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Max S. Baucus

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MONIANA ASSN OF OWAFHERS & ap. 16, 1982 LEWISTOWN

IT''S GOOD TO BE BACK HOME. WE SHARE A COMMON INTEREST: THE PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION OF MONTANA'S NATURAL RESOURCES.

PEOPLE LIKE CRAIG MADSEN, C.B. RICH, CLAUDE SAYLOR AND I SERVE AN IMPORTANT SPECIAL INTEREST.....

WE ARE INTERESTED IN TELLING THE WORLD ABOUT THE BEAUTY OF MONTANA....A SPECIAL GIFT WE OFTEN TAKE FOR GRANTED.....

WE ARE INTERESTED IN PROMOTING TOURISM....IN HELPING MONTANA'S ECONOMY BY BRINGING PEOPLE HERE TO SHARE THE WONDERS OF OUR STATE...

WE WANT THOSE WONDERS AROUND FOR OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

I WILL CONTINUE MY PERSONAL EFFORTS....TO PROTECT THE BOB MARSHALL WILDERNESS AREA FROM MINERAL DEVELOPMENT....

....AND TO OPPOSE USER FEES FOR HUNTERS AND FISHERMEN USING PUBLIC LANDS.....

I REMEMBER A STATEMENT BY MAX BARKER, QUOTING BETH FERRIS OF MISSOULA, WHO STUDIED FOR THREE YEARS IN THE MOUNTAIN GOAT HABITAT OF BOB MARSHALL.

SHE SAID THOSE YEARS WAS "THE TURNING POINT OF IN MY LIFE; SURVIVING WINTERS IN THE WILDERNESS, CHOPPING WOOD AND CARRYING A 60 POUND PACK GAVE ME SELF-CONFIDENCE. I LEARNED ABOUT BOTANY AND BEGAN CARING FOR ANIMALS AND NATURE. THE WORLD I WAS BENEFITTING FROM IS ON THE VERGE OF BEING DESTROYED AND I DONT WANT TO SEE THESE THINGS LOST."

WHEN I READ THOSE WORDS, I THOUGHT: NEITHER DO I!

I KNOW---FURTHERMORE---OF YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT POSSIBLE ACTIONS .

BY THE FOREST SERVICE, INVOLVING THE WAY LICENSES ARE ALLOCATED.

THESE IDEAS ARE IN THE DISCUSSION STAGE---AND I EMPHASIZE THAT
YOU SHOULD MAKE YOUR OPINIONS KNOWN TO THE FOREST SERVICE. SEND ME
YOUR THOUGHTS AND I WILL PASS THEM ON AS WELL.... I AM VERY AWARE
OF LONG-TERM, HISTORIC RELATIONSHIPS YOU HAVE HAD BOTH WITH CLIENTS
AND THE SERVICE.

IT'S ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO BE BACK HOME. IN MONTANA.

TODAY I'D LIKE TO PUT SOME ISSUES IN PERSPECTIVE. IF WE SEE QUESTIONS AS PART OF A BROADER PATTERN -- WE SEE SOME ANSWERS MORE CLEARLY.

OUR NATION WAS FOUNDED SOME TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. HISTORIANS CALL THAT TIME "THE AGE OF REASON".

FUTURE HISTORIANS MIGHT CALL TODAY "THE AGE OF UNREASON".

WE LIVE IN STRANGE TIMES, DANGEROUS TIMES. WE LIVE IN AN AGE OF CHANGE.

THE ECONOMY IS IN TROUBLE. PARTS OF THE NATION -- AND MONTANA -- FACE DEPRESSION CONDITIONS. YET OUR ECONOMIC POTENTIAL IS IMMENSE. OUR LONG TERM FUTURE IS BRIGHT.

THE WORLD IS UNSTABLE. THERE IS
STRANGE TALK OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND
NUCLEAR WAR. THE WHITE HOUSE ADVISOR
ON SOVIET AFFAIRS SAYS THERE'S A 40 PERCENT
CHANCE OF NUCLEAR WAR.

THERE'S A SENSE OF NERVOUSNESS,
UNCERTAINTY, AND CONCERN. THERE SHOULD BE.

THERE'S ALSO A SENSE OF POTENTIAL.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES, NEW INVESTMENT, NEW

MEDICAL ADVANCES, ALL ARE COMING. THERE

IS REASON FOR HOPE.

THINK ABOUT SOME OF THE CHANGES:

FIRST, IN THIS CENTURY WE INVENTED
THE WORLD WAR AND THE NUCLEAR WAR. THIS
MAY BE THE MOST RADICAL CHANGE IN HUMAN
HISTORY.

SECOND, WE INVENTED THE TRULY WORLD ECONOMY. OVER TEN PERCENT OF THE NATION'S JOBS -- AND MANY MONTANA JOBS -- DEPEND ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

THIRD, THE ENERGY THAT FUELS OUR ECONOMY OFTEN COMES FROM UNSTABLE FOREIGN SOURCES. SUPPLIES BECOME SCARCE, PRICES CAN RISE.

AND FOURTH, OUR ENVIRONMENT IS UNDER STRESS. THE AIR WE BREATH, THE WATER WE DRINK, THE FOOD WE EAT, ARE ALL AFFECTED B ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE.

THIS IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO MONTANANS. WE LIVE IN A STATE OF EXCEPTIONAL BEAUTY ---LITERALLY, ONE OF THI MOST BEAUTIFUL PLACES IN THE WORLD. WE MUST KEEP IT THAT WAY.

THESE FOUR CHANGES:

THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR

THE CHANGING WORLD ECONOMY

THE ENERGY CRISIS

AND ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS---ARE RELATIVELY NEW.

THEY TELL US SOMETHING.

THEY TELL US WE MUST USE OUR RESOURCES WISELY. WHETHER IT'S INVESTMENT CAPITAL, THE FEDERAL BUDGET, ENERGY SOURCES, OR THE ENVIRONMENT.

OUR POLITICS MUST ADJUST TO THOSE CHANGES. WORDS LIKE "LIBERAL" OR "CONSERVATIVE" ARE MORE RELEVANT TO OLD PROBLEMS THAN NEW ONES.

TODAY WE MUST THINK IN TERMS OF "REALISM" AND "CREATIVITY."

REALISM TO SEE PROBLEMS AS THEY ARE,
TO THINK CLEARLY.

CREATIVITY TO INCREASE THE BENEFIT OF THOSE RESOURCES WE HAVE. CREATIVITY OF NEW IDEAS: NEW ENERGY SOURCES, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, MEDICAL ADVANCES.

LET'S APPLY THIS LOGIC TO TWO ISSUES: THE ECONOMY AND ARMS CONTROL.

WE ALL KNOW THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS OVER 9% NATIONALLY, AND OVER 10% IN MONTANA.

INTEREST RATES ARE OVER 16%.

THE FEDERAL DEFICIT MAY APPROACH \$150 BILLION.

IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS, OVER 5,000 AMERICAN BUSINESSES HAVE GONE BANKRUPT.
THAT'S ALMOST DOUBLE THE YEAR BEFORE.

FARM INCOME IS THE LOWEST SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

THESE ARE REAL PEOPLE SUFFERING REAL PAIN.

I REMEMBER TALKING TO A GROUP OF RANCHERS IN BILLINGS. THEY WERE SAYING HOW THEY GET SQUEEZED FROM EVERY DIRECTION.

EXPENSES ARE HIGH. PRICES ARE LOW.

I MET WITH AN UNEMPLOYED MILL WORKER FROM LIBBY. HE'S PART OF THE 36% UNEMPLOYMENT RATE THERE.

BUT HE'S A PERSON, NOT A NUMBER

HE TOLD ME OF THE TERRIBLE DAY WHEN HE HAD TO TELL HIS FAMILY HE WAS LAID OFF.

I REMEMBER THE SENIOR CITIZENS CENTER IN BILLINGS. THESE PEOPLE HAD WORKED ALL THEIR LIVES. MANY HAD DEFENDED THE COUNTRY IN BATTLE.

THEY ARE AFRAID FOR THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL SECURITY.

THESE PEOPLE DESERVE BETTER, AND WE CAN
DO BETTER. WE CAN MOVE DOWN THE ROAD TO
ECONOMIC RECOVERY. HERE'S HOW:

FIRST, WE REDUCE THE FEDERAL DEFICIT.
WE ELIMINATE WASTEFUL SPENDING, WHEREVER WE FIND IT.

SECOND, WE LOOSEN THE MONEY SUPPLY.

THESE TWO STEPS -- TAKEN TOGETHER -- WILL BRING INTEREST RATES DOWN. AND LOWER INTEREST RATES WILL BRING RECOVERY.

THE HOUSING, TIMBER AND AUTO INDUSTRIE WILL START TO MOVE AGAIN.

BUSINESS WILL INVEST.

MORE WORKERS WILL WORK.

OUR WHOLE ECONOMY WILL GROW AGAIN.

HOW DO WE GET FROM HERE TO THERE?

ECONOMIC REALISM.

THE REALISM TO KNOW WE CANNOT GET INTEREST RATES DOWN WITHOUT SAVINGS ON TAXE AND DEFENSE.

LAST YEAR CONGRESS ENACTED THE LARGEST TAX CUT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. GOVERNMENT REVENUE WILL BE CUT AT LEAST \$750 BILLION BY 1986.

PRESIDENT REAGAN ALSO PROPOSED THE LARGEST DEFENSE BUILD-UP IN AMERICAN HISTORY. THE COST, BY 1987, WILL BE AT LEAST A MRILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS.

THE PROBLEM IS OBVIOUS.

YOU CAN'T BALANCE THE BUDGET,

DRASTICALLY CUT TAXES, AND DRASTICALLY

INCREASE DEFENSE SPENDING -- ALL AT ONCE.

IT SIMPLY CAN'T BE DONE.

THE RESULT IS AN ENORMOUS BUDGET

DEFICIT -- CRIPPLING INTEREST RATES -
AND RECESSION.

SO WE HAVE TO CHOOSE.

WE NEED \underline{SOME} CUT IN TAXES AND SOME INCREASE IN DEFENSE SPENDING.

BUT NOT AS MUCH AS THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED.

CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRA KNOW IT.

WHITE HOUSE AIDES KNOW IT.

AND THE PRESIDENT IS APPARENTLY BEGINNING TO AGREE.

WHAT'S NEEDED IS NOT FINGER-POINTING

OR BLAME -- BUT COOPERATION AND COMMON

SENSE. COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT,

CONGRESS AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE.

BETWEEN LABOR, MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT.

TOGETHER, WE CAN TAKE SPECIFIC STEPS
TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT AND BRING INTEREST
RATES DOWN.

WE CAN REPEAL OR AMEND TAX LEASING.

IN CASE YOU'RE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THIS, THE

IDEA WAS TO HELP UNPROFITABLE CORPORATIONS.

THEY WOULD SELL TAX CREDITS AND TAX

ADVANTAGES THEY COULDN'T USE. IN RETURN,

THEY WOULD RECEIVE CAPITAL FOR NEW

INVESTMENT.

WE PUT THIS PROVISION IN THE TAX BILL LAST YEAR. UNFORTUNATELY IT'S NOT WORKING THE WAY IT SHOULD. HIGHLY PROFITABLE COMPANIES -- LIKE OCCIDENTAL AND IBM -- HAVE STARTED TRADING TAX BREAKS.

THE TREASURY'S REVENUE LOSS IS ENORMOU AND THE PROGRAM IS PROVING TO BE INEFFICIEN BY ENDING IT, WE CAN SAVE \$20 BILLION OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

WE MIGHT CONSIDER A LUXURY TAX OF 10 PERCENT ON DIAMONDS, FURS, AND JEWELRY.

THIS WOULD RAISE SOME \$2 BILLION A YEAR.

WE COULD IMPOSE A REAL MINIMUM

CORPORATE TAX. THE PRESIDENT HAS SUGGESTED

THIS, AND I THINK IT MAKES SENSE. IT WOULD

RAISE AROUND \$10 BILLION BY 1985.

WE COULD LIMIT THE NUMBER OF
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, AND PUT SOME LIMIT
ON PAY RAISES. THIS COULD SAVE AT LEAST
\$15 to \$20 BILLION BY 1985.

WE MUST FIND SAVINGS IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET AS WELL.

LET'S BE CLEAR ABOUT THIS. WE FACE A HEAVILY ARMED SOVIET UNION. WE NEED A CAREFUL AND SUSTAINED INCREASE IN DEFENSE SPENDING.

BUT WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE

IS WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN DEFENSE

SPENDING -- AS IN ANY GOVERNMENT PROGRAM.

THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED A FIVE YEAR,

TRILLION AND A HALF DEFENSE PROGRAM FOR THE

NEXT FIVE YEARS.

MUCH OF THAT MONEY -- BUT NOT ALL OF IT -- NEEDS TO BE SPENT. WE JUST CAN'T SPEND A TRILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS SO QUICKLY, AND DO IT EFFICIENTLY.

EVEN DAVID STOCKMAN, THE REPUBLICAN BUDGET DIRECTOR, HAS SAID THAT THE PENTAGON CAN FIND WAYS TO SAVE UP TO 20 OR 30 BILLION DOLLARS.

WE CAN PUT AN INSPECTOR GENERAL IN THE PENTAGON, TO FIND WASTE AND PROPOSE COST SAVINGS.

WE CAN INCREASE COMPETITION FOR DEFENS CONTRACTS.

THESE TWO STEPS ALONE COULD SAVE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

WE SHOULD STREAMLINE OUR PROCEDURES
FOR BUYING NEW WEAPONS. UNNECESSARY
EXPENSES ARE ALL TOO COMMON.

TAKE THE M-1 TANK. IT TURNED OUT THAT THIS NEW, HIGH TECHNOLOGY TANK IS A GAS GUZZLER. SO WE NEED FUEL TRUCKS TO ACCOMPANY THE TANKS.

IT TURNED OUT THAT THE TRANSMISSION

IS FAULTY. SO WE NEED SMALL BULLDOZERS

TO ACCOMPANY THE TANKS AS WELL. THE COST

OF THE BULLDOZERS ALONE HAS INCREASED

500% OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS. THE OVERALL

COST OF THE TANK -- AND THE FUEL TRUCKS

AND BULLDOZERS-- HAS SKYROCKETED.



WE HAVE SEEN THE SAME FAULTY PLANNING FOR THE MX MISSILE.

THE ORIGINAL PROBLEM WAS THAT OUR LAND BASED MISSILES COULD BE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK. BUT THE TEMPORARY BASING PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE PUT THE MISSILES IN MINUTEMAN SILOS. YET THESE SILOS REMAIN AS VULNERABLE AS EVER. SO THE MX SOLUTION -- AS PROPOSED -- FAILED TO ADDRESS THE ORIGINAL PROBLEM OF VULNERABILITY.

THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

HAS PROPOSED ABANDONING THIS METHOD, AND I

AGREE. WE NEED TO CONSIDER LONG RANGE MX

OPTIONS, BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO WASTE

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ON SOLUTIONS THAT DON'T

SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

THESE SAVINGS -- IN TAXES AND DEFENSE
-- WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCE THE FEDERAL
DEFICIT AND HELP LOWER INTEREST RATES.

OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS, THERE IS

ONE WAY WE CAN DO MUCH, MUCH MORE. WE CAN

DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE ARMS RACE THAT

THREATENS OUR VERY EXISTENCE, AND HARMS

BOTH THE U. S. AND SOVIET ECONOMIES.

OVER THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS, WITH CURRENT TRENDS, WE COULD SPEND AS MUCH AS SEVEN OR EIGHT TRILLION DOLLARS. IF WE COULD SAVE JUST A FEW HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS -- IMAGINE THAT -- JUST A FEW HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS -- WE COULD DOWONDERS.

IN SHORT, WE NEED TO MAKE OUR SPENDING MORE RATIONAL. YES, THERE ARE SAVINGS TO BE MADE IN DOMESTIC PROGRAMS. AND IN TAXES. AND IN DEFENSE. AND THROUGH ARMS CONTROL.

WE CAN REDUCE THE DEFICIT AND LOWER INTEREST RATES.

WHEN WE DO, THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PROGRESS ARE IMMENSE. WE WILL SEE NEW BUSINESSES, NEW JOBS, AND NEW HOPES. WE WILL SEE A REAWAKENING OF CREATIVITY AND COMMERCE, WITH NEW IDEAS AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES EMERGING.

WE HAVE MUCH TO BE THANKFUL FOR.

I'D RATHER LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES THAN

IN JAPAN, EUROPE OR THE SOVIET UNION.

I'D RATHER LIVE IN MONTANA THAN IN NEW YORK, TOKYO OR BERLIN.

IF WE REALIZE THAT OUR PROBLEMS CAN BE MANAGED....

THAT WE HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER....

THAT WE LIVE AT AN IMPORTANT TIME IN

AND THAT OUR POTENTIAL IS ALMOST UNLIMITED....

FUTURE HISTORIANS WILL SAY THAT WE DID FACE AN AGE OF UNREASON, BUT WE EMERGED UNIFIED, INTO AN AGE OF REBIRTH.

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