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# "Away From Ideology", Conference on Western Energy and National Resources

Max S. Baucus

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Senator \* or Department\*: **BAUCUS** 

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(2) Subject\* Away from Ideology

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AWAY FROM IDEOLOGY

A SPEECH BY SENATOR MAX BAUCUS

AT A CONFERENCE ON WESTERN ENERGY

& NATURAL RESOURCES

SPONSORED BY THE CENTER

FOR NATIONAL POLICY

APRIL 24, 1982

DENVER, COLORADO

TODAY, I'D LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE, AND HOW WE THINK ABOUT IT.

OUR PRESENTLY

GOVERNMENT. THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL FORT POLICY IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT, WE CERTAINLY NEED BOTH FRESH THOUGHTS AND NEW POLICIES.

WE OFTEN FORGET THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN POLICIES AND GOVERNMENT. POLITICS IS ADVERSARIAL. IT INVOLVES A FREE TRADE IN IDEAS. POLITICAL PARTIES COMPETE IN THE NATIONAL MARKETPLACE. THERE ARE WINNERS AND LOSERS.

GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM POLITICS
YET TOO OFTEN WE FALL VICTIM TO ADVERSARIAL
THINKING. WE LAPSE INTO THE TERMINOLOGY
OF SPORTS, AND EVEN WAR.

THE PRESS TENDS TO ENCOURAGE THIS. THE WORLD IS DIVIDED INTO TEAMS. INSTEAD OF UNIFORMS, WE HAVE LABELS TO IDENTIFY THE PLAYERS. THE TEAMS DO BATTLE. OFTEN WE HAVE A FINAL SCORE. FORM SIMPLIFIES SUBSTANCE.

SO DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS "JOCKEY FOR POSITION". THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS "PUT THEIR CARDS ON THE TABLE". THE PENTAGON LAUNCHES A "PREEMPTIVÉ STRIKE" ON THE DEFENSE BUDGET.

IDEAS MUST FIT INTO THE BOX SCORES.

OTHERWISE THEY GET LOST IN THE SHUFFLE.

THE DEBATE IS DOMINATED BY NARROW INTEREST GROUPS, OR RIGID IDEOLOGIES. THEOLOGICAL CERTAINTY REPLACES IDEA-BASED GOVERNMENT.

INSTEAD OF IDEOLOGY, WE SHOULD THINK OF POLICIES

OF IDEAS. IDEAS THAT ARE NEITHER

LIBERAL NOR CONSERVATIVE, NEITHER

MONETARIST NOR MARXIST. WE SHOULD

THINK ABOUT TRANSLATING IDEAS INTO

ACTIONS.

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, A FRENCHMAN WROTE

A BOOK ABOUT AMERICAN SUCCESS. HE

CALLED IT IHE AMERICAN CHALLENGE. IT'S
RELEVANT TODAY.

HE MARVELED AT THE CREATIVITY OF AMERICAN MANAGEMENT.

HE ENVIED THE EXCELLENCE OF OUR PRODUCTS.

HE ADMIRED OUR METHODS OF THINKING AHEAD.

HE RESPECTED OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE

POWER OF IDEAS.

HE REJOICED IN OUR EXPANSION OF HUMAN POTENTIAL, THROUGH EDUCATION, AND TRAINING.

HE KNEW THAT THE WEALTH OF NATIONS

DEPENDED ON THOUGHT, CREATIVITY, AND ACTION.

HE SAID: "MODERN POWER IS BASED ON THE CAPACITY FOR INNOVATION, WHICH IS RESEARCH, AND THE CAPACITY TO TRANSFORM INVENTIONS INTO FINISHED PRODUCTS, WHICH IS TECHNOLOGY."

HE WAS TALKING ABOUT

HUMAN CAPITAL. THE CAPITAL OF IDEAS.

THINKING AHEAD. CREATIVITY. EXCELLENCE.

THESE ARE THE IMPORTANT CONCEPTS IN

TODAY'S WORLD ECONOMY. NEW TECHNOLOGIES

ARE EMERGING. FOREIGN COMPETITION IS

INCREASING. THE ENERGY CRISIS POSES

NEW DANGERS AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES.

THE OLD ANSWERS, THE OLD IDEOLÓGIES,

JUST WON'T DO. OUR MINDS MUST LOOK

AHEAD, AND NOT BE FROZEN IN THE PAST.

I'M TALKING ABOUT ATTITUDE. CALL IT

AMERICAN INEGUNITY. CALL IT IDEALISM

WITHOUT ILLUSIONS. IT'S A COMMON THREAD

IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

oup nations

TAKE CONSTITUTION. THE FOUNDING

FATHERS CREATED SOMETHING NEW. THEY

WANTED A CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD LAST.

THEY WERE THINKING AHEAD, LOOKING

FORWARDS. THEY TALKED BUT THEY ALSO

ACTED. THEY DISAGREED BUT THEY

COMPROMISED. THEY GOT THE JOB DONE.

TAKE THE MARSHALL PLAN. PRESIDENT TRUMAN
HAD LEARNED THE LESSON OF HISTORY. HE
UNDERSTOOD THE MISTAKES MADE AFTER WORLD
WAR I. HE VOWED IT WOULD NOT HAPPEN AGAIN.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN DECIDED TO REBUILD REGAIN STABILITY THROUGH PROSPERITY. IT WAS A GENEROUS ACT BY A GREAT POWER. IT WAS VISIONARY, AND IT WORKED.

TAKE THE SPACE PROGRAM. PRESIDENT

KENNEDY WANTED TO MOVE INTO A NEW

FRONTIER. GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND

LABOR WERE MOBILIZED. RESOURCES WERE

ALLOCATED. GOALS WERE DEFINED. NATIONAL

PURPOSE WAS RALLIED. BEING AN AMERICAN

WAS A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE. AND PRIDE.

THE CONSTITUTION. THE MARSHALL PLAN.

THE SPACE PROGRAM. EACH INVOLVED TRYING SOMETHING NEW EXPERIMENTING. EACH INVOLVED A POSITIVE, CAN-DO ATTITUDE CONFIDENCE. INSTEAD OF FINDING REASONS NOT TO ACT, WE ACTED.

THIS IS THE AMERICAN IDEA. THIS IS THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE. THIS IS THE PIONEER SPIRIT THAT BUILT THE COUNTRY. AMERICANS WERE PART OF SOMETHING IMPORTANT, SOMETHING TO CARE ABOUT, SOMETHING WORTHY

OF MATTOMAL COMMATTMENT

IT'S THIS ATTITUDE, MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, THAT WE NEED TODAY.

POLITICIANS NEED TO THINK BEYOND THE NEXT ELECTION.

BUSINESS SHOULD THINK BEYOND THE NEXT QUARTER'S PROFITS.

(Lower voice)

I'M A MEMBER OF THE SENATE FINANCE

COMMITTEE. I SIT ON THE TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE.

WHERE
WE SPEND A LOT OF TIME THINKING ABOUT

JAPAN. AND JAPAN SPENDS A LOT OF TIME

THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE. THEY

FORCEFULLY PROMOTE NEW TECHNOLOGIES.

THEY DEVELOP FOREIGN MARKETS. THEY

HUSBAND CAPITAL AND SAVE ENERGY. THEY

TRAIN WORKERS.



WE SHOULD DO A LOT MORE OF THESE THINGS.

OURSELVES - PRETICULALY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF

ENERGY

FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS, AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY USED LITTLE ENERGY---MOSTLY RENEWABLE. FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY USED MORE ENERGY---MOSTLY NON-RENEWABLE.

TODAY WE STAND AT A CROSSROADS.

INFORMATION INDUSTRIES ARE GROWING

DRAMATICALLY. ALTERNATIVE ENERGIES

ARE BECOMING MORE PRACTICAL. FORESIGHT

IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER.

AND FORESIGHT MEANS WE DON'T DEPEND ON MIDDLE EAST STABILITY. WE DON'T CUT CONSERVATION. WE DON'T NEGLECT ALTERNATIVE ENERGIES.

BUT LOOK AT THE PROPOSED 1983 BUDGET:

CONSERVATION RESEARCH: DOWN ALMOST 90%.

CONSERVATION GRANTS: DOWN 98%. THE REMAINING 2% IS TO PHASE OUT THE OTHER PROGRAMS.

CONSERVATION INVOLVES RESEARCH, INVESTMENT, MARKETING AND INCENTIVES. YET
RESEARCH AND GRANTS ARE TO BE CUT,
AND INCENTIVES ARE UNDER ATTACK.

THIS IS THE WRONG POLICY, REFLECTING
THE WRONG ATTITUDE, SENDING THE WRONG
MESSAGE.

THE SAME IS TRUE OF ALTERNATIVE
ENERGIES. THEY ARE NEEDED, AND THEY
ARE COMING. BUT LOOK AGAIN AT THE

TOTAL ENERGY RESEARCH: DOWN ALMOST 75%.

FOSSIL FUELS: DOWN ALMOST 75%.

COAL: DOWN OVER 80%.

RENEWABLE ENERGIES: DOWN ALMOST 75%.

SOLAR RESEARCH: DOWN OVER 70%.
PHOTOVOLTAIC CELLS: DOWN
OVER 60%.

WHAT'S LEFT IN THE ENERGY BUDGET?

NUCLEAR POWER. FISSION ALONE WOULD TAKE

ALMOST HALF OF THE '83 RESEARCH BUDGET.

THES BLEND IS UNBALANCED AND UNWISE.

IT NEGLECTS CONSERVATION, ALTERNATIVE ENERGIES, AND THE STRATEGI& PETROLEUM RESERVE. IT NEGLECTS THE FUTURE.

NOT ALL NATIONS ARE MOVING IN THIS

A GOOD EXAMPLE IS

DIRECTION. JAPAN ISN'T. PHOTO
VOLTAICS, A PROMISING NEW TECHNOLOGY.

THREE YEARS AGO WE SPENT TWICE AS MUCH SINCE THEN AS JAPAN. THEY HAVE INCREASED

THEIR COMMITMENT, WE HAVE REDUCED OURS.

JAPAN COULD BE SPENDING TWICE AS MUCH

AS WE ARE — IN REAL DOLLARS. HISTORY

COULD REPEAT ITSELF, AND WE'LL HAVE JAPAN
FLOODING US AGAIN.

I DON'T WANT THAT TO HAPPEN. I WANT

THE UNITED STATES---NOT JAPAN---TO BE

THE SAUDI ARABIA OF NEW ENERGY SOURCES.

BUT AGAIN--WE HAVE TO INVEST. LOOK
TO THE FUTURE. THINK AHEAD.

THIS IS TRUE THROUGHOUT THE ECONOMY.

WE CAN ACI TO BECOME MORE COMPETITIVE--
AND SAVE ENERGY IN THE PROCESS. NEW

CARS MORE EFFICIENT THAN THE OLDER

ONES THEY REPLACE. NEW MACHINERY CAN

INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY AND OF SAVE

ENERGY AS WELL.

LET'S INVEST IN PEOPLE. NEARLY ONE IN

10 WORKERS IS UNEMPLOYED. BUT MANY

INDUSTRIES NEED SKILLED LABOR. WE

SHOULD MATCH THE WORKERS TO THE WORK.

WE COULD FILL JOBS THAT INDUSTRY NEEDS,

AND WORKERS WANT.

WE ARE FALLING SHORT IN THE SCIENCES.

JAPAN IS NOW PRODUCING TWICE AS MANY

ENGINEERS AS WE ARE, PER CAPITA.

DOCTORATES ARE DOWN. COMPARE THE

US

NUMBER OF DOCTORATES TO THE 1970'S:

PHYSICS AND ASTRONOMY: DOWN OVER 40%.

CHEMISTRY: DOWN OVER 30%.

ENGINEERING: DOWN ALMOST 30%.

MATH AND COMPUTER SCIENCE:

DOWN ALMOST 30%.

AND, MANY OF THOSE WHO GRADUATE ARE FOREIGN. THEY RETURN HOME TO COMPETE AGAINST AMERICAN FIRMS.

WE CAN RESTORE EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

WE CAN GRADUATE THE PEOPLE OUR ECONOMY

NEEDS. AND AS WE INVEST IN PEOPLE——WE

LONTINUE TO

INVEST IN IDEAS. AMERICA SHOULD BE THE

RESEARCH CENTER OF THE WORLD. WE STILL

ARE, BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO RETREAT.

CERTAINLY---WE CAN'T DO EVERYTHING AT ONCE.
PROGRAMS COST MONEY, AND MONEY IS LIMITED.

WE HAVE TO FIND SAVINGS EVERYWHERE.

INCLUDING TAXES. INCLUDING DEFENSE.

## EVEN HERE-

BUT ULTIMATELY, WE RETURN TO ATTITUDE.

THE ATTITUDE OF BUSINESS. THE WISDOM
TO MOVE AWAY FROM SHORT-TERM OBSESSION.
THE FORESIGHT TO LOOK AHEAD. THE GOOD
SENSE TO INVEST IN THE FUTURE.

THE ATTITUDE OF LABOR. THE WISDOM TO AVOID SEEING MANAGEMENT AS A MORTAL ENEMY---A WISDOM, I ADD---THAT MUST BE MUTUAL. THE FORESIGHT TO MASTER THE NEW TOOLS OF THE MODERN ECONOMY.

THE ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT. THE WISDOM
TO MOVE AWAY FROM RIGIDITY, TO KNOW THAT
OLD ANSWERS DON'T SOLVE NEW PROBLEMS.
THE COURAGE TO LEAD. AND THE FORESIGHT
TO KNOW WHERE TO LEAD.

DESPITE OUR SHORT TERM PROBLEMS, THE FUTURE HOLDS UNLIMITED POTENTIAL. MY FATHER IS A RANCHER. HE IS AN OLD FASHIONED MAN OF THE LAND. I AM A LAWYER, A PUBLIC SERVANT, I HOPE. MY SON IS FIVE YEARS OLD. WHAT WILL HE BECOME?

MAYBE HE'LL BUILD SOLAR ENERGY HOUSES.

OR DEVELOP COMPUTERS THAT REDUCE ENERGY

WASTE. OR PERFORM EXPERIMENTS ON

ORBITTING SATELLITES.

IT IS OUR JOB TO GIVE HIM THE CHOICE.

TO PIONEER NEW ENERGY SOURCES THAT HE WILL ENJOY. TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT THAT HE WILL INHERIT.

WHAT'S MISSING FROM OUR NATIONAL
DIALOGUE IS A SENSE OF WONDER. SCOTT

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FITZGERALD DESCRIBED IT IN THE GREAT

GATSBY. HE IMAGINED HOW THE FIRST

EXPLORERS FELT WHEN THEY LAID EYES ON

AMERICA. THE AWE THEY MUST HAVE FELT,

ABOUT THE DANGERS AHEAD, ABOUT THE

ADVENTURE THEY HAD BEGUN.

TODAY WE GET LOST IN BUDGETARY DETAILS. WE HAGGLE TOO MUCH.

OUR GENERATION COULD DECIDE WHETHER THE
WORLD SURVIVES THE NUCLEAR DANGER.
WHETHER CANCER IS CURED. WHETHER
ENERGY IS BOUNTIFUL IN THE FORESEEABLE
MORE THAN
ENOUGH FOR WONDER.

THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE IS TO RISE ABOVE NARROW THINKING AND TO LOOK AHEAD. IF WE DO, WE CAN ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING.