round off the wilderness system this year, so the patterns will be set in the lower 48 states, but in Alaska, we can do what we could have done 100 years ago if we'd had vision and foresight here in Alaska bigger than Texas and California put together. Under my bill, we could add in this one Congress, we can triple the number of acres that ever put in the National Park Service in the 104 years we've had it growing¹³. Just imagine that: being in a position where we can exercise a little vision and say, here are the scenic rivers that ought to be saved, not with a fight 50 years from now, like the New River, but now, while they're there and pristine and we can sort them out. Here are the gorgeous areas of that great expanse of land that ought to be in the national park system, and we're going to set them aside now. Here are the timber areas for multiple use. And let's lay out what should be in the National Forest System now. So we have a very, very great challenge to do wise and foresighted things in Alaska this year, and we've got one of our best people, Congressman Seiberling, heading up that subcommittee. He's taking testimony all over the country. Lamar was with him in Atlanta just a couple of weeks ago, and I'll be with him in Denver this weekend to take further testimony. So watch us and hold a gun on us, and keep our feet to the fire and make sure that we do this one right this year in the whole field of energy, our committee is going to play a very important role.

¹³ Udall refers here to the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) of 1980.

You know, the American people are lucky in one sense, at this time of crisis when running out of oil and gas. Oil peaked in 1970 and the trend is down, and it will be down every year you will ever see a year in which we produce as much oil. Natural gas peaked in 73 and it's going down¹⁴. And we'll always go, continue to go down. And so we had a very critical period ahead of us, but we got one good piece of luck. Most of the remaining energy reserves in America are owned by the people of the United States. Stop and ponder that. The offshore oil and gas Atlantic, whatever there is Alaska, the Gulf of Alaska owned by the federal government people The United States, the oil shale on the Rocky Mountains, largely federally owned. Uranium mines, Uranium reserves largely on public lands. The coal we have in the West, and coal is critical, as I said earlier, more than half owned by the federal government. So we're in a position, if we are wired to have some impact on these energy decisions and these pricing decisions and the stewardship of these public resources in the executive branch is in the Department of Interior, and some of it will go to Mr. Schlesinger in the New Energy Department. But in the congress that's in the interior Committee, which I have the honor in the house to chair.

So we're going to be deeply involved your congressman and Bill Gradison, who sits on the Ways and Means Committee¹⁵. We're all going to be involved in how we deal with these public resources as we make these very difficult decisions. Jimmy Carter asked us for sacrifice and for the moral equivalent of war. I don't know whether we're going to give him when the American people are ready for the moral equivalent of war. Sometimes I look around and think we're going to give him the moral equivalent of mush. But we, I think the point I want to make is that we owe the country some answers. In your personal life, in business, there is nothing worse than indecision and uncertainty, And we ought to tell Detroit what the rules are going to be for the next 10 years on automobiles. Are we going to

¹⁴ Initial estimates from the Bureau of Mines and the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) showed that oil production declined by approximately 5% between 1973 and 1974. This supported the belief that the U.S. had reached "peak gas."

¹⁵ Bill Gradison was a Republican representative from Ohio who served from 1975 to 1993.

have a gas guzzler tax, a tax on the fleet? Are we going to have a standby gas tax? Are we not going to have one? What is our policy going to be? Are we going to regulate or deregulate natural gas? We need some decisions on all these points and a lot more, so that industry can begin tooling up and we can all adjust our lives to an economy in which energy is scarce is going to cost more. We're going to have to reach out and find all kinds of new and exciting sources of energy. So we'll need your help by your judgment, and we'll need good luck, because we undertake what I think is one of the historic transformations in this country. It took us 100 years to go from firewood and the old steam engine to this fantastic economy. Now that's based on oil and gas. Took 100 years. We're going to have to do something as wrenching as that in the next 20 to 25, years. So we better get on a new job. Now finally, I wanted to say a couple of things about the Great Smokies and Blue Ridge Parkway. This is not my first experience here, not my first coming, if you forgive me. Adlai Stevenson used to tell an old Lincoln story¹⁶. Lincoln was asked by a minister to rent a hall in Springfield, and the Lincoln said, "What's the purpose of meeting?"

And the minister said, "To discuss the second coming of our Lord and Savior."

And Lincoln said, "It's no use if he has been to Springfield once, he will never come again."

I have, I have been here three or four times. I want to keep coming back, because you've got some of the best land and the best people in the country, and I want to I'm delighted I have a few hours today to see the parkway again firsthand, to listen to your concerns, to see some of its problems. Because we can't just be reaching out and getting new national parks all the time. We got to take care of the old one, and we've short changed the Park Service. Roy Taylor has been in the front of that fight on the money to repair facilities, to upgrade them, to get the kind of personnel we need as more and more Americans reach

¹⁶ Adlai Stevenson II was an American politician and diplomat who served as the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. from 1961 until 1965. He was also the governor of Illinois from 1949 until 1953, as well as Democratic nominee for president in both 1952 and 1956.

out and want to visit our national park. We need money in the Land and Water Conservation Fund to buy up the backlog. We have \$2 billion worth of national parks. We have said, this is National Park quality. We want it. We're making a national park. We haven't put our money where our mouth is. We haven't put the money out to buy the land. Roy Taylor helped set up that great fund, and this year we stacked another 400 million on it. Roy to really go out and try to wind up the backlog this year before the price escalates and double again. So I guess what I'm saying is, let's work together. You have a very special part of the country here. I want to be a part of the solution to your problems. I want to learn today and what your concerns are and to help in any way that I can. And I quit with one of my favorite stories, about some politician, Roy who went to this little town and gathered the taxpayers about and he gave his speech and finished, he said, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, these are my views, and if you don't like them, well then I'll change them."

Unnamed Questioner: Sure. Congressman with one question, sure, throughout your campaign, you had your own energy ideas that you kept putting forward. Now that Carter has announced his, I would like a little reaction to you from here about what you think of the President's energy program.

Mo Udall: Well, I think the elements of the energy program are about right. I think his call, I think his assessment, situation is right. It is grim. A lot of the American people don't believe it, but we are in trouble. We are like a family on a boat a month from land and you suddenly discover you haven't got a month's water and food, you got two weeks water and food. So, you can either stretch out the supplies and make them last, or you can come to a big crack up about two weeks before you get to port. I think we're in that position. So the call for action is sound. The elements of the program are elements that I support. My one reservation would be in the field of competition. I think we've got to get more competition

into this energy business if we're going to really get the new sources that we need. But the broad structure of the President's plan is something I can support.

Unnamed Questioner: Mr. Congressman, yes, what can be done? The American people don't believe we've got a crisis.

Mo Udall: Well, the American people seem to react to crisis, and what I'm afraid of we'll drift along and hassle each other, stall, delay, and nobody will take the strong action needed. But I... if that's what we do, that's the course we follow sometime in the next six years, and maybe as soon as three, we're going to face another crisis, and then we'll have to do all of these things in a panic, sort of inefficient way. Let me just tell you one little scenario I see down the road this kind of crisis. The Saudis can wreck the American economy and do great damage to the economy of the industrial world by doing one little thing, and that is refusing to expand. The Saudis can simply continue producing oil at the present level and do great damage to the whole industrial world. And let me tell you why. We had zero oil growth for two years. We leveled out at 17 million barrels a day. We started up again at 6% the British are recovering, and they're going up, and the Germans and the Japanese and free world oil production is something like 45 million barrels a day, and by 1981 it's going to be 50 million, or whatever the figure that additional 5 million can't come from the United States, can't come anywhere much except Saudi Arabia. They've got the only surge capacity around. And if they simply say, "Our oil is worth more on the ground, we're not declaring embargo. We're continuing to produce at 77 rates." They can put us in very grave difficulty. Could lead to another big round of hikes in the world price of oil, a round of energy inflation here, and throw us all into another recession. The American people have got to come to understand these things. My pet theory is that one of the greatest barriers to getting the American people to adopt a mood of sacrifice, to believe it's serious, to get over this idea that it's all a hoax, that the oil companies are sitting on oil and gas that we really

need, would be to inject some competition into the oil business. The oil boys are now, they're not content with owning all the oil and gas from the well head to the pump. They're now they own most of the uranium, the big oil companies. They've got overlaid of the coal reserve. They're into solar. They're into hydrogen, they're into all of these other technologies. And if we ever get energy out of horse manure, they'd probably end up with all of that too. And it seems to me that if we mean business, that's serious, if we're going to sacrifice the oil companies, ought to sacrifice by letting independent coal companies and independent oil companies and independent oil companies and independent companies of different kinds get into the act and start showing how they can produce these new sources that we need.

Unnamed Questioner: Mr. Chairman, last week in this state, they had a conservation meeting. A man from The Petroleum Institute just said that along in Colorado, there was more shale oil available than all the oil in Saudi Arabia, is that true, representative?

Mo Udall: Yep, but there's a, there's a but and there's some ifs involved. You know, all this paper oil, paper energy, there is more oil off the Atlantic coast, they tell you, than we've burned the last 10 years, only there's one thing wrong: They haven't found any of it yet. Not the first barrel has been produced. Now. We may get some out there. I don't know. We may not. The oil companies bid \$2 billion for the drilling rights off Florida, and they came up with dry holes. There was no oil there. Let me tell you what's wrong with the Rocky Mountain. They say all on paper, we've got 300 years of oil in the Rocky Mountains¹⁷. In order to get a plant which would produce 3% of this nation's oil requirement from oil sharing, you first got to dig it out in those rocky mountains. You got to move enough Earth

¹⁷ The Department of the Interior conducted a 1974 Geological survey entitled "Geological Estimates of Undiscovered Recoverable Oil and Gas Resources in the United States." This survey concluded that there was significant oil in the Rocky Mountains, however, it seems that Udall's claim of 300 years worth is overblown by a factor of roughly ten.

to fill the Panama Canal every week. That's number one. And that takes energy. You've then got to grind all of that stuff up into a powder like consistency, and that takes energy. You've got to burn it in what they call the torch to produce the oil out of the bottom. And that takes energy. You've then got a Panama Canal every week full of this face powder, stuff of spent shale. You got to find some Canyon to put it in and compact it, and something to make it grow, some water to make it grow, which is going to take most of the water in the Rocky Mountains to do that. And when you get all through you have used three barrels of oil to energy, to get one barrel of oil out of the bottom, and that doesn't make a heck of a lot of sense. Now, maybe the day will come and we should try everything. We ought to try everything. We ought to try every crazy idea that anybody's got. Maybe somebody will come up with a way to get that oil out of the shale without doing this. But I think we've got to recognize that the days of cheap oil are gone. It used to be you could put a pipe in the ground in Texas 100 feet, and out it comes. Now you got to build a \$7 billion pipeline to get it out of Alaska¹⁸. We're the most over-drilled country on Earth, and there's some more to be found. Make no mistake about that, but it's a declining product. We better stretch it out. We better share it with our children and our grandchildren. I'm not drawing the assumption that there'll be some magic solution with oil shale or anything else. Yes.

Unnamed Speaker: I read the Jack Adams report that perhaps the oil companies were approaching President Carter and his advisors with the idea of exporting the oil from Alaska home to Japan¹⁹. Question is: just exporting and in depth with Japan and sell this oil back, that's fine, but [unintelligible]

¹⁸ North Slope crude oil entered the 799-mile, almost \$9-billion pipeline June 20, 1977.

¹⁹ The plan to export natural gas to Japan was rejected by the Carter administration. The only person I could find named Jack Adams was an assistant project superintendent for Arctic Contractors in Barrow, Alaska, who was involved with the oil companies or the Carter administration, though the man who advised Carter on the plan was named Jack Schlesinger. Schlesinger was America's first Secretary of Energy under President Carter.

Mo Udall: That's very much in doubt. When we passed that Alaska pipeline bill and going on in the middle of that one, we wrote prohibitions about as strong as you can write them, against any of that oil going to Japan. One of the reasons I favor putting the gas pipeline down through Canada is that's where the oil is needed. Some of it, some of us said they won't need this oil in Los Angeles on the West Coast, and they don't. There's a gruff there. And so we're now in trouble. We build a \$7 billion pipeline and for the first part of its existence, at least, we won't need the oil. Be able to use it in our country, as far as I'm concerned, if they've got a straight swap array, so that oil that would otherwise go to Japan from Indonesia is going around to the east coast, where we need it, and Alaska oil is going to Japan to replace it on a temporary basis. We could probably work that out. But the oil companies, I don't fully trust them, as you may have suspected, and that this is you can do this in Mickey Mouse ways, but don't really reflect that kind of a trade. So I think it's in doubt. I think we have to watch it very carefully. As far as I've been sure we didn't spend \$7 billion and go to all of this trouble and do the damage we did in Alaska to provide oil to Japan. Yes.

Unnamed Questioner: why don't we hear more about our good, hard-earned money going into R and D on solar energy? This is something we know is possible. We know that some work is being done, but this is one place where we can make the kind of investment within [unintelligible].

Mo Udall: Hearing a lot more. I helped pass three years ago with Scoop Jackson, a, three, a, \$2 billion a year, R and D program for non nuclear²⁰. It used to be that nuclear could get all they wanted. You know, pass it out, billion here and a billion there for nuclear. But solar, three, or four years ago was \$5 million we had to put on a big fight to get up, get it up to 50

²⁰ Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson was a Democratic senator from 1953-1983 and U.S. representative from 1941-1953 where he represented Washington State's 2nd district.

million or to \$100 million²¹. We need solar, and it's, it's ready to use right now to begin to fill a lot of the need. One of my theories is that there is no big magic solution for energy. The American people, we watch television, we like the big, sexy, exotic, one shot, expensive solution. Somebody's going to run out and say, we've got nuclear fusion. Or, you know, nuclear was always the big solution²². I think the solution these next 20 years may be 20% from conservation and 5% from solar and 25-15, years from now, we may end up getting a little hydro. [end of recording].

²¹ Throughout the 1970s, there was an oil crisis, and the U.S. government spent \$8 billion dollars on the solar energy research and development (R&D) budget throughout the decade.

²² Nuclear fusion, if it will ever be feasible, is still decades away at best.

Annotated Works Cited

90th Congress. "S. 119-Wild and Scenic Rivers Act." *Congress.gov* Library of Congress, 2 October 1968, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/90th-congress/senate/bill/119> .

This is the act that Udall references crediting the work of Roy Taylor. The act protected rivers and dams from harmful development.

93rd Congress . "H.R.9389- Trans-Alaskan Pipeline Authorization Act." *Congress.gov*, Library of Congress, 18 July 1973 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/93rd-congress/house/bill/9389> .

This is the Act responsible for the Alaskan Pipeline to which Udall repeatedly refers. The pipeline ran from Alaska's North Slope region through Canada and into the United States.

96th Congress. "H.R. 39 - Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act." *Congress.gov* Library of Congress, 2 December 1980, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/96th-congress/house/bill/39> .

Udall mentions his work in Alaska which he was conducting throughout 1977. His preservation work would culminate in this bill three years later.

"Brief History." *Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries*, 2015. <https://www.opec.org/brief-history.html>

Udall mentions OPEC. This website provides a breakdown of what OPEC is and its history.

Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. Pub. L. 96-487, 94 Stat. 2371. 1980.

[https://www.nps.gov/locations/alaska/upload/ANILCA -Electronic-Version.PDF](https://www.nps.gov/locations/alaska/upload/ANILCA-Electronic-Version.PDF)

Mo Udall traveled to Alaska in 1977 to hold hearings on a bill to protect millions of acres of land. When he talks about protecting land in Alaska, this is the bill that would result from his efforts.

Avanston. "History of Solar Energy Prices." 22 May 2023.

<https://avenston.com/en/articles/pv-cost>

[history/#:~:text=The%20energy%20crisis,a%20reduction%20in%20their%20cost](https://avenston.com/en/articles/pv-cost-history/#:~:text=The%20energy%20crisis,a%20reduction%20in%20their%20cost)

Udall is asked about R&D. In the 1970s, the world faced an oil crisis that led to increased pressure for alternative energy R&D. The US federal government allocated more than \$8 billion to R&D of solar energy technology throughout the decade

Biondo, Steve. "Moonshine Raid Here." *Suffolk NewsHerald*, Volume 55, Number 43, 21 February 1977. p. A1.

<https://www.virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SNH19770221.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->

Although it is impossible to know exactly which moonshine raid Udall refers to, this piece exemplifies the slew of moonshine raids that were occurring in southern Virginia at the time. This event took place in February of 1977.

Brown, Warren. "Alaska's Oil Will Remain Inside the U.S." *The Washington Post* 10 July

10 1977. www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1977/07/11/alaskas-oil-will-remain-inside-us/83304599-0260-4fdc-9bbc-aabb75b6335c/

An audience member questions Udall about the report about selling Alaskan oil to Japan. This was the outcome of that proposal. It was rejected by Carter.

"H.R.2 - 95th Congress (1977 -1978): Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977." *Congress.gov* Library of Congress, 3 August 1977, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/95th-congress/housebill/2> .

Udall references his work making sure that strip mines have to clean up their sites after oil removal. This is the bill he references.

Libby, James K. *Alben Barkley: A Life in Politics*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2016.

This book discusses the life and times of vice president Alben Barkley. He served two terms under Harry Truman.

Mohr, Charles. "Carter Won't Repudiate Backer." *The New York Times* 18 May 1976. <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/05/18/archives/carter-wont-repudiate-backers-udall-remark.html>

When Udall mentions baggage from the 1976 democratic primary campaign, he is likely referring in part to accusations that his mormon religion tainted him with racism. Jimmy Carter's refusal to disavow these accusations caused contention between the campaigns.

"Morris K. Udall." *Congress.gov* Library of Congress, 5 November 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/member/morris-udall/U000001> .

This is the congressional page dedicated to the career of Morris K. Udall.

Miller, Betty M., et al. *Geological estimates of undiscovered recoverable oil and gas resources in the United States*. U.S. Geological Survey Circular 725, 1975.

Udall references many sweeping claims about the shale oil deposits available in the Rocky Mountains. This would have been the most recent and prevalent report on the data that he would be able to use to draw his conclusions.

Perlstein, Rick . "An Interview with 'Playboy' Nearly Torpedoed Jimmy Carter's Presidential Campaign." *Smithsonian Magazine* 7 August 2020.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/interview-playboy-magazinenearly-torpedoed-jimmy-carters-presidential-campaign-180975576/>

When Udall jokes that Jimmy Carter is 'living in sin,' he is making a reference to the scandal of Jimmy Carter's interview with Playboy. In the interview, Carter declares that he has lusted after many women.

Reed, John C. "Exploration of Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 and Adjacent Areas Northern Alaska, 1944-53 Part 1, History of the Exploration." *Department of the Interior*. 1958. <https://pubs.usgs.gov/pp/0301/report.pdf> .

This source is the only location I could find the name Jack Adams in association with oil companies, Alaska, the Carter administration, or Japanese trade during the 70s. On page 82, Jack Adams' promotion is mentioned. He was elevated from a personnel manager to the assistant project superintendent for Arctic Contractors in Fairbanks. Following his promotion, he was moved to Barrow, Alaska.

"Roy A. Taylor." *Congress.gov*, Library of Congress, 5 November 2025,

<https://www.congress.gov/member/roy-taylor/T000099>.

This is the congressional page dedicated to the career of Roy Taylor who had been the representative for Western North Carolina for over a decade. Taylor was an avid conservationist, which Udall mentions.

"V. Lamar Gudger." *Congress.gov* Library of Congress, 5 November 2025,
<https://www.congress.gov/member/lamar-gudger/G000515>.

This is the congressional page dedicated to the career of V. Lamar Gudger who is the congressperson for the district that Udall is speaking in at the time. He was present at this speech.